

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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#### INDIA'S WAR DEAD

Lord Birkenhead unveils the War Memorial at Neuve Chapelle to the Indian soldiers who lost their lives in the Great War.  
Many detachments of Indian troops were present.

THE  
ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1928

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE STATUTORY  
COMMISSION APPOINTED UNDER THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

25515 I

LORD MESTON writes :

"Our own constitution is so haphazard, so illogical, and yet in practice so workable that we are tempted to belittle the constitutional problems of others. It would be a grave error to belittle the problem which presents itself to us in India today. To a country with age-long traditions of autocratic government we gave, eight years ago, the beginnings of a democratic system. We asked the leaders of the people to work it, and we promised to extend their powers in proportion to the capacity they showed in the task. The leaders have refused to work it, and demand complete political independence, for which they have made no attempt to prove their fitness. They deny that we have any right to adjudicate upon their readiness for self-government, or to frame a constitution for their country. At the same time they have framed no constitution for themselves; and when Parliament appoints a Commission of its own body to advise on the situation, they burst into vehement abuse and threaten to boycott the whole enquiry. They make no secret of their conviction that, by following the methods of militant feminism and Sinn Fein, they will secure the same successes.

"Sir John Simon and his colleagues have not only to find a solution for a grave Imperial issue, but also to awake the British people to its gravity. The excitements of Mr.



Gandhi's agitation, the mock battles in the Assembly, the whole kaleidoscope of Swaraj policy, have tended to make some of us look at the events of the last eight years as a game of skill, between ardent volatile nationalists on the one hand, and stolid patient British administrators on the other. There could be no greater mistake. Behind and below all the stagey manœuvres of Swaraj is a demand to develop India on their own lines. Those who make the demand are a section of Indians, trained in European ways, few in number compared with the vast ignorant masses of the population, but with a wholly disproportionate power of swaying the proletariat. Their strength lies in the support of orthodox Hinduism, which is going through a period of revolt against Western dogmas. And in orthodox Hinduism there is an inborn antagonism to the very root principles of Western democracy. It is thus at least permissible to speculate that any scheme of political independence which India, in its present frame of mind, might work out for itself would diverge, at points which we cherish as essential, from the fabric of political and social life that has been built up in England.

"The task before Sir John Simon's Commission may thus become very different from what it appears on the surface. They may find that it is relatively unimportant to decide whether dyarchy has been a success or a failure, whether the electorate can be tinkered at or the portfolios of Ministers rearranged. They may be faced with more searching questions, questions psychological rather than political. And running athwart all such questions is the practical issue, whether we can withdraw our guidance or our ultimate control while India is reconciling her innate distrust of the demos with her ambition to step abreast of the democratic nations of our British Commonwealth. For the process may be a long and painful one; and the Swaraj catchwords afford no guarantee that it will be undertaken in earnest without our co-operation."

## II

The MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR OF BURDWAN writes :

"I have been asked to say in as few words as possible something about the Parliamentary Commission that is going out to India to examine the 'Montford' Reforms which were introduced in 1919, and which, under the Government of India Act, are due to be revised and reviewed, ordinarily, by 1929.

"When I wrote my letter to *The Times*,\* by a strange coincidence it was followed by an announcement within a very few days of the personnel of the Commission, and, as I had apprehended, the British Cabinet had decided to send out to India a purely Parliamentary Commission.

"Since then I have had occasion to write to one or two daily papers and periodicals on the same subject. Now that the formation of the Commission is a 'fait accompli,' I shall try to say something from a different aspect on the same topic. Whilst I apprehended the boycotting of the Commission by various shades of public opinion in India, and whilst I believe that there is a distinct danger of it at the present moment, it does not follow that I approve of the idea ; in fact, I strongly deprecate it, and consider it a fatal blunder to the future prospects of political concessions for India.

"Whilst stating this, I cannot help thinking that the idea of the Government of India having two Committees from the two principal legislative bodies of the Central Government, was not an altogether happy one, because these two bodies, without the advantage of exchange of confidence and views which one body would have had—that is, the Parliamentary Commission—will be (although not at all in direct opposition to the views of the members of the Commission) rather inclined to criticize, and to resemble smaller wheels within a big wheel—rattling rather than running altogether smoothly with the bigger machinery.

\* November 1.



But how this danger can be averted and how the Commission can derive real benefit from these two Committees remains to be seen.

"I strongly believe that, instead of simply taking evidence as to whether the reforms, as they were inaugurated, have worked satisfactorily in one form or another and in the Central Government, it should be taken for granted that, since an advance has been made, there can be no going back; and also it would be wiser to devise schemes other than dyarchy, which has been so often and so adversely criticized, and which, in spite of the fact that it was introduced as a temporary measure in Parliamentary training, has not altogether had happy results.

"The most important enquiry should be how to make it more possible and effective for the Legislatures to realize their responsibilities than they do now. They must realize that when taxation has to be introduced or measures taken to improve the condition of the country generally, or the community in particular, it is the legislative body voicing the views of the people of that province, upon whose shoulders the responsibility must lie.

"In spite of these reforms there has always been a very marked tendency for members of the Legislative Council, who like to array themselves against the Government blocks in the various legislative bodies, to oppose just for the sake of opposition. This is more marked in provincial Councils than in the Central Government, and unless this evil is eradicated and a greater sense of responsibility grows in the minds of the members of the legislative bodies, no amount of reform will bring in that parliamentary training which India still so badly needs."

*December 22.*

### III

The RIGHT HON. SYED AMEER ALI, asked to contribute to this Symposium, stated that the division of opinion in the Council of the All-India Muslim League reported by



the Delhi correspondent of *The Times* had led him as President of the London Indian Muslim League to send a telegram to Sir Mohamed Shafi, who is to preside at the annual session at Calcutta, which will shortly take place, to the following effect: "Boycott policy is, in my opinion, prejudicial to India, and especially to minority interests. I adhere to the principle (of separate electorates for Muslims) laid down in 1909 and accepted by Lord Morley."

*December 17.*

#### IV

Sir H. VERNEY LOVETT writes:

"Eighteen years ago Lord Minto, the most popular of Viceroys, was congratulated by a speaker at a farewell dinner in Calcutta on having won the race of his life, riding as formerly in races of another kind, with his head, his heart, and his hands. The political situation at that time, the apparent success of the constitutional reforms with which Lord Minto's name is associated, fully justified this tribute. The intervening years, however, have brought unlooked-for changes; humanity has left, or sought to leave, many of its old camping-grounds; the Morley-Minto reforms have gone to their place; and now their successors, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, are to be weighed in the balances. India is on the verge of one of those disagreeable ordeals which have hitherto inevitably tended to exacerbate racial susceptibilities. This unwelcome feature is perfectly well known to all who remember the past, and, we may be sure, has not escaped the attention of the authorities at present responsible. But to them no choice was open. The Cabinet in London, the Secretary of State, the Governor-General in Council, found their path laid down for them by the legislation of 1919, and have been constrained to set the ball rolling once more. Where will it roll to and with what result? We trust, at any rate, that this will be the last periodical Statutory Commission of our own time.

"It must, however, be admitted that, apart from the obligations which arise from the terms of the Government of India Act of 1919, there are circumstances which call for a searching enquiry into one large fundamental question with as little delay as possible. Hindu and Muhammadan tension has so much increased since the partial introduction into India of government by elected majorities, and of concurrent Indianization of the civil services on a sliding scale, that no thinking man can fail to ask himself if these processes can go on without producing some disastrous climax. Can any change reasonably be anticipated? Can some new expedient be applied before events take charge, acquiring an uncontrollable momentum of their own?

"The problem is one of the first magnitude. The Simon Commission are bound to suggest a solution. Their task is not an enviable one. It appears, however, to be coveted by others who have, in fact, no reason to be dissatisfied with their own allotted part in forthcoming investigations. Indian public men can render very valuable service to the Commission. Some will undoubtedly do so. Others have banded themselves together with the object of slighting and frustrating its very difficult work. So ill-advised a policy may win unthinking applause, but will not commend the views of its supporters to the commonsense of any British Parliament.

"1928 will be a year of exceptional interest to all who care for India, for as the Commission proceeds with its enquiry we shall at last be able to form a clearer idea of the effects of the reforms of 1919 on the outlook of the people at large and on the quality of the administration. There have been signs of a dawning perception of the disasters which wait on exuberant idealism and of the necessity that all communities, and not merely the political classes, should take a hand in shaping the future. How far has this perception gone? How far, too, has the quality of the administration been affected by the reforms which have been in operation since 1920? After all,



quality of administration counts for much in securing order and contentment among two and a half millions of people. It is good that the Simon Commission should have two cold winters for moving about India, and should thus obtain full opportunity for gathering impressions of all kinds and from all sorts of people. They will not learn least from the workers in the districts, the stokers and the enginemen in the fine old ship which has weathered so many storms. These are in daily touch with realities, and for this reason deserve to be heard. They suffer more than most if the navigation is erratic."

*December 9.*

## IRRIGATION IN THE PUNJAB

BY K. S. BAJWA, B.A.

It has many times been stated in the columns of this REVIEW that the most striking feature of the economic life of India is the overwhelming preponderance of agriculture. This main industry is susceptible of almost indefinite improvement, and on its development depends the material and commercial progress of the vast Empire. For, even if India is to become a manufacturing country, it is necessary to develop its agricultural industry in order to provide the industrial occupations with raw materials.

Agricultural development in India is intimately connected with the provision of artificial water-supply. In an agricultural country with a precarious rainfall it is impossible to overestimate the value of irrigation works, which render the country safe against famine and the vagaries of monsoon weather and which increase the productive power of the country.

No part of the country has benefited more by the development of irrigation than the Punjab. Since the appointment of the Irrigation Commission of 1901-03, the attention of Government has been directed to the necessity of the provision of water for agricultural purposes, not only to meet a general failure of the monsoon, but also because even in good seasons artificial irrigation is a necessity for the successful cultivation of many valuable crops. The irrigation canals of the Punjab, which convert the great rivers of this province into food producers by turning their hitherto unutilized water to productive uses, now occupy a unique place amongst the greatest and most beneficent triumphs of engineering skill in the world.

The gradual completion of the Sutlej Valley Irrigation Works has added another chapter to the history of engineering marvels in India. The whole project, when completed in 1934, is to command within the irrigation limits an area



of approximately 9,000,000 acres or 14,000 square miles. The total cultivated area of this province is 31,750,000 acres. Of the latter, 18,750,000 acres are now commanded by the canal water.

### CONTRAST IS THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS

Before we can realize the importance and magnitude of the new irrigation works it is desirable to understand what has already been done in the field and to have a picture of the change that has come over the Punjab since its annexation in 1848.

Even in the Punjab the tale is often told of the ruin that has come over the country through the British connection with India. Poverty of the peasant is put forward to support this view. It is, therefore, a good thing to glance backward in order to realize the full benefits of the existing irrigation works.

The Punjab derives its name from the five rivers which are designed by nature to play on its bosom. For thousands of years earlier rulers had allowed these streams to traverse the great plains of this province at their own sweet will. Although all were as potentially powerful life-givers as the Nile, yet their floods of liquid gold were let pass unheeded. Shah-Jehan began to turn to account one of the great rivers of his kingdom; but his inspiration was love of beauty. He cut the Hasli Canal in order to provide water for fountains of the Shalimar Gardens.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, with his love of religion, further extended the canal in order to pour water into the sacred tank of Amritsar. Neither of these rulers was actuated by the humanitarian motive of improving the lot of the poor cultivator by providing him with artificial irrigation in order to safeguard him against the danger of being thrown out of his only means of livelihood through unfavourable changes in the amount and distribution of rainfall. Of reclaiming the vast tracts of land which lay covered with thick jungles or sand, no one ever thought.



We are not in possession of complete statistics of canal irrigation at the time of annexation. Authenticated information is scarce, and reliable records are scanty. But, so far as can be ascertained, the area irrigated by the Hasli Canal was about 50,000 acres annually. A few inundation canals did not irrigate more than 120,000 acres. The majority of these canals were, as a well-known writer says, "mere scratches in the low-lying land near the river which in the summer, when the rising floods sent their spills over the river rain, drew off the water a little further from the bank."

The changes that have been effected in the inundation canals alone are wonderful. But the real work of the British engineers began when they started to harness the rivers with weirs of great magnitude in order to divert their flow to productive purposes.

In 1851 the Upper Bari Doab Canal was put in hand. It replaced the old Hasli Canal and extended the benefits of irrigation to vast tracts of land which had never before been under the sway of water. The area irrigated by this canal alone is over one and a quarter million acres.

The Lower Chenab Canal was completed in 1896. The area which this canal was designed to serve was one of extreme desolation. Water lay for the most part from eighty to a hundred and twenty feet below the surface of the soil. The rainfall was scanty and uncertain. With the exception of snakes and lizards, the country was devoid of animal life. The vegetation, where there was any, consisted mainly of thorny bushes. The only inhabitants of this land were the indigenous nomads. They lived mainly by their herds and flocks, which were shifted from place to place, wherever there was news of rain having fallen and grass sprouted. Such was the country in which the engineers were destined to live and labour.

With the extension of irrigation huge tracts of barren and desolate land were brought under cultivation and turned into smiling fields of corn. The spacious hunting grounds of "untamed cattle thieves" have become a parcelled land

of wheat, cotton, and oil seeds, of prosperous and expert cattle and horse breeders, of excellent dairy farms, of neat and tidy villages populated by healthy, peaceful, and contented peasantry. The virgin soil gave exceedingly generous returns in response to a small amount of capital, time, and effort applied in the cultivation of land. The magnificent crops converted the poor colonists into men of substance in a short time. A large export of wheat and cotton brought wealth and prosperity to the province.

Then came the world-wonder known as the Triple Canal System. It is the largest irrigation work executed in India up to date, and constitutes a striking monument to the engineering skill of those who were entrusted with its design and construction. The total area commanded by this system is about 3,997,000 acres or 6,250 square miles.

#### FINANCIAL RESULTS

The profits realized from irrigation give some indication of the advantages which an economically virgin country derives from the scientific development of its resources. The net annual revenue from these canals (total irrigation receipts—interest on capital outlay and working expenses) amounts to over £3,000,000. The enormous rise in the total irrigation receipts within the last twenty years is a sufficient tribute to the profitable nature of irrigation as an investment.

A period of eighty years is a short space in the history of a country. Progress which cannot be gauged by a measure is hardly perceptible in a short period. But, in the Punjab, every acre of irrigated land is a standing testimony of material progress and prosperity. There are indeed, on every hand, abundant signs of the marvellous change that has come over the country. All those people who depend upon agriculture are, from year to year, better housed, better clothed, and better fed. A rise in their standard of living is noticeable even to the most superficial observer.



Agriculture, the main industry of this province, is no longer a "gamble in rain," but depends upon a well regulated supply of canal water.

From the point of view of all those concerned, the canals in the Punjab have attained their object. They have proved a most remunerative investment, have greatly relieved the excessive pressure of population in the congested districts of the province by bringing huge tracts of barren land under the plough, have reclaimed the criminal tribes by providing them honest means of earning a livelihood, have raised the depressed classes into the pale of society, have increased and established the revenue of the state, have made railways a paying concern, have conquered the stay-at-home tendency of the Punjab peasant, have provided a field for the Agricultural Department to apply, on a large scale, the results of its scientific researches, have improved the economic condition of the cultivator, have enhanced the general wealth of the country, and, last but not least, have added several thousands of miles to the agricultural area of the province.

Several years ago it was said that if the British rule in India were to come to an end suddenly, the only trace of it left in a few years would be "fragments of bottles and tin cases." A glance at the map will show how little true this is now in the Punjab where many canals run, thousands of iron and masonry weirs and bridges stand, and where many rivers, which have since long been feared and worshipped for their ungovernable and destructive forces, have now been harnessed by the ingenuity and skill of British engineers to bring life and prosperity to the tracts which were formerly mere infructuous jungles or burning deserts. The irrigation works of the Punjab have now become part and parcel of the Indian soil, and will leave an indelible mark on the history of the British régime in India, just as the magnificent buildings of Muhammadan rulers will stand for ever as living monuments of their once great and glorious empire.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### "HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS"

[A correspondent resident in India has written a letter in criticism of the above article that appeared in the last issue. Owing to the exigencies of space, it has unfortunately to appear in a condensed form.—ED. A.R.]

"It needs, perhaps, some courage to enter the lists against so eloquent and experienced an Indian as Mr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, but I have no hesitation in saying from fifty-six years' intimate knowledge of Indians of all classes, religions, castes, and races that his article on 'Hindu-Muslim Relations' in your number for October is incorrect and misleading.

"His attempt to minimize the disastrous results of the acute feelings of animosity and hatred felt between Hindus and Muslims all over India is contradicted by what we read in the papers daily, by conclusive facts in recent history which he forgets to mention, and by many facts confuting his views, which he does mention in his own article without seeing their logical results. Mahatma Gandhi himself and all sane Indian politicians look on hopelessly and helplessly, deploring the sanguinary disturbances which they acknowledge to be fatal to their hopes of Swaraj. So far has their despair carried them that many Indian politicians are turning to the 'Satanic Government' for help, and blaming it for not enforcing law and order more effectually.

"The root mistake made by Mr. Ahmad Khan is his idea that 'it is not a religious question, and that both religious communities regard toleration as the cardinal tenet of their faith.'

"'My religion,' said a distinguished frank Indian Muhammadan politician and soldier in a public speech, 'teaches me to attack and subjugate the idolater and to break his idols. How then can there be any Hindu-Muslim unity?' That is the root of the matter.

"The statement that communal ill-feeling exists only in the towns and not in the country ignores the facts of the agrarian rising in Behar, where Hindu and Muhammadan villagers fought out their feuds mercilessly.

"The final disproof of the gist of Mr. Ahmad Khan's views minimizing the effects of communal enmities is his admission at the end of his article that all Muhammadans insist on separate communal representation, and the Hindus as well, even more strongly, showing an ineradicable hostile distrust on both sides, which evidently makes any kind of unity impossible.

"The truth of the situation is pointed out unconsciously by the writer himself. The Muhammadan rulers of India in the past made 'toleration' and insured it by 'putting down mercilessly all religious quarrels.' The British continued the same policy, refusing to interfere in religious dis-



putes, but enforcing the preservation of peace and law and order with the strong hand.

"Since the Reforms the respect for British authority and its iron fist has weakened with the inevitable letting loose of traditional animosities and hostilities. Mr. Ahmad Khan himself suggests that if the Government 'acts firmly, if it acts justly, there is no reason why the mob should not be controlled.'

"There are political and economic considerations which also make for ill-feeling between the communities, but at root the religious differences cause the trouble."

F. R. B.

### "THE INDIAN NAVY"

The same writer makes the following comments upon Mr. P. R. Cadell's recent paper on "The Indian Navy":

"In the interesting paper on 'The Indian Navy' published in your issue for October, there was one point missed by the writer and also by the speakers in the discussion following. It is a point which affects essentially the success of this and all other attempts at 'Indianization' in the officer classes of the Indian Services.

"The essential principle is to give particular attention to the castes, and classes, which have hereditary instincts and predispositions to a particular profession or career. Thus, for selecting Civil and Mechanical Engineers, the Artificer castes should have the preference. Stone-masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, workers in metals, and wood, and clay, will make successful architects and builders and engineers, if selected and educated, because by inheritance and early training they are specially fitted to profit by such technical education, and ready to live the lives of strenuous endeavour entailed in the successful prosecution of a professional life.

"Similarly for the Indian Navy it will be necessary to give preference to the lascar castes which have a 'sea sense' following on the sea experience of generations. One of the conspicuous instances of successful Indianization is the service of 'serangs' established by the steamer companies in Bengal, who now practically command all the river steamers on the Ganges and Brahmaputra, and take very efficiently the places of the British captains and mates who were considered a few years ago to be indispensable for such responsible duties.

"The educated Indian boy of the Lawyer or Doctor or Writer class, excellent in his own line, is not of the type that makes a good fighting sailor, but in competitive examinations he is the man likely to come out on top, and competitive examinations should therefore be avoided at all costs. A qualifying examination combined with personal selection by an experienced Committee, and a system, to begin with, of careful nomination of candidates of suitable parentage and upbringing, is therefore the procedure indicated. It has been adopted for the British Navy and the Air Service and Indian P.W.D. and Railway services, so there is a plethora of precedents, and it is hoped they will be followed."

F. R. B.



## THE ASIAN CIRCLE

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### A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

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Mr. Stanley Rice.

It is understood that where articles are signed in this section they do not necessarily represent the views of members of the Circle other than the writer.

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### I. AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan, though a separate kingdom, has been for many centuries closely connected with India and was often included in the Empire of Delhi. Sultan Mahmud, a Túrki from Ghazni, at the beginning of the eleventh century, and Shahab-ud Din, an Afghan from Ghor, in the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. laid the foundations of the Muhammadan Empire in India. Many of the Emperors at Delhi were Túrki slaves or their descendants, but it was under Ala ud Din Khilji (1295 to 1316 A.D.), the representative of a tribe long settled in Afghanistan, that the Empire attained its maximum development. Baber,\*

\* Baber was a Jagatai Turk, of the house of Tirmur, but of Mogul descent.

miscalled the Mogul, was King of Kabul when he embarked upon the conquest of India in 1526. The Emperor at Delhi, whom he overthrew, was an Afghan, and Sher Shah, an Afghan claiming descent from the Kings of Ghor, wrested the Empire from Baber's son, Humaiyun, and founded a short-lived dynasty. From the time of Baber to the end of the seventeenth century Kabul formed part of the Delhi Empire, though control of all the territory, which is now included in Afghanistan, was not at any time complete. After the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, the whole of the territory west of the Indus was ceded by the Delhi Emperor to the Persian King: and, in 1748, after the death of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali, the first of the Durani rulers of Afghanistan, commenced a series of raids into India. He sacked Delhi in 1756, and defeated the Mahrattas in a great battle at Panipat in 1761. But he fought the battle as a champion of Islam, and made no attempt to found another Afghan Empire. The Mogul Emperor was left at Delhi, and the Mahrattas remained the *de facto* rulers of Hindostan. Ahmad Shah's grandson, Zaman, made more than one incursion into the Punjab at the end of the eighteenth century, but he did not penetrate further than Lahore; and the growing power of the Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh effectually barred any further Afghan invasions. Kashmir and Multan were taken by the Sikhs, and by the seizure of Peshawar in 1834 the Afghans were shut out from the Indus plain. Nawab Amir Khan, an Afghan chief, who was prominent in the wars between the East India Company and the Mahrattas, and who founded the Native State of Tonk in Central India, was the last of the successful Afghan invaders.

For eight centuries invaders from Afghanistan and Central Asia had harried and had ruled India; but with the advent of the British the tables were turned, and in the nineteenth century war was twice carried from India into Afghanistan. Twice did we enter the country in the endeavour to set up a friendly ruler, and counter Russian



intrigue. In the first war in 1839-42, which was undertaken to replace Shah Shuja, a grandson of Ahmad Shah, upon the throne from which he had been driven by Dost Muhammad Barakzai, there was a pro-British party, as the Barakzai chief had enemies and Shah Shuja had some adherents. In the second war in 1878-80 every man in the country was violently hostile. To defeat Afghan regular armies in the field was a comparatively easy matter, but Afghan irregulars in their native hills proved themselves to be formidable antagonists. After the first war Dost Muhammad re-established himself upon the throne with the consent of the British Government, and in 1852 a Treaty of Alliance was made with him. In the second war the Amir Sher Ali, a son of Dost Muhammad, was driven from Kabul, and died shortly afterwards: a period of much disorder followed, and peace was eventually obtained by the recognition as Amir of his nephew and defeated rival, Abdul Rahman, who had been for nearly twelve years a refugee in Russian Turkestan.

By the arrangements which were made with him on his accession, the independence of Afghanistan was recognized, but, in consideration of the payment of a subsidy by the Government of India, and of a promise of protection against unprovoked aggression, Abdul Rahman undertook to direct his foreign policy in accordance with British advice. Able and ruthless, Abdul Rahman subdued the Kafirs and the Hazaras, overawed rebellious tribesmen, and did much to weld the heterogeneous population of his country south of the Hindu Kush into an Afghan nation. For some time after his accession his attitude was well described by Sir Alfred Lyall:

"Shall I stretch out my hand to the Indus,  
That the English may fill it with gold?  
Shall I beckon aid from the Oxus,  
The Russian blows hot and blows cold."

He was, however, shrewd enough to see the advantages of the British alliance, and he remained faithful to his engagements.

Whether the Afghans are, as they allege, the children of Israel is an interesting problem of ethnology. Their facial characteristics, their fierce monotheism, and the tradition that they entered Afghanistan from the west, support the hypothesis. We know from the Book of Kings that the deported Israelites were planted in Halah and Habor (Mesopotamia), and in the cities of the Medes ; and Sargon, the Assyrian King, who deported them, congratulates himself upon having commanded his captives "from the four quarters of the world of foreign speech, of manifold tongues," to speak one language (Assyrian). These orders are sufficient to explain the disappearance of the Hebrew tongue. There is also nothing improbable in the supposition that a further migration of the exiles to the eastward took place during the succeeding Medean, Persian, or Parthian dynasties.

The Afghans have a bad reputation for treachery, but their manly spirit and their love of independence entitle them to respect ; while a bluff geniality, a sense of humour, and a keen appreciation of a jest make it easy and pleasant to meet them as friends. The treatment of the English ladies who fell into their hands as prisoners in 1842 was much to their credit. Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad, murdered Macnaghten, the British Envoy, with his own hand ; but he carried Mrs. Waller, who was in a delicate state of health, on his own horse across a dangerous ford of the Panjshir river.

On the death of Abdul Rahman, his son Habib Ullah succeeded him as Amir in 1901. For three years after his accession Habib Ullah's attitude was somewhat uncertain, but in 1904-5 Sir Louis Dane was sent on a mission to Kabul. The goodwill of the new ruler was secured ; the alliance was renewed and strengthened by a treaty, and a visit to India in 1906-7, in the time of Lord Minto, made Habib Ullah a firm friend of the British. The value of this friendship to Great Britain and to India during the war with Germany and Turkey was immense. If Afghanistan



had been hostile, India could not have made the great contribution, which it did, to the success of the Allies.

In 1919 Habib Ullah was assassinated; and, with his assassination, the Afghan attitude changed. His son Aman Ullah, who was then only twenty-six years of age, succeeded to the throne. Influenced apparently by enemy propaganda and by the memories of the former wars, and misled by exaggerated rumours as to the extent of the disaffection in India, the new Amir threw his armies on India at a time when the rising in the Punjab had only just been quelled, and the Indian army was in the throes of demobilization after the Great War. The third Afghan War, unlike the other two, was an invasion by Afghanistan as in the days of yore, and a very unprovoked invasion too. The Afghan army was easily defeated, but much of the work with the tribes within the political boundary fixed by Sir Mortimer Durand—settlement, civilizing influences and the like—was swept away. The Afghan political situation also which had prevailed since 1881 was entirely changed. Instead of an Afghanistan which it must support or might invade, India was once more confronted with the possibility of invasion from the north.

With the Afghans driven across their border, and the tribes duly brought to order, the next thing was to patch up a peace that would endure. Great Britain and India were weary of war, and any question of dictating terms at Kabul was unthinkable. It was held in India that the control of the foreign relations of the Amir was not now necessary, and in Sir Hamilton Grant's negotiations at Rawalpindi in 1919 to close the state of war on the frontier the claim to do this was withdrawn, and it was arranged that future relations between Afghanistan and the British Empire should be defined in a treaty. After prolonged negotiations, brought to an end with great skill by Sir Henry Dobbs, a treaty which was little more than a "gentleman's agreement" was signed in 1921. Kabul was to be entirely free from British control; the Amir became a King; the



British subsidy, so welcome to previous Amirs, was to cease; foreigners might come to Kabul, and the King of Kabul would henceforward be in direct communication with Downing Street, and not with the Foreign Department of the Government of India. The future is uncertain, but up to the present there has been no cause to regret this arrangement. A strong, friendly, and progressive kingdom of Afghanistan, in which trade and traffic are safe and are freely permitted, is what we have aimed at for years. The withdrawal of our promise of support has left H.M.'s Government free to consult British and Indian interests only in any contingency that may arise: and the subsidy has been saved.

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION

Since the conclusion of peace, everything so far as the King is concerned, has gone well. The young King—by his own desire and intuition, for he had no Western schooling—is using his endeavours to civilize and Westernize his State. Educational colleges, military training, roads, electrification, motors, justice—all proceed on more modern lines. Continental engineers and motorists throng to Kabul and jostle the Afghans in the bazars. The *corps diplomatique* is representative of Europe. French, Germans, Russians, Italians, all carry on the work of commercial Westernization. The British, less familiar in the bazars, are in a position of dignified friendship. The British Minister, Sir Francis Humphrys, is most successful in his relationship with the Court of Kabul. But the change since 1914 will be recognized.

Russians in various capacities have been all over Afghanistan, and for some years the Soviet Russians have done their best to stir up trouble in India. There is a line of advance which may have grave results for Afghanistan. Russia has formed four small racial Soviet republics on the Oxus—Usbegistan, Turcomanistan, Kara Khirgiz, and

Tajikistan. The first three are Tartar, and the latter Persian ; but the Oxus, though the political boundary, is not an ethnological one. People of these four tribes and races live in considerable numbers on the Afghan side of the river. The Soviet régime in these republics is carrying out some remarkable activities, which in themselves are far from sinister ; but so far as Afghanistan is concerned, the line of activity is believed to lie in stimulating the people who are akin to the republics to demand inclusion, especially on the ground of the material advantages which Soviet Russian action within them is developing. Should Kabul object, the Soviets might move troops with the ostensible object of freeing an oppressed people.

It is possible, therefore, that at any moment trouble may arise. Otherwise the new status of Afghanistan, and the activities of its enterprising young King, are factors which are by no means in themselves to be regretted. It is also reassuring to know that the wisdom and dignity with which our affairs at Kabul are conducted will, if anything can, move the Afghans to look to Great Britain both in the matter of trade development and in friendship.

Those who follow the first visit of Elphinstone and then of Captain Burnes to Kabul before the first Afghan War will realize how, with a wiser way of gaining our ends, that of a strong and friendly neighbour, we might from earliest days have had the firmest friendship with the mountain State, with whose people we have so much in common.

## II. IRAQ AND PALESTINE

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The trend of the notes that have appeared from time to time in the "Asian Circle" have necessarily and inevitably tended to elucidate current "political" tendencies and actions, and in the present number an attempt will be made briefly to describe the principal economic tendencies in



Iraq and Palestine. Some of these economic factors, though they appear today as a cloud no bigger than a man's hand upon the political horizon, may within a decade radically alter current political tendencies.

#### IRAQ OIL

During the past year the Turkish Petroleum Company, Ltd.,\* which has a capital of £2,000,000, of which all but £500,000 has been called up, have been busily engaged in operating the concession granted to them by the Iraq Government in 1925. A staff of some 130 Europeans and 2,000 locals are engaged in testing by the drill no less than ten sites situated, with the exception of one or two, at Qaiyarah, along a line drawn from Kirkuk to Kifri, and thence southwards along a line roughly parallel to the left bank of the Shatt al Adhaim. Oil has already been found at Qaiyarah and Kirkuk, the production on the latter site being on a scale and at a pressure which gives hope of large production. Other wells are being rapidly drilled, and further reports will be awaited with great interest. Until, however, the results of drilling indicate that an annual production of something in the neighbourhood of 3,000,000 tons for a period of years is assured, no steps can prudently be taken to construct the 600 miles or so of pipe-line necessary to link up these oil-fields with the Mediterranean; for it is understood that pipe-lines of this length cannot economically be laid or worked unless to deal with quantities of oil of this order and magnitude.

The selection of a terminus on the Mediterranean will require the most careful expert examination: from Alexandria to Haifa inclusive no possible point seems free from more or less serious difficulty, and much patient research on the part of the Company's engineers will be necessary

\* Subject to an interest of 5 per cent. in the capital of the company by M. Calouste Gulbenkian, one-half of the remainder is held by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Ltd. (who have offered a moiety of their share to an American group), one-quarter by the Royal Dutch Shell, and one-quarter by a French group.

before even preliminary proposals can be made to the Governments concerned.

### TRANS-DESERT RAILWAYS

The discovery of oil in commercial quantities has stimulated interest in Trans-Desert Railway problems, and the possibility of railway construction from the Tigris to the Mediterranean basin is being actively canvassed in various quarters.

Of these schemes it is perhaps sufficient to say here that they one and all require a Government guarantee and a volume of traffic in excess of that likely to be available for many years to come. But local opinion is more likely to be focussed on the probable political than on the inevitable financial results of the various alignments suggested. A line of less than 200 miles in length would link up Baghdad and Mosul with Nisibin and Turkey, and via Turkey with Syria. A line of some 480 miles in length would unite Baghdad and French Syria via Tikrit and Homs ; or a line of some 680 miles would unite Baghdad with Palestine and Trans-Jordan via Hit and Haifa.

The average Iraqi, preferring, perversely but naturally enough, a devil he knows to a devil he doesn't know, would probably if left to himself choose the first-named alignment, or, failing that, the third (but without financial responsibility). In the long run, however, it will probably be found that, whatever the advantages to the oil companies concerned of a railway line to follow, they will prefer to retain their independence and to construct the pipe line by motor transport by the alignment best suited to their needs, sooner than embark on a policy of railway construction, beset as it must be with so many political, financial, and other obstacles unconnected with their own affairs.

### DIYALA COTTON PLANTATIONS, LTD.

This company started on the Diyala in Iraq in 1924, but has suffered from unexpected difficulties and delay. Its



original agreement with the Iraq Government was found unworkable, and the terms of agreement were tentatively revised in 1926, but have not yet been agreed, though it is understood that revised working arrangements have been for some time under discussion with the Crown Agents, and that it only remains to put the finishing touches thereto.

If only in the interests of Iraq, it is greatly to be hoped that this company will be given a chance to show what can be done in cotton growing in Iraq next year, for it is to the produce of the soil that Iraq must eventually look for national prosperity. Agriculture, and not oil-winning, must always be the occupation and the livelihood of the vast majority of its inhabitants. The oil once extracted from the ground is dissipated and cannot again be used, but bountiful nature, if wisely coaxed, will continue to produce, from every acre of land in Iraq which is capable of receiving water, crops even more abundant than they were when God first planted a garden in Eden.

#### DEAD SEA POTASH

There has been a recrudescence of public interest, stimulated by frequent questions in Parliament, in the Dead Sea Potash Concession.

It has been stated in Parliament that this concession was put out to tender in 1925 by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, and it has been stated in Parliament (November 30, 1927) that four tenders were received and that it had been decided in principle to grant a concession to Major Tulloch and Mr. Novomeysky based on their offer, provided that suitable terms and conditions could be agreed upon with them and that they furnished satisfactory financial guarantees. Negotiations on these points are stated to be proceeding.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore in the House of Commons on November 30 and December 5 was at great pains to emphasize the speculative nature of the business. "Whatever," he said, "these salts may or may not be worth, the

process of getting them out and the process of marketing makes the whole business very experimental and necessarily speculative, and I do not think it is advisable to ask the British taxpayer to invest money, certainly not at this stage, in enterprises of this kind." He was probably thinking of Magadi soda—but even so he himself perhaps exaggerated the speculative nature of the business, in which the principal factors are far more definitely and easily calculable than would be the case in, say, an oil-field, and the product is of scarcely less value to the markets of Europe than petroleum.

From the surface of the Dead Sea measuring 350 square miles, lying 1,300 feet below sea-level, 6 million tons of water are evaporated daily in summer, equivalent to four-tenths of an inch over the whole surface, and half that amount in winter. If a quantity of this liquor is isolated and subjected to evaporation the first salt to be deposited is gypsum, of no commercial value. Then the sodium chloride comes down, leaving in the liquid to be dealt with elsewhere the potassium chloride and magnesium chloride—the "carnallite" of Strasbourg. These having been deposited by further evaporation, there still remains magnesium chloride and finally bromide.

Three-quarters of all the salts produced consists of common salt—itsself the raw material of European chemical industry as a source of soda, bleaching-powder and hydrochloric acid.

Of the balance about 10 per cent. is carnallite—from which potassium chloride is extracted. This salt is of such value for a variety of purposes, especially as a fertilizer, that in Germany alone before the war over a million tons was produced, from deep-level mines at Strasbourg.

The demand for fertilizers is limited only by the price, and if the hopes of the promoters of this venture are fully realized, and if potash can be placed upon the market at a substantially lower cost than that of the German monopoly at Strasbourg, the effect would be far-reaching in the extreme.



These and other reasons, with which the present writer is not competent to deal, even did space permit, suggest that His Majesty's Government might be well advised further to consider the possibility of active participation in this venture. They should at any rate, in view of the immense sacrifices made by the taxpayer in the Middle East generally and in Palestine in particular, retain the right at some future date to control the concession, if only to prevent restriction of production in the interests of the concessionaires. The quantity of potash available for extraction is estimated at 1,300 million tons, a source of supply second only in volume to the 2,000 million tons of Strasbourg. The future of science is mercifully veiled from our eyes, but that is a very good reason why the British Government should think twice before giving an exclusive concession, even for a limited period, for the extraction and sale of this unlimited supply of a valuable commodity.

#### RUTENBERG CONCESSION

This concession, which was granted in 1921 by the Palestine Government, with the approval of the Colonial Office, for the development of electric power in Palestine, seems to have made little progress during the past twelve months.

The Palestine Electric Corporation, which was incorporated in Palestine in March, 1923, to take over the Rutenberg concession, has obtained from the Government of Palestine the necessary land required for the construction of the dam, power-house and other buildings connected with the scheme for damming the Jordan just south of its exit from the Sea of Galilee. Electric power stations constructed by the company exist at Telaviv, Jaffa and Haifa, the last-named station being the largest, but nothing else has been allowed to transpire as to the company's plans. Its capital is £1,000,000 in one pound shares, of which 500,000 are Ordinary and 500,000 Preference. According to the Memorandum of Association, the objects of the

company are very wide, and indeed appear to include everything connected with the general development of Palestine—*e.g.*, electric light and power, mining, oil, irrigation, roads, canals, pumping stations, banking, amusement houses, etc. The directors include the Marquess of Reading (Chairman), Sir Alfred Mond, Sir Hugo Hirst, Mr. James de Rothschild and Mr. Bernhard Baron. It is reasonable to suppose that when the Dead Sea Potash Concession has been finally granted and a company formed to take over the concession and work it, the Palestine Electric Corporation will find some outlet for their energies in this connection.

### HAIFA PORT

It is understood that a substantial sum of money will be set apart from the recent Palestine loan for the construction of a port at Haifa with the object presumably of reducing freight rates at that port. Whether the heavy expenditure involved is justified in present conditions must be to many a matter of doubt.

The total exports from Palestine are not more than £2,000,000—less than half the value of imports. The vast bulk of the country's exports consist of agricultural produce, including especially oranges, hides, dried fruit, wine, olive oil, tobacco, and there are those who hold that the needs of this restricted trade will best be met by continuing the present railway from Kantara to Port Fuad, opposite Port Said, a distance of some thirty miles. With daily railway communication with Port Said, Palestine produce could be shipped by direct boat without transhipment in small parcels to almost every port in the world; whereas there seems no possibility of the trade at Haifa increasing to such a point as to justify direct shipment to more than one or two ports, and for agricultural produce transhipment constitutes a very serious drawback.

A railway from Haifa to Beirut, a distance of seventy miles, would likewise bring traffic, and with traffic pros-



perity, to Haifa, and in the present state of law and order in Syria there is no reason to think that Haifa would not, on the whole, gain considerably more than Beirut, and Palestine railways most of all, for there is little doubt that there would be a substantial carrying trade from Beirut to Port Said for onward shipment thence.

It is not possible in the limits of a brief article in a review of this type to weigh however briefly the arguments for and against the various railway and port schemes affecting Palestine, but enough has perhaps been said to show that there are valid arguments against expenditure of money on improving the port at Haifa in the present state of Palestine trade, and of devoting such money as can be spared towards improved land communications, in particular by rail.

### III. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAQ

The presence in London for about six weeks in October, November, and December of King Faisal of Iraq attracted public attention to the Arab State which is at once in special treaty relations with Great Britain and a mandated territory. Now, it was provided in the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1926 that the question of the admissibility of Iraq into the League of Nations might be raised, first of all for 1928, and then at successive periods of four years; also, it was reiterated in this treaty that Iraq should accept full military and financial responsibility for the maintenance of internal order and security from foreign aggression not later than 1928. It was mainly round these two points that recent negotiations revolved in London. But it is doubtful whether King Faisal would have been moved to come to London this autumn had not an event of singular significance taken place last June.

This was the resignation of Major-General Daly from his task of supervising the reorganization of the Iraq army. It is known that General Daly embraced the scheme of conscription for Iraq which was favoured by such Sunni

Arabs as King Faisal, Jafar Pasha, Nouri Pasha and others. Ostensibly this favouring of conscription was done in the name of expense ; a voluntary army in Iraq, it was said, was intolerably expensive, so that if by 1928 Iraq were to provide for her own defence, conscription was a necessity. This line of reasoning, natural enough, perhaps, to those whose envious eyes were often cast on the military despotisms of Persia and Turkey, was weakened in the eyes of impartial observers by the fact that the Baghdad Majlis plainly showed itself hostile to the idea of conscription. The Shiah party and the tribesmen were implacably opposed to it ; nor would the Kurds of the north have obeyed the behest of Sunni Arabs in Baghdad. To these facts the High Commissioner could not remain blind, and it was largely because of his insistence upon them that General Daly resigned, being succeeded in October last by Brigadier-General G. G. Loch.

It was in these delicate circumstances that King Faisal and his Cabinet persuaded themselves that an appeal to the British Government must be made over the head of the High Commissioner. If only, they argued to themselves, sufficient emendations to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty in the direction of a relaxation of formal British control could be secured from the British Government, the King might then return to Iraq as the saviour of his people.

The facts of the case, however, were too strong for the Sharifian representative and his supporters. His early application for immediate admission into the League of Nations failed, as it was bound to fail, but since it was made on the basis of asking for more than you expect in the hope of obtaining just what you want, failure in this particular may not have meant bitter disappointment. Iraqis in general do not set great store upon the League of Nations. In any case, during the discussions in London it became clear that Iraq was unfit for League membership for the following reasons if for no others: First, the personal prestige of the King has been on the wane ever



since the treaty with Turkey. Secondly, the proposal to establish conscription sharply riveted the wedge already existing between Sunni and Shiah, or townsman and tribesman, in Iraq. And thirdly, the solution of the Kurdish problem in Iraq is unhappily not yet in sight. There is too often displayed among the Arab politicians a tendency to regard the Kurds in the same light as the Kemalists regard the Turkish Kurds; a fact which the League of Nations, whose Commission made special provision for the retention by the Kurds of their peculiar privileges, could hardly overlook.

In a word, the Iraq Government, if its aim during recent weeks in London was the procuring as its desert of a wider measure of independence—that is, freedom from British control—badly mistimed its effort. It is possible, indeed, that at no period since the establishment of constitutional monarchy in Iraq have the prestige of the mandatory authority been so high and the popularity of the ruling dynasty so low. In every particular, indeed, whether personal, internal, or external, Iraq is at the moment unfitted to enter into the comity of nations which is found at Geneva.

The new Treaty that was signed in London on December 14 by Jafar Pasha affects very little. Its most notable clauses, apart from the more friendly tone in which the Treaty is couched, are those dealing with the conditional promise of H.M. Government to support Iraq's candidature for admission into the League of Nations in 1932, and with the postponing of the military problems of Iraq.

There can be little doubt that the failure of the Anglo-Iraqi negotiations will have still further depressed the standing of King Faisal among his subjects. This may bring gladness to the heart of some of his neighbours, such as Reza Shah Pahlavi of Persia, or King Ibn Saud of the Hijaz and Najd, but which can hardly speed the realization of H.M. Government's general desires to decrease Britain's responsibility for Iraq.

To narrate the history of King Faisal's connection with the British, and of his own ambitions, is probably superfluous here. His services to the British cause, in co-operating with Colonel T. E. Lawrence on the right flank of General Allenby's armies, are a fact, though possibly a fact which may be variously interpreted; and it is indisputable that he has generally perceived that his own fortunes are intimately linked up with the prestige of Great Britain in the Middle East. Nor can it be denied that progress in Iraq since he was installed King at Baghdad has been remarkable. It would appear, in fact, that so long as the menace of Turkish invasion hung over Iraq there was a disposition on the part of most Iraqis to rally round their King; but whether the unity thus in way of creation has been furthered since the signing at Angora of the Treaty with Turkey is open to doubt. Yet however one reads the present situation in Iraq, the collaboration of the Amir Faisal and of King Faisal with the British is something that should certainly gain for him the sympathy of the British people.

Upon the general future it would be rash to prophesy. A decrease in the strength of British military forces in Iraq may be taken as certain, if for no other reason than that something must be done for the *beaux yeux* of that strangely vicarious person, the British tax-payer; and it may be that some of Iraq's financial obligations will be minimized or annulled in the next year or two. But upon the political development of Iraq it is difficult indeed to speak with precision. If the Iraqis in power work to destroy the constitutional nature of the King's power, and of their own; if, looking to Teheran and Angora and Mecca, they attempt to set up a Dictator (who, unlike the rulers of Persia and Turkey and the Hijaz and Najd, would not be a popular hero); and if, as in more mediæval times, they endeavour to stifle the rights of minorities, or of majorities less educated and experienced than they themselves, then Iraq's period of tutelage in the hands of Great Britain will be longer than that now widely suggested—that is, for



another five years. But in the lower forms of administration in Iraq, Anglo-Arab co-operation is producing excellent results, and if the Baghdad Government works loyally with the Power to which, as Sir Henry Dobbs reminded the Iraqis last June, Iraq is bound by ties of "gratitude and obligation," and does not seek to exploit or coerce any section of Iraq's population, but seeks to weld it into an adequate whole, it may be that in a few more years the Iraq State may deem the moment apt again to ask the British Government to put forward its name as a candidate for the League. Even then, however, it is probable that special treaty arrangements will be made by Iraq with her patient rescuer and guide.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## DYARCHY IN INDIAN PROVINCES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

BY SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, BARRISTER-AT-LAW  
(Late Finance Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa.)

### INTRODUCTORY

I AM grateful to the authorities of the East India Association for permitting me to bring up for discussion today the subject of the working of "Dyarchy" in the nine major provincial Governments in the Indian Empire. The expression of my sense of gratefulness is by no means conventional, as it is well known that this old-established Association of Indians and Anglo-Indians—using the latter term in its classical sense—tries to do good to India in various ways, one amongst which is avoiding, so far as possible, subjects which are of too contentious a character, and the discussion of which is likely to evoke acute differences and lead to acerbity of feeling. Now, it must be frankly admitted that, in the nature of things, intimately connected as it is with the question of constitutional reforms in India, a survey of the working of Dyarchy—even from the purely administrative standpoint, such as I propose making—is bound to be more or less controversial. But in my humble opinion even contentious Indian questions may be discussed with advantage, provided the discussion is carried on in temperate language and free from the taint of partisanship, and if only those who may take part in it will constantly keep in view the main object of this Association, which is that of bettering the condition of India by affording a common platform for the exchange of views, freely and frankly, to persons interested in the welfare of that great country. It is actuated by this ideal



that I shall attempt to discuss the problem of Dyarchy, not from the political but the administrative standpoint. If I may be permitted a personal reference, it is to say that I may claim to have seen the working of Dyarchy in a major province not only from without, but also from within, for a longer period than any other Indian non-official, since it fell to my lot to have watched it, both as President of the Legislative Council in Behar and Orissa, and also as Finance Member of the Government of that province, for more than five years, that, too, during the tenure of office of four Governors—two permanent and two officiating. But I am aware that the subject is a large one, and its adequate treatment would require time and space which we have not at our disposal. I shall therefore try to make this survey suggestive rather than exhaustive.

#### THE "STATUTORY COMMISSION"

The Government of India Act, 1915—as amended by subsequent Acts, notably the Reform Act of 1919—is divided into twelve parts, of which only one (Part VI.A) consists of but one section (84A). But this part of only one section is perhaps the most important, from the point of view of those interested in the development on sound lines of the Indian constitution. I make, therefore, no apology for quoting the almost entire text of this section, as I have found that its terms are not unoften forgotten by many of those who discuss the question of Indian reforms. It runs as follows: "At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purpose of . . . inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether, and to what extent, it is desirable

to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislature is or is not desirable. The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty."

The terms of the section quoted above make abundantly clear the importance of the Statutory Commission, in view of the nature of the work which will have to be done by that body. It may be said, in brief, that the future political destiny of India will probably depend on the result of the Commission's investigations and recommendations, as embodied in their Report. As the personnel of the Commission has not yet been announced, it may be permissible to express the hope that, when appointed, it will be found to have been so constituted as will command the confidence of all the classes in India whose interests or aspirations are likely to be affected by its deliberations. It is also in the hope that my statement and the discussion on it may, to some extent, enable the Commission, whenever appointed, to appreciate the inherent difficulties of the present situation in India, as the result of the many serious administrative defects brought to light in the working, during the last seven years, of the system of Dyarchy in the Governments of the major Indian Provinces, that I have ventured to take up the time of the East India Association.

### THE "OLD SYSTEM"

As administrative problems and political developments cannot be dealt with as if they were inscribed on *tabula rasa*, it seems to me necessary to advert, howsoever briefly, to the system of government which obtained in British India before the Reforms were introduced at the beginning of 1921. I am not going to inflict upon you any historical sketch of the origin and the growth of the



administrative and political system which had come to exist in British India, culminating in the constitutional changes associated with the names of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. My object is to indicate—on authorities which cannot be assailed on the ground of any anti-government feeling—the defects which were found in the British Indian administration as it then existed—defects not only from the point of view of the thinking and politically minded classes in India, but also from that of those (whether British or Indian) who would favour a liberal and progressive constitution for that country, in the interest of the British Commonwealth as a whole. To begin with the authoritative declaration made with the imprimatur of the Secretary of State for India, we find the following statement in the Material and Moral Progress Report of India for 1924-25, presented to Parliament and issued as a Blue-book last year :

“ Unlike other countries, in which the permanent officials are controlled by Ministers, the administrators of India not merely execute a policy, they also initiate it. For many decades the Indian Civil Service was not only an administration, but it was also a government.”

I may next invite attention, as bearing on the same subject, to the statement of an ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain—the Right Hon. Ramsay MacDonald. After studying the British Indian system in the course of several visits to India—during one of which (1913-14) he traversed the whole country as a Member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services—this is how Mr. MacDonald described the system of government in British India in his book called “ The Government of India,” which was issued in 1915 :

“ The Indian Civil Service is more than a collection of individuals. It is a bureaucracy with a corporate life, a machine, a freemasonry. It moulds the raw recruit into its own image. It has to work as a whole. Many officers become wheels in a mechanism working by rule and regulation, (and) the machine reduces its parts to mechanisms. (Thus) the machine of Government has become a thing



apart, and by separating itself from the organic life of India, it has over-emphasized the fact that India is ruled by foreigners. . . . Secretariats become all-powerful; not a sparrow falls but is recorded, reported, and re-recorded, docketed, initialed and minuted; not a suggestion emanates from below but is regarded with suspicion or hostility as something of a foreign origin: not a thing is done without involving the whole machine in the doing of it. Then, it is the Government on one side and the people on the other. Such is both the mechanism and the psychology of the Service, and the one cannot be separated from the other. All this is unhealthy, is bad government, cannot last."

I shall quote one more passage—taken from the editorial columns of a well-known Anglo-Indian daily, issued from Allahabad—the *Pioneer*. This is how this journal (which is generally and perhaps not unjustly regarded as the spokesman, in the press of India, of the official hierarchy) sketched the British Indian administrative system as it obtained on the eve of the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, in 1921. Said the *Pioneer*: "The most perfect system of administration which the world has ever seen has come to be regarded by many—and an increasing number—as a top-heavy bureaucratic hierarchy, Byzantine in method if not in spirit, detached from practical conditions, mechanical and doctrinaire." No wonder, if after this, an enthusiast for Indian Reform like the late Mr. Montagu characterized, in the course of a speech delivered in 1917 in the House of Commons, the system of government that then obtained in British India as "wooden and antediluvian."

I have no desire to multiply such extracts, for those already brought together from authoritative and unimpeachable sources clearly establish a consensus of weighty opinion as to the nature of the administrative system that obtained in British India till 1920. It was run—and run very efficiently—by the Indian Civil Service, from their own point of view as to what was good for India, but it was clearly one in which even the educated, thinking, and politically minded classes had no lot or part. The latter



could perhaps partially influence the administration, but could not either control or direct the policy of the Government. I myself was for more than one term an elected member of the old Imperial Legislative Council, in which the elected element was overborne by the nominees of the Governor-General and in which, therefore, howsoever much reason and argument might be—according to us—on our side, the strength of voting was always against us. Even if we had possessed much greater influence, it would not have been a sound system, since it is a well-known political maxim that influence is not government. The Morley-Minto scheme thus did not afford a sound basis for the steady development of the Indian constitution towards the establishment of responsible government.

#### SOME RESULTS OF THE "OLD SYSTEM"

The results to the credit or the discredit of the "old system" are to be found stated in a large number of books; in fact, the literature on the subject is overwhelmingly voluminous. Eminent Anglo-Indian officials like Sir John Strachey and Sir George Chesney set forth their conclusions, from the official standpoint, in works which are justly regarded as classical; while the non-official standpoint has also found adequate expression in the works of a number of British and Indian publicists of whom Messrs. Digby, Naoroji, and Dutt are well known. My object is not to rake up today this age-old controversy, as it will serve no useful purpose, the old system having been modified for better or worse. The truth very probably in this matter—as in many others—is to be found somewhere between the two opposed sets of opinions. No sensible Indian can justly withhold his appreciation of the great work done by the British services in India in evolving a stable system of administration in that country (out of the disruption which prevailed therein in the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries), in establishing law and order on a footing which may compare favourably

with the conditions in many Western countries, in introducing means of communication like railways, telegraphs, and those other paraphernalia of modern civilization which we naturally associate with an efficient and advanced system of administration. All this may and must be freely and frankly conceded. But when we come to consider in these days the results achieved by any Government, we cannot confine our attention merely to the blessings of peace and order or the benefits brought in their train by courts or communications. We have naturally to look to other things as well for forming a just estimate, and these are the economic condition of the people, their resources, their fighting strength against famines and the ravages caused by epidemics, as also their position in the sphere of education, the educational facilities open to them, and above all the share they enjoy in moulding and directing the policy of their Government. It is the universal opinion of educated Indians that highly efficient as the British Government in India has been as an administrative machinery, it has not been sufficiently responsive in these higher spheres of activities, which are of even more vital interest to the well-being of the people than the mere maintenance of law and order or the administration of justice by courts manned by competent officers. No living Indian is more distinguished than the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha alike for his keen perception of and deep insight into the realities of Indian life, as also for his appreciation of the benefits conferred by British rule on India. Yet this is what he is reported to have stated to a representative of the *Manchester Guardian* only last July: "Great progress has been made in many directions. But—for there is a but—there is so much leeway still to be made up. I am speaking for my own province of Bengal. The poverty there is appalling, and the health of the people is so bad that disease, ignorance, and poverty would seem to be the lot to which we are born. . . . To a large extent it may be the people's own fault. . . . I recognize that



progress must be gradual and slow having regard to our limitations, but I cannot help thinking at the same time that hitherto the Government has been content to keep law and order, and there has not been strenuous endeavour to better the lot of the people that I feel there would have been if the people had been your own. . . . The fact remains that material progress has been very slow. It does not seem to me—speaking again for Bengal—that the people are in any way better off today than they were, say, thirty, or even fifty years ago.” What Lord Sinha has said of Bengal is, in the opinion of educated Indians, generally applicable to the conditions of the other provinces as well. Now, if this view of the material progress of India under British rule be accepted as fairly correct, it is easy to understand the anxiety of British statesmen to so modify the old system as to make it more mindful of the pressing needs and requirements of the people, and more responsive to their material welfare and moral progress. Hence—I take it—the memorable declaration made by the then Secretary of State (the late Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu) in August, 1917, as representing the view of the Coalition Government (or, in other words, of all the great political parties in the United Kingdom) which is now, in more carefully worded language, embodied in the Preamble to the Government of India Amendment Act of 1919, and to which I shall have to refer hereafter.

### THE “NEW SYSTEM”

The new system introduced to set right the inherent defects of the old was primarily by application to the major provincial administrations in the Indian Empire (numbering nine) of the principle known by the word “Dyarchy.” Under it the provincial administration is divided into two halves—called the reserved and the transferred—the former being administered by the “Governor-in-Council” and the latter by the “Governor-in-Ministry.” As, except to those who may be familiar with the present-

day administrative conditions in India, these two expressions and what they stand for are likely to be vague, I may explain this system in a few words. The reserved half of the Provincial Government is administered by the Governor and his Executive Council, the members of which, like the Governor himself, are appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor, and who, as such, are naturally responsible to the King in Parliament. The transferred half, on the other hand, is administered by the Governor working with his Ministry, the members of which are chosen by himself from amongst the elected members of the Provincial Legislature, and who are, as such, in theory responsible to that body. The reserved half, generally speaking, are in charge of law and order—namely, the recruitment and control of the executive and the judicial services, as also of the police, the administration of justice, land revenue, irrigation, and some other departments, particularly that of the whole financial system. The transferred half, broadly put, administer what are called the “nation-building departments”—agriculture, education, local self-government, industries and the excise department, besides some others not so important. Except for three years in Bengal and the Central Provinces (due to their Legislatures having refused to vote the Minister’s salaries) this system has now been in operation in nine of the major provinces of the Indian Empire since January, 1921. Its merits and demerits, as disclosed in its seven years’ working, are, in the main, the subject of my address.

I may premise by saying that public opinion, not only Indian but British as well, seems to be almost unanimous that Dyarchy has few merits, if any, but that its demerits are unfortunately so great as to render it not only unworkable but practically useless as a means of qualifying Indians to fit them “for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire,” which was the *raison d’être* of the Reform



Act of 1919, as expressly declared in the words I have just quoted from its Preamble. I shall quote in support of this view the opinions expressed—no, not by the poor Ministers themselves, who may be charged with a hankering after greater powers—but by eminent British statesmen and Anglo-Indian administrators, as also leading British and Indian non-officials, whose credit cannot justly be impeached on the score of being influenced by any anti-Government feeling. I shall quote a few authorities only.

#### SOME OPINIONS ON "DYARCHY"

Speaking in the House of Lords, this is how the present Secretary of State for India, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead, is reported to have expressed himself on the subject under consideration :

"I myself was always very distrustful of the dyarchical principle. It seems to me to savour of a kind of pedantic and hide-bound constitution, to which Anglo-Saxon communities have not generally responded, and which in my anticipation was unlikely to make a successful appeal to a community (the Indian) whose political ideals were so largely derived from Anglo-Saxon models."

Dealing with the same subject in an earlier debate in the House of Lords, the late Lord Curzon—who was not unjustly regarded as a great authority on the official view of matters Indian—delivered himself in the following terms :

"I abominate the system of Dyarchy, but when the Committee of your Lordships' House decided to recommend it, because they said they could not find another alternative, I bowed my head and acquiesced."

Lord Ronaldshay—who, as Governor of Bengal, had great opportunities for watching the working of the system in that province—has recorded his view of Dyarchy as follows :

"It (Dyarchy) was certainly a novel type of Camarilla, a sort of political Siamese twins with the Governor as the umbilical link holding them together. Like the two-headed eagle of Byzantium, it looked East and West—the Ministry to the Indian Legislature, the Executive Council to Westminster and Whitehall." It is a "complicated con-

stitutional machine, admittedly a makeshift of a purely transitional character," and "the dyarchic Government thus resembled the famous founder of Janiculum, so conveniently dowered with two faces, the better to look forward while maintaining an eye upon what lay behind."

Only the other day (September 16), in the course of an article contributed by him to a London evening paper, Sir Reginald Craddock referred to what he calls "the strange expedient of Dyarchy" as a "hybrid system," which "cannot continue," as "no country or province can be successfully governed by two independent Cabinets." That is exactly the Indian view.

In 1925 the Government of India published the opinions they had obtained from the various Provincial Governments on the working of Dyarchy. These were sought for the benefit of the members of the Muddiman Reforms Enquiry Committee, which had been appointed to investigate the working of the new system. The two most notable opinions in the Report were those expressed by His Excellency Sir William Marris—the Governor of Agra and Oudh—and Sir Henry Wheeler, ex-Governor of Behar and Orissa. Sir William Marris—who, as the Reforms Secretary, had much to do with Dyarchy—recorded his view of it as follows :

"Dyarchy is obviously a cumbrous, complex, confused system, having no logical basis, rooted in compromise, and defensible only as a transitional expedient. The difficulties and defects inherent in the scheme are quite incurable by mere alterations of the Act or the Rules. There is no half-way house between the present and a new constitution. . . . Concessions which fall short of complete provincial autonomy will . . . secure neither stability nor contentment."

Sir Henry Wheeler's view of Dyarchy—which was concurred in by Sir Hugh McPherson, the then Civilian Executive Councillor—was recorded in the following terms :

"There is very little that can be done to smooth the working of Dyarchy or to eliminate the different administra-



tive imperfections. Whatever defects exist are inherent in the system itself. . . . It is workable now, though creakily. The few minor remedies may cure a creak or two, but they will affect the large questions in no degree whatever."

These official testimonies from some of the leading British statesmen and eminent Anglo-Indian administrators speak for themselves, and I have no desire to mar their effect by making any comments. But I think I may usefully supplement them by quoting two non-official opinions—one from a British and the other from an Indian source. Mr. E. Villiers (who twice represented the Presidency and Burdwan European constituency in the Bengal Legislative Council) issued last year a statement as to why he would not offer himself for re-election. In this occur the following passages which bear upon the point under discussion :

"I hold them (the Reforms) to be wrong in practice, since, if we are going to carry out the policy of teaching India how to rule herself with the maximum of efficiency and at the minimum of cost, if we are to teach her a sense of 'political responsibility,' we are going the wrong way to do it. Instead of teaching her responsibility we are teaching her irresponsibility. Until the Reforms are recast, until they are applied solely to the provinces as separate states, until such subjects as are 'transferred' (no matter how small or how unimportant these may be) are transferred lock, stock, and barrel, uninterfered with by Governor and uninfluenced by the Government votes in the Councils, until all this is done (even given that the principle of democracy is right for India) I see no hope for the success of the Reforms. In these circumstances, then, feeling as I do strongly on the question, I do not think that I can any longer serve your interests or the interests of the Province to advantage."

Last, but not least, I shall quote the view of an eminent Indian, Sir Ali Imam, who justly enjoys a reputation for moderation and political sanity, which we naturally associate with one who as an ex-Law Member of the Governor-

General's Executive Council and as an ex-High Court Judge, has held the highest offices under the Crown, both on the executive and the judicial sides. In the course of a speech delivered in this country in 1924, this is what Sir Ali Imam is reported to have said :

"The transferred departments are in the hands of Ministers who are supposed to be responsible to the House. But while all the appearance of democracy is there, it is a shell without the kernel. The Minister has to run his departments, but he must have a permanent Secretary over whom he has no control. If the Minister wants anything to be done, the Secretary can go beyond him to the Governor, and the latter can overrule the Minister. The result is that although the Minister is said to be responsible to the House, he has to carry out the orders of the Governor. The danger lies in this that a form has been given to the constitution but without the substance."

That is putting in the mildest terms what is felt to be true by every thinking Indian. There seems to be thus a consensus of weighty opinion on the inherent defects of Dyarchy as a principle of administration.

#### DYARCHY IN PRINCIPLE.

I shall give later some details of the practical working of the system (as opposed to the theory on which it is based), but before doing so, I may briefly advert to the theory itself. Now, the principle or theory underlying Dyarchy seems to be the assumption that it is practicable to divide a Government vertically and to place the administration of each such divided part or group of parts under more than one executive unit, each responsible to a different sovereign power—as in the present instance the Governor-in-Council to the King in Parliament for the reserved half and the Governor-in-Ministry to the Provincial Legislature for the transferred half. But I venture to say that such an assumption is not at all warranted either by history or the political experience of any of the peoples or nations amongst whom popular or responsible government has ever



obtained. On the contrary, all knowledge and experience point conclusively to the fact that a Government worth the name—whether despotic or responsible—must always be one organic entity, and not split up vertically into so many parts—each part of it responsible to a different sovereign authority. This very important consideration was particularly emphasized in a despatch of the Government of Bombay, who writing in 1918—when the Reforms were under consideration—adverted to this very important aspect of the question in the following, so to say, prophetic words :

“ Practically all proposals of importance put forward by the Minister in charge of any of the departments suggested for transfer will involve a reference to the authorities in charge of the reserved departments. There are few, if any, subjects on which the functions of the two sections of the Government would not overlap ; consequently it will be seldom possible in the case of a transferred subject for a Minister to dispense with a reference to the departments concerned with reserved subjects.”

In other words, Government departments are in the nature of things interdependent and, therefore, constitute an indivisible unit and they cannot be split up into parts or groups and placed under different controlling agencies without rendering the administrative machinery wholly unworkable. That any attempt at an artificial division is thus bound to recoil on the whole system is brought into strong relief in the evidence of the many Ministers who were examined by the Muddiman Reforms Enquiry Committee. It need not surprise one, therefore, that the theory itself on which Dyarchy has been based being politically unsound and unwarranted by administrative experience, the new system has not only failed to give satisfaction either to the administrators or the people, but has been a potent cause of bitterness and strife in the country, between the Government and the politically minded classes in particular.

## THE GOVERNOR IN MINISTRY.

The most notable feature of Dyarchy is the introduction of a Ministry, acting with the Governor in the administration of the transferred departments. It is this system which has provoked the greatest controversy on the ground that under it, as it actually obtains in practice, the Minister has no individuality of his own, nor is he really responsible to the Legislature, but is merely a mandatory of the Governor. Now, we know from experience that in the working of all human institutions, much depends not on the constitution but upon the personalities administering the system, and so, even as things are at present, there is no reason to apprehend that a really qualified and strong Minister—if one such be selected by the Governor—would be but a phonographic automaton of his nominator. Making allowance for it, however, the fact remains that, speaking broadly, Governors have so far preferred to choose safe rather than strong men, and the Ministers have but held sway over the administration because there has not yet been sufficient time for the formation of strong political parties to oppose the Ministers who are supported by the official and non-official nominees of the Governor in the Legislative Councils. Apart from this, the system has been so worked as to have been incapable of evoking any enthusiasm for the Ministers or the Ministry. To begin with some minor matters, but to which yet great importance is attached in India: the Ministers occupy in popular estimation a distinctly inferior status as members of the Government. The reasons for such a view but lie on the surface. Unlike the Governor and the Executive Councillors, the Ministers are not servants of the Crown but are the nominees of the Governor. Again, they suffer in comparison with their colleagues of the Executive Council in some other respects also. The latter take official precedence over the Ministers. The newest Executive Councillor is thus senior to the oldest Minister. The



Ministers are precluded under the law from being nominated by the Governor as Vice-President, and so are not qualified to succeed him as temporary Governor during periods of vacancy arising suddenly, or by the Governor's going on leave. The Vice-Presidentship is under the law reserved for a member of the Executive Council. When the less advanced Indian asks one why power is vested in the Legislative Council to omit or reduce the salary of the Ministers but not of the Executive Councillors, it is not difficult to make him understand it on the ground of constitutional usage and the Ministers' responsibility to the Legislature. But the other differences pointed out above—as also the fact that a Minister is not at present qualified to be in charge of the Finance department—naturally seem incomprehensible, since there seems to him no justification for them. Thus these restrictions and limitations have stamped the Ministry in the opinion of the general public in India as the inferior half of the Provincial Government.

But far more important than any of these is the fact that the Indian Constitution does not at present openly acknowledge the great constitutional principle of joint ministerial responsibility, nor has it so far obtained in any Province in practice, as the result of convention. Curiously the wording of the section dealing with this subject in the Government of India Act (52, cl. 3) is such as to leave no manner of doubt that it contemplates the establishment of joint ministerial responsibility. It is as follows: "In relation to transferred subjects the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers—unless he sees sufficient reason to dissent from their opinion." Now, the use of the words "Ministers" and "their" goes, I submit, to support the view I have propounded. Unfortunately, in the absence so far of judicial interpretation by a competent tribunal, all Governors seem to have taken the view that this clause does not contemplate what is known in constitutional law as "joint ministerial responsibility." The

result is that this very important clause has been rendered a dead letter by the action taken by the Governors, who have framed Rules of Executive Business in a way so as to be enabled to deal separately with each Minister and practically to make him thus subservient to his will. It is to this undesirable aspect of the situation that Sir Ali Imam referred when—in the words quoted by me above—he spoke of the Governor overruling the Minister and of Dyarchy having but the appearance of democracy but being really a shell without the kernel. When it is kept in view that the principle of joint ministerial responsibility is the bedrock of popular or responsible government, so much so that it finds a distinct place and is specifically affirmed in every constitution established during the last two centuries—not excluding that of the present Republic of Turkey—its practical absence from the Indian constitution is obviously a grave and serious defect, detracting to a large extent from the position of the Ministers, as also from the Ministry as a training ground for educated Indians to qualify themselves for enlarged powers and higher public responsibilities. It is to be hoped that the attention of the Statutory Commission would be drawn to this constitutional anomaly and that they would suggest means for setting it right; otherwise we shall continue to have Ministries without joint ministerial responsibility, which is admittedly a contradiction in terms.

Another almost insuperable difficulty affecting the administration of the transferred departments is the division of the subjects under the control of the reserved and the ministerial sides. For the reason stated above—namely, that Government is an indivisible organic entity, which cannot be split up into parts and be yet properly administered—there is experienced almost daily difficulty by the Ministers in executing their policy in the departments under their control. Now, it must be so because the division of departments effected is absolutely arbitrary; and in fact it could not be otherwise. This is a matter on



which the Ministers are—not unjustly—constantly and continuously harping. I shall quote here the words of Sir K. V. Reddi—a Minister in Madras—from a statement made by him in 1923. This is what he said :

“I am Minister of Development minus Forests, and you all know that development depends a good deal on Forests. I am Minister of Industries without Factories, which are a Reserved subject, and Industries without Factories are unimaginable. I am Minister of Agriculture minus Irrigation. You can understand what that means. How can Agriculture be carried on extensively without Irrigation, in the hands of those who are responsible for it, is rather hard to realize. I am also Minister of Industries without Electricity, which is also a Reserved subject. The subjects of Labour and Boilers are also Reserved. But these, after all, are some only of the defects of the Reform scheme.”

Similarly, so recently as March last, the senior Minister in Behar and Orissa (Sir Muhammad Fakhruddin) spoke in the Legislative Council as follows :

“The classification of transferred subjects is seriously defective. There is no reason why you should give the Minister, Agriculture without Irrigation. Why should you give him the administration of the spending department without any control over Finance? Without purse others consider me as if I am simply a clerk to prepare a certain scheme, and after the scheme is ready the Finance Department is entitled to knock it down on the ground of want of funds. What happened this year? I had a scheme ready costing several lakhs of rupees for recurring and non-recurring expenditure. But I could not get money.”

These are striking comments from responsible Ministers of two Provincial Governments and tell their own tale. But the point raised by the Behar and Orissa Minister in regard to the administration of the Finance Department—to which I have already referred above—is one of very great constitutional importance. There is no prohibition in the Government of India Act against the appointment of a Minister as Finance Member, but it has been so

embodied in one of the Devolution-Rules. There seems to me no justification for any such restriction. There are at present in two provinces Indian Executive Councillors in charge of the Finance Portfolio, and there is absolutely no reason to apprehend that equally qualified Indians are not likely to be available in the ranks of the Ministers. The restriction imposed upon the latter is, therefore, inexpedient, as it not only acts as an irritant, but also prevents the Ministers from obtaining experience of the working of the financial machinery, and enables them to say that the rigid control of the Finance Department interferes with their executing successfully their policy in what are called the "nation-building" departments.

I could point out a larger number of other equally grave defects and serious limitations in the constitution and convention of Dyarchy, especially as it affects the Ministers and the Ministry, but the few points to which I have referred already will, I feel sure, satisfy impartial critics that it is impossible to expect any good and useful results to accrue from so grossly defective an institution as that of the Ministry under Dyarchy. As a distinguished Anglo-Indian administrator—a retired Civilian member of the Governor-General's Executive Council—said to me the other day: "It redounds greatly to the credit of the educated Indians that they should have managed to run successfully for nearly seven years, in seven out of nine major provinces, so inherently defective a system as that of Dyarchic Ministry."

#### THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

I shall now deal with the composition, the recruitment and the constitution of the Executive Council, the nature of its work and how it is done under the system of Dyarchy. Curiously this important subject has not attracted the attention it deserves, and all the interest displayed so far has centred round the Ministry, probably because it is a novelty. But it must be borne in mind that although the administration of the nation-building departments by the



Ministers and their theoretical responsibility to the Legislature are, in a sense, important aspects of our present-day constitution, nevertheless it is the Governor and his Executive Council who—as responsible for the maintenance of law and order, the administration of justice, and the control of the financial machinery—constitute beyond all doubt the more important half of the Provincial Executive. So long as the Executive Council lasts as a part of the Provincial Executive, its constitution and personnel should naturally deserve serious consideration. As such I make no apology for adverting to some important aspects relating to the Executive Council. As regards its composition, it is as heterogeneous as it can be, especially in contrast with the Ministry. The latter comprises men chosen from amongst the elected members of the Provincial Legislature, and as their salaries are votable by that body, the Governor *has* to select those who are fairly well educated and who may be expected to enjoy the confidence of their fellow-legislators for a fair measure of ability and also reputation for character. No such considerations, however, necessarily prevail in the selection of the non-official Indian members of the Executive Council, since neither in theory nor in practice are its members amenable to the control of the Legislature. The total strength of the Executive Council is four in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, and two in all the other provinces where Dyarchy obtains, and of these half the number is practically reserved for members of the Civil Service. It must be frankly stated that Indian public opinion is unanimous that, even in the selection of the Civilian Executive Councillors, there have been many appointments which were open to grave objection. The grievance is that, admitting that higher appointments need not necessarily go by seniority, Civilians who are believed to be of liberal and progressive views are passed over in favour of those known to be diehards or reactionaries. But it is in the selection of the Indian Executive Councillors—who by reason of convention have to be non-officials—

that the Indian public have much to object to. This matter was agitated even in the course of the enquiry conducted by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford with a view to formulating their proposals for the Reforms. Strong exception was taken before them to the appointments which had been made till then from the ranks of Indian non-officials, and the subject is discussed by the two eminent authors in their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, issued in 1918. On pp. 103-4 it is stated :

“We are aware that in the past the nominations made to the Executives have not always given satisfaction. There has been a disposition to regard the men appointed as chosen because they are safe and not likely to give the Government trouble ; and, if Legislature and Executive are to work smoothly together, it is, we agree, necessary to make appointments, which command confidence and ensure efficiency and ability.”

Again, dealing with their proposed constitution for the Executive Council under the Dyarchy they state their views as follows :

“It should be open to the Governor to recommend whom (from amongst the Indian non-officials) he wishes. In making his nominations, the Governor should be free to take into consideration the names of persons who had won distinction whether in the Legislative Council or any other field.”

The two passages taken together can leave no doubt as to the class of persons amongst Indian non-officials from whom Executive Councillors should be preferably appointed. Put shortly, they imply that those should be chosen who—to quote the memorable words of the late Queen-Emress Victoria’s famous proclamation of 1858—by their integrity, ability, and character may be qualified to discharge their duty successfully as occupants of the exalted office of members of Government on the reserved side, the more so as their colleagues would be men who had received their training as administrators either in British public life or in



the Indian Civil Service. It is the settled conviction of the thinking classes of India that many of the appointments made of Indians to the Executive Councils even in recent years will not stand this test, and that the selections were made from amongst men who were believed to be "safe" rather than qualified. The appointment of such persons naturally brings into lurid light the working of Dyarchy even to a larger extent than would otherwise have been the case. Thus in reply to interpellations it was not long ago elicited in a Legislative Council that while the Indian Executive Councillor in that province was pompously dubbed as the "Home Member," and was naturally believed to be in charge, as such, of the Political and Appointment Departments, the main work of the Appointment Department—that of appointing, posting, and transferring the officers—was entrusted by the Governor not to him—the "Home Member"—but to his Civilian colleague. Any comment on the situation so revealed would be an act of supererogation. One can but express the hope that this system which has not unnaturally brought discredit on the Government on the reserved side—if I may indulge in an Irishism—"in future will be a thing of the past." I may add that I have not cited an isolated instance, but that such instances can easily be multiplied.

By far the greatest defect in the constitution on the reserved side is the highly anomalous arrangement under which the Governor and his Executive Council are expected to carry on the administration of the departments in their control, and also to enact legislation and to pilot the budget in the Legislative Council, depending all the time not on a majority of votes but on the good sense of the elected members who, so to say, constitute the Opposition! The total strength at the disposal of the Governor-in-Council in any province is barely more than one-fourth of the total number of the Legislative Councillors. For instance, in Behar and Orissa the total strength of the Legislature is 103, while that of the Governor's nominees

(taking both officials and non-officials) is, I think, twenty-seven, besides the two Executive Councillors who sit *ex officio*. And it is with the aid of these twenty-nine votes, at the highest, that the Governor-in-Council in this province is expected to do his work successfully in a Legislative Chamber, about three-fourths of the members of which constitute the Opposition. Such a system of parliamentary government is foreign to all conceptions of a sound polity. No Prime Minister who knows his business would be able to carry on administration or legislation in any legislative body on such terms. And yet it is this very strange feat that the Governor-in-Council is expected to perform successfully under the system of Dyarchy! In the circumstances, one need not be surprised if there has to be much manipulation, a good deal of wire-pulling, and no little "moral suasion" brought to bear on the non-official members to cast their votes on the side of the Government. So far as the administration of or legislation dealing with the transferred departments is concerned, there is the obviously sound theory—howsoever unattainable it may be in practice at present—that the Ministers must receive the support of their party. But the Governor-in-Council, not being amenable to the control of the Legislature, cannot depend upon any party in the House, except only the Governor's nominees. Unless, therefore, a large number of non-officials can be secured to support the acts and the policy of the Governor-in-Council, no work can be carried on, and the administration of the reserved side must be at a standstill. By reason of such serious defect in the Constitution, the Governor-in-Council is naturally driven to resort to methods for securing votes from non-official members which are not unoften open to grave objection, and which have generally a highly demoralizing effect both on the Government on the reserved side, as also on the non-officials who are its habitual supporters. These facts are so obvious as to require no further exposition.



## THE GOVERNOR UNDER DYARCHY

From what I have said above it would be clear that the Governor administering Dyarchy—either with the aid of the Executive Council on the reserved side or with that of his Ministers on the transferred—is not what we understand by the term “constitutional Governor.” His powers under the law are large and extensive—some may think, dangerously so. To begin with, he alone of all the members of the Provincial Government is vested with the power of framing rules for the carrying on of the business of Government on which the working of the whole system hinges. Section 49 (cl. 2) vests the Governor alone with powers to “make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in his Executive Council and with his Ministers.” The result of the rules framed under the terms of this section is that the principle of joint ministerial responsibility—so clearly enunciated in the section quoted above—has been practically abrogated and the Ministers are overruled almost daily and the Executive Councillors—especially the many “safe” ones—made subservient to the Governor’s will. When, for instance, the point was raised as to the reason why the work of the Indian “Home Member” was done by his Civilian colleague—to which I have referred above—the answer given by the latter on behalf of the Governor was that the transaction of official business was a domestic concern of the Government! True, but it did not seem to have struck the Civilian Member that if he alone could do both his own work and that of his Indian colleague, it is obviously a waste of public funds to retain the latter at a high salary—that too in a poor country like India. Such are the inherent difficulties one is naturally faced with when taking up an untenable position in defence of Dyarchy and its practical working.

To take but one more example of the extensive powers vested in the Governor under Dyarchy. After the enact-

ment of the Indian Civil Services Act of 1925, the Governor of a province directed that his tour expenses, which had been till then submitted to the vote of the Legislature, should not be so done. Accordingly the Finance Department in preparing the next budget removed the amount of this item from the votable to the non-votable list. As the law stands, the action of the Governor was legally correct and justifiable. But after the budget was passed, a member of the Legislative Council applied in the High Court of the Province for a writ of mandamus against the Governor and the Finance Member. The point was argued at the Bar before a Full Bench of the Court. In the result, the learned Judges rightly dismissed the application, holding that the Governor was, under the law, fully within his rights in doing what he had done, and that no application or suit could lie against him for his having counselled or done anything or ordered anything to be done in his official capacity. The law, as stated by their lordships, must be accepted as correct. But I cite a short passage from the comments on this case of one of the leading Indian journals, of a province other than the one concerned, to indicate the Indian view of the powers of a Governor under Dyarchy. Wrote the *Tribune* of Lahore :

“ There are two and only two forms of check on the Indian Executive which can prevent it from acting arbitrarily or despotically. One is that exercised in and by Parliament. The other is that exercised by courts of law. In the present case parliamentary check admittedly does not exist, and now one of the highest tribunals in the country has told us that the courts, too, have no jurisdiction in the matter. Who can say after this that autocracy has finally disappeared from our midst, and that we live under a constitutional Government ? ”

But while the powers of the Governor are obviously large and arbitrary, he is unduly protected of all the members of Government. The Executive Councillors and the Ministers sit in the Legislative Council and have to defend



not only their individual official acts, but also those of the Government as a whole. But the pivot of the Provincial Government, the Governor, who is entrenched at the Government House, outside the Legislative Council, and who moves from there the whole machinery of administration, is declared by law and rules to be absolutely immune from any criticism in the Legislature, or even from his name being referred to therein in his official capacity. In other words, he is treated on the same footing as a constitutional sovereign—be it a King or a President—who is declared immune from parliamentary criticism on the ground that as the head of the Executive he but follows the advice of his Ministers, who sit in the Legislature to defend their policy and the advice tendered by them to the constitutional head of the State. But such an assumption is absolutely unwarranted by the facts and the circumstances relating to, or attending the, working of Dyarchy in the nine major provinces of the Indian Empire. The law and the rules obtaining therein have made the Governor the most powerful member of the Provincial Government. It is he who runs the whole machinery of administration, both on the reserved and the transferred sides, and who also directs and controls the work of the Legislature by having vested in him the powers of ultimately disallowing or overruling interpellations, motions, resolutions, and private legislation. And yet in spite of it all, he is treated in law and in fact as if he were but a constitutional Governor. The facts stated above in regard to the extensive powers vested in and wielded by the Governor go to show the baselessness of such an assumption. Far from that being the case, the fact is (as I have pointed out above) that even his colleagues in the Government—either on the reserved or the transferred side—have no voice in that very important function of a Government, the power to make rules for the convenient transaction of business. Clearly, then, an amendment is called for, not only of Section 49, dealing with the rule-making powers of the

Governor, but also of the provisions under which his acts and orders cannot be discussed or even referred to in the Legislature. Either the Governor's acts or orders should be made amenable to the Legislature, or—if that be considered undesirable or inexpedient—the Governor should become a constitutional Governor, dependent on the advice of the Ministry, who alone should be responsible to the Legislature.

#### THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT.

Such are but some of the striking and salient features of Dyarchy, both in theory and practice. The system has been found, both in principle and practice, to be full of grave defects and serious limitations, and it is not surprising that it has not appealed to Indian imagination. In his "Government and Parties in Continental Europe" (vol. i., p. 103) that distinguished authority, Professor Lowell, after analyzing the constitutions of various Continental States, remarks that the result of his analysis shows that "the foundation of government is faith, not reason," and this view is obviously even more applicable to the Governments of Eastern rather than Western countries, and can be predicated with even greater certainty of Asiatic countries and their Governments rather than those of Europe, or of those derived from or based on European models. But that is not all. For, "if" (as remarked by the late Viscount Bryce in his monumental work on the American Commonwealth, vol. i., p. 357) "the true value of a political contrivance resides not in its integrity, but its adaptation to the temper and circumstance of the people for whom it is designed," then there can be no hesitation in saying that no political system could be worse adapted to the objects the authors of the scheme had in view than Dyarchy in the provinces of the Indian Empire, as its inherent defects are patent on the surface, both in the theory on which it is based and also in its actual, practical working.



But there are other important political considerations bearing upon the subject under discussion. "Parliamentary Government," says Professor Lowell (in his standard work on the Government of England, vol. ii., chapter lvi.), "avoids deadlocks by making the Executive responsible to the Legislature." "Presidential Government," he continues, "limits deadlocks, because all the organs of the State must alternately submit to a superior tribunal, the electorate of the nation." But a Government like that established in all the major provinces of the Indian Empire, composed of an elected Legislature and a divided Executive, with a Governor at its head armed with extensive powers and working one half of the Government with the aid of an Executive Council appointed by the Crown and not responsible to the Legislature, and the other half with the aid of Ministers appointed by himself and responsible to the Legislature, is a system not only too complex and complicated, but one which, being unknown to constitutional history, is naturally unwarranted by political experience as a satisfactory solution of the problem of an efficient Executive, sufficiently amenable to the control of popular representatives. As for its being able to command the "faith" of the Indian people, it is unfortunately but too true (and for reasons stated above there is nothing surprising in it) that in the opinion of all those who have worked the system, whether officials or non-officials, Indians or Europeans, Dyarchy has completely forfeited any claim to allegiance.

#### THE REMEDY: PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

Before discussing the question of a proper remedy for the present state of affairs in the provinces of India, I would like to remark that, as foreshadowed by me in the opening part of my address, I have tried my best to survey and discuss the problem purely from the administrative and not from the political standpoint. I have not referred to the abstract right of all peoples in general or of those of

India in particular to rule themselves, or to the especial difficulties that may be said to exist in India in giving the people Home Rule, because these would be political rather than administrative considerations. My attempt has been to show that the King in Parliament—the highest Sovereign body in the British Commonwealth—having declared his will in the Preamble to the Reform Act of 1919 that its object was “the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India,” that object has not only not been achieved, but is not likely to be achieved at any time through the medium of the system of Dyarchy. Now, if this view be correct, the question of some constructive measure becomes at once an important one, and it is to this point that I shall refer before bringing my remarks to a close.

At one time, with a shorter experience of the working of Dyarchy, I thought that the best course would be to transfer, from time to time, additional departments to the charge of Ministers, till they came to possess complete control over the provincial administration. This was the view I held as late as 1924, and expressed it in the minute which I wrote for the information of the Muddiman Reforms Enquiry Committee. But the discussions which I then had the advantage of having with my two colleagues in the Government on the reserved side—the Governor and the Senior Executive Councillor—satisfied me that the remedy proposed by me would probably be worse than the disease itself, and I was thus led to accept the conclusion suggested by my colleagues—though they were not prepared to recommend its adoption at that time on the ground that it went beyond the purview of the enquiry then undertaken—namely, that provincial autonomy could be the only solution of the problem facing us. Thus, in this important matter, I tried to be more cautious than my colleagues of the Indian Civil Service, but finding that my view was declared to be untenable and impracticable by administrators like Sir William



Marris and Sir Henry Wheeler—who deprecated setting up a half-way house—I was driven, on a more careful consideration, to accept their view that there was no *via media* between the present system and provincial autonomy. This is not only the view of the two experienced Anglo-Indian administrators, quoted above, who may justly be credited with an intimate knowledge of the working of Dyarchy, but also that of another Anglo-Indian authority—namely, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Concluding an article on "Indian Politics and Economics" in the issue of the *Edinburgh Review* for July last, and after pointing out what according to him are very serious obstacles to constitutional progress in British India, Sir Michael says that if and when an Indian nation has come into existence, "we can then ask Indians to co-operate with us in the development of self-government in its only practical form—*i.e.*, provincial autonomy." So that evidently is the one practical solution of the problem with which we are confronted, and the inevitable conclusion logically forced upon us is that, whenever the present system is to be superseded, it can only be by the adoption of provincial autonomy—*i.e.*, by a system in which the Executive is composed of a constitutional Governor and a Ministry responsible to the Legislature.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, October 3, 1927, when a paper was read by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha entitled "Dyarchy in Indian Provinces in Theory and Practice."

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen amongst others were present :

Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Lady Dane, Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E., Sir Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Brandt, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Mr. H. A. L. Polak, Major M. Meade, Mr. A. Gopalji, Mr. R. K. Saran, Mr. Kundan Lall, Mr. S. Roy, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. J. Nissim, Mr. B. V. Swamy, Major H. J. Meade, Mrs. Meade, Miss Meade, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. J. T. Whitty, Mr. A. Phillipson, Mr. C. A. Reynell, Mr. Brijmohan Nath Zutshi, Mr. C. S. Jayaswal, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. W. N. Delevinge, Mr. H. N. Bean, Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. Frank Oldrieve, Mr. M. Mehta, Rev. Dr. H. W. Stanton, Mr. K. Singh, Mr. F. B. Seal, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. A. O'Brien, Colonel D. Warliker, Mrs. and Miss Sen, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. W. L. Barretto, Colonel A. H. Battye, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. James H. Stowers, Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Sir Francis Oldfield, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—As you will see our paper today is on "Dyarchy in Indian Provinces in Theory and Practice." Our Lecturer is Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, a very distinguished barrister of India; as a barrister no doubt he will be able to explain to us the mystery of the expression "Dyarchy." Our Lecturer has had experience not only of Dyarchy, but of the earlier reforms known as the Morley-Minto reforms. He was a member of the Legislative Council of the Government of India in Lord Minto's time. When the new reforms—the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms—were brought in, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha became a member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa, and he has had intimate experience in the working of the system of Dyarchy, especially as he happened to have had charge of the Portfolio of Finance. I am sure his lecture will be exceedingly interesting and stimulating, especially at a time like the present, when questions of Indian reform are bulking so largely in all newspapers, even in England. But, ladies and gentlemen, before our Lecturer begins, I think I ought to ask some consideration of you all. In this Association we have not ordinarily



encouraged the production of political papers pure and simple. It is rather a new departure in a way, although it is well within the provisions of our Constitution to allow a paper of this kind to come forward. We have stipulated that all such papers shall be "temperately expressed and temperately discussed," so that if people do not feel that they are able temperately to discuss questions of this importance, they had better not try to discuss them here at all. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has written his paper in a most admirable and temperate spirit, and I am sure there is nothing in his paper which need give rise to anything in the nature of acrimonious discussion. (Hear, hear.) He has not in any way trenched upon certain subjects which will no doubt have to be discussed at a later period. He has dealt with what his paper professes to be written about—namely, "Dyarchy": how it has worked, and what its possible future may be. Ladies and gentlemen, I will stand between you and your Lecturer no longer. I have much pleasure in introducing the Hon. Mr. Sinha to you. (Applause.)

The Lecturer read his paper.

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN, in opening the discussion, said that Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who was a shrewd man of affairs and an eminent lawyer, had given them his experience as a member of the Government of Bihar and Orissa on the reserved side, and he might in his mind's eye perhaps have put him among the "safe men" to whom he had made such pointed reference in his paper. But he and the Lecturer, knowing each other as they did, both knew for a fact that their conclusions regarding the working of Dyarchy were practically the same. (Hear, hear.) The reason was briefly that the Lecturer had concluded in his remarkable and very well thought out essay that Provincial autonomy was perhaps the only remedy. Whilst theoretically he agreed that Provincial autonomy was what they would have to achieve, he disagreed with Mr. Sinha that in practice there were certain difficulties and certain obstacles which could not be either discussed or settled even at a round-table conference. He was afraid that one of his colleagues, on what had now come to be known as the Muddiman Report on Indian Reforms, would not be able to give them his views, because he had to sit in judgment on views that would come before him as a member of the Secretary of State's Council. He referred to his friend Dr. Paranjpye, whom he was so pleased to find present, and who was twice Minister of the Government of Bombay. He was a Minister at one time, and then after a gap he again became a Minister before he was transferred to the India Office. His views would have been very interesting to many of them present that day, because he had had a great deal to do with the working of the transferred half of the Government in the government of Bombay. The Maharaja continued by saying that his experience took him to the pre-reform days when he was a member of some of the Departments which were transferred after the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms came into existence, and he could, therefore, vouch for some of the difficulties which Ministers felt in the administration of their Departments; they were difficulties which, although perhaps of a technical nature, were nevertheless real when they were confronted with



the demands of their party on the one hand and with the red-tapism of the Secretariat on the other, the result was that when they wanted to bring in some particular scheme—for instance, in the Departments of Education or Sanitation—they were always up against little schemes that had been pigeonholed in the Departments ; the Departmental heads always produced those very schemes to the Ministers, with the result that they were very often much confused as to what to do. When they found that they had not enough scope for initiating their own schemes, still less the other schemes of their party which they wanted particularly to be pushed forward, their popularity with their parties was certainly not enhanced. But there were other difficulties regarding Ministers which could not be overlooked. Mr. Sinha had touched upon them very gently, and in some cases only upon the mere fringe. If he was tempted to touch upon them a little more in detail, it was because the first Ministers of the Bengal Government were very old friends of his, and he sympathized with their difficulties in the new rôle as being a member of the reserved side of the Government, especially as they had taken over from him the very Departments which before the reforms came in were treated as Departments of the unified form of Government.

Mr. Sinha had told them of the necessity which he thought there was for the Governor having a joint meeting of Ministers. There were no doubt some practical difficulties in it, because each Minister had his party as distinct from the others. Each Minister had certain Departments, which did not always dovetail with other Departments in the transferred side ; but where some of the Ministers found the greatest difficulty of all was when they were summoned to a joint meeting of the two halves of Government, especially with regard to a matter relating to the reserved side, and they were asked to come and give their opinion, and were then shown the door for the reason that they could not very well have their minutes recorded in the reserved side, because the reserved side was responsible only to Parliament. Even in political matters, if the reserved side wanted the views of the transferred side, they could only have those views as those of friends. They were views which no doubt swayed the Governor, but they were views which could not be put down with the minute which came from the Secretary of State for India. In consequence they felt, and rightly too, as "strangers within the gate." Then came another difficulty—namely, the difficulty which every Indian Minister is up against with regard to finance. The Maharaja doubted whether that difficulty would be solved by the appointing of a Minister in charge of the Finance Department, because, human nature being what it was, the Finance Minister, if he happened to be a member of the transferred Department, would require more money for his half of the Government than that of the reserved side. He remembered when the Muddiman Committee was sitting at one time, proposals were put forward with regard to whether or not the Finance Department could be under a Finance Commissioner who would be outside the two halves of the Government. Nothing particular came out of it, but his own belief was, if Dyarchy was to continue, that finance, which was bound to play an



important part in the future Governments of India, would have to be placed on such a basis that there could not be a continual jealous between the two halves of Government.

Coming to the point as to whether Dyarchy should continue or not, personally he had always tried to uphold Dyarchy as an experiment, but he had always disliked it. Mr. Sinha had quoted various authorities—those of several Indian administrators of great experience—as to what they thought of Dyarchy. They were experiences which could not be set aside lightly, experiences which would have to be considered very carefully when the next Parliamentary Commission went out to India to review the situation. However, the aim of future Parliamentary Commissions in matters of this kind must be at some sort of unified form of Government, with certain powers well defined and reserved to the Governor himself (hear, hear), but the remainder to be put to the vote of the Legislature. Only in exceptional cases should the Governor interfere, otherwise in all Departments the vote of the Legislature would have to be supreme. That was what they had to aim at; how it was to be achieved was a matter for very careful scrutiny of detail. But the position of the Governor as constitutional head would have to be very carefully considered indeed. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Sinha had made a reference to a particular Governor who made a test case with regard to certain allowances of his in order to have them put upon the non-voted side. With regard to that, his sympathies were entirely with the Governor, for the reason that it did not matter who the Governor might be, whether he was an Indian or a European, he was the emblem of authority of the Sovereign in that particular Province over which he was Governor. In the same way, a Governor of a Bank would not like his position to be ridiculed as to whether he should get a house furnished, or whether he should get certain privileges, and then should be attacked by the legislative body. It was preposterous that any Indian Governor should be subjected to the little pinpricks and inconveniences which the present circumstances allowed the legislative bodies to bring upon him. If an Indian Governor was unpopular there were many ways in which the people of a Province could demonstrate that fact, but to allow these pinpricks was really most undignified, and he trusted that when the Reforms Commission went out to India again it would seriously consider that matter, not from the point of view of any personality of any particular Governor, but from the point of view that he was an emblem of authority of the Sovereign. In conclusion, there was a very important matter to consider. Mr. Sinha being one of the most capable men of his Province, and a very distinguished Indian, had put forward a plea regarding the development of the Constitution. He felt sure that Mr. Sinha, as an Indian, apart from any political parties to which he might belong or whatever view of that political party, would agree that even in India today the personality of a Governor played a very big part in the Province, and he was sure he would further agree that, whatever might be the development of the Constitution, they must be careful not to make the Governor, as he every day seemed more like becoming, what they in



India called Thuta Juggernath (the aimless god), for whether the wheels of Juggernath's car represented the vagaries of Ministers crunching and crushing people's money for their pet schemes or not, the god in the car—the Governor—would still be blamed. That is what they had to safeguard themselves against. (Applause.)

(Owing to the lateness of the hour, further discussion was deferred until Monday, October 17.)

## RESUMED DISCUSSION

The resumed discussion on Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's paper on "Dyarchy in Indian Provinces in Theory and Practice" was duly held on Monday, October 17, 1927, at the Caxton Hall.

Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., occupied the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Arthur R. Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye and Mrs. Paranjpye, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. Robert Giles, C.I.E., Mr. Edward Giles, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Major M. Meade, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Rev. Dr. W. H. Stanton, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. E. A. Notcutt, Mr. E. L. Moysey, C.I.E., Mr. Milne, Mrs. H. G. W. Herron, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. A. Gopalji, Mr. J. Bennett, Mr. R. Bennett, Major Clarke, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. Sandriveitch, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mrs. Martley, Mr. G. Scott Brenner, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Colonel D. Warliker, Mr. Kundan Lall, Mr. R. K. Saran, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. W. L. Baretto, Mr. D. Graham Pole, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. S. K. Bhose, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Collis, Mr. N. Raghavan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. V. V. Chowdhury, Mr. J. Blain, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

Mr. STANLEY RICE, the Secretary, expressed regret that Sir Louis Dane, who took the chair on the previous occasion, was prevented from doing so again on account of indisposition. They had, however, an excellent substitute in Sir Patrick Fagan. (Applause.) He desired to remind Members that it was necessary for them to confine their remarks to strictly relevant matters.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Owing to the regrettable absence of our Chairman, Sir Louis Dane, who is indisposed, I have been called upon wholly unexpectedly and at short notice, in fact with no notice, to preside over this meeting. I am very conscious of my poor abilities in the matter, but I will do my best with your indulgence. Any remarks I have to make for myself I propose to defer to a later stage. I will now call upon Sir Henry Wheeler to open the discussion today. As you all know, he has had personal and very close practical acquaintance with the working of Dyarchy, and I am sure that there is nobody who can give us a better considered and a more valuable opinion on that most difficult subject. (Hear, hear.)

Sir HENRY WHEELER, in opening the discussion, said that he came



there to receive enlightenment rather than to give it, and it was something of a shock to him on entering the room to be asked to open the discussion. From his association with Mr. Sinha for four years, during which time he had had Mr. Sinha's able assistance as Financial Member in Bihar and Orissa, he naturally took a particular interest in the writer of the paper, to say nothing of his interest in Indian political developments during the later years of his service. When he read the paper he was particularly pleased by the beginning of it, which announced that the writer intended to give them a survey of the working of Dyarchy from the administrative standpoint, and he welcomed that expressed intention. As it seemed to him, it was precisely on that point that information was so very necessary, and it was precisely that point upon which they so seldom received detailed information. The general criticism which he would advance against the paper was that it did not carry out the intention which Mr. Sinha had so rightly put in the forefront. It would be seen from the paper that it commenced with some review of the old systems, some criticisms from eminent authorities on Dyarchy, some remarks with regard to the method of selection of members of the Executive Council, together with the methods of government in dealing with the Legislative Council, and a few comments upon the position of Ministers under the dyarchical system. But as to the actual working there was very little information. To his mind that was a regrettable feature in an otherwise interesting review. So often they had heard, ever since the Act of 1918, that Dyarchy was a failure, and that Dyarchy "must go"—a catch phrase borrowed from English politics in the way that catchwords and phrases travelled round the world. But what was needed was a reasoned statement of the case. As to the theoretical merits of Dyarchy which Mr. Sinha had touched upon, he did not propose now to say much; it was better to take Dyarchy as the system in force. It was a fairly open secret to anybody connected with political matters in India that from the beginning, possibly when the expression of that opinion was not so popular or widespread as it was now, he (Sir Henry Wheeler) had been a critic of the theoretical principles underlying the dyarchical system. But what they desired to know now, taking Dyarchy as a system established by law, was: How has it worked, and what lessons has it afforded us in order to give a basis for any further action which might follow the appointment of the Royal Commission which was bound shortly to be announced? To say that Dyarchy was unworkable might mean little or nothing. It had been unworkable in two Provinces, for a short time in Bengal and the Central Provinces (and even now possibly in Bengal the system looked shaky), in the sense that for some time the administration could not be carried on in that way. But in other places it had worked. One might say that a watch did not work in the sense that the machinery did not go round. That was true for a time as regards Bengal and the Central Provinces. But a watch did not necessarily work because the wheels did go round. What they were chiefly concerned with was *how* the wheels went round. Did they keep accurate time, neither too fast nor too slow? Those were the points upon which he would like to have had more enlightenment from



Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. But all Mr. Sinha had dealt with on that side was to tell them of the unfortunate Minister who was a puppet in the hands of his Secretary, and of the Secretary who was a puppet in the hands of the Governor. It would be impossible to enter into personal matters in a discussion such as the one upon which they were embarked, but he could give it as his experience both of the Government of Bengal and the Government of India and Bihar and Orissa that the position of the Secretary had been entirely misrepresented. It was not true that the Governor and the Secretary got together to see how best they could do down the Minister. Ministers always knew when the Secretaries were going to the Governor, and he personally in his time generally discussed with the Secretaries and the Ministers the same subjects. Therefore, so far as the position of the Secretary was concerned, the facts did not, in his view, bear the interpretation which the writer of the paper gave to them.

Similarly, Sir Henry continued, he would like to represent that the Governor was not altogether the ogre of the piece, and when they read in Mr. Sinha's paper that Ministers were daily overruled, they could only conclude that the picturesque language of journalism had rather carried the writer away into some disregard of the actual facts. As he had told them, they served together for four years in Bihar and Orissa, and Mr. Sinha must know that during the time he was there he very seldom did overrule his Ministers. On the contrary, their relations were most cordial, and they parted with mutual respect and regret. The point he desired to make was that the Minister was not the powerless person which the paper would lead them to infer. In fact, in the two Provinces which he himself best knew, the Ministers during their terms did carry out very material changes in the important sphere of local self-government, which was probably the most important charge which the new system had placed in their hands. In Bengal, Sir Surendra Nath Banerji carried out a most marked constitutional change in the Government of Calcutta; certainly a change which was viewed with apprehension by many officials, and a change which possibly had not resulted quite as had been anticipated by its author, and which had brought about a state of things which was viewed with a certain amount of apprehension by many now residing in Calcutta. Similarly, in Bihar and Orissa, changes had been carried out by the Ministry in the District Board and Municipal Acts, which went far beyond what cautious officials regarded with favour, and which freed those local bodies from control to a far greater extent than prevailed even in England; these, too, in their working, had brought about results which many Indians and Europeans were viewing with considerable apprehension. So that to represent the Minister as a powerless being was inaccurate in his submission.

But, leaving all this aside, what they would all like to hear was what Mr. Sinha purported to give them, namely, a survey of the working of Dyarchy. Beginning with the basis of the whole structure, how had the electorates worked? How far had the elections been effective? What sort of people had voted? Had there been any evidence of unfortunate electioneering methods? What had been the dividing-lines between the voters? What had been the arguments which had weighed with them? and so on.



Then, again, what class of candidate had been produced? Were they wiser, older, and more experienced men, or were they, as indeed in many cases they were, younger boys who saw in this modern-day politics a rapid avenue to a cheap kind of notoriety. Then, again, how had the debates been conducted? What had been the views of Council on the more vital questions which had come before them, both on the reserved and on the transferred side? He did not infer, of course, that the case would invariably go against Mr. Sinha on these points, and there was much which was commendable, but these were the sort of things that people should know before that could come to a conclusion as regards the working of Dyarchy. Then there was the administrative side. How had the Departments worked? Had there been a marked departure from the old bureaucratic lines? In his opinion, part of the resentment against Dyarchy was due to the political habit in India of picturing a golden age which had existed in the past, and could come again but for the nefarious designs of the official world. But when Ministers were faced with actual administrative problems they were often ready to carry on and develop the administration very much on the lines upon which they were proceeding before, thereby giving a handle to their critics to say: "You said that when we got rid of the officials a new heaven was going to dawn; where is it?" It was largely in order to meet that jibe that this theory that Ministers were altogether powerless had been set up.

All these were the matters on which he would like to have heard from Mr. Sinha and to have learned Mr. Sinha's views. If they had material of that kind, it would be easier to form a conclusion as to how the system of Dyarchy had worked, and how best it might be developed or changed. As it was, the paper practically only voiced the view that more power should have been conferred than the system ever purported to transfer.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM said he would like to congratulate Sir Henry Wheeler on his extremely helpful and acute remarks, which must carry weight coming from a man who had such a profound knowledge of the actual working of Dyarchy during the last six or seven years. But he regretted the absence of Mr. Sinha, because, if he were present, doubtless he would be well able to answer any criticisms which they might level at his survey. With the indulgence of the meeting he desired to take a little more of their time than was perhaps usual in their discussions. The paper was one of such extreme importance, and dealt with one of the burning topics of the day; and as they had had one point of view so brilliantly represented, as it had been represented by Mr. Sinha, he would like to represent the other point of view, which was that of a moderate supporter of the scheme which was introduced in 1920. He ventured to submit that they had to consider the matter in its relation to the system of bureaucratic Government which prevailed in India before the Morley-Minto reforms, and in relation to the promises held out by Parliament in the famous preamble to the Act of 1919, which he earnestly recommended to the attention of those present. It was by that test that they should judge the reform scheme. Before the Morley-Minto reforms the Indian



point of view was not directly represented in any of the Executive Councils, or in the Council of the Governor-General of India, or of the Secretary of State for India. Many of the larger Provinces were automatically governed by Lieutenant-Governors, without any Executive Council and with no Indian Ministers. In the Legislative Councils they had the official and the nominated elements predominating over the elected element. He regretted to say that the claims of Indians to the higher appointments were treated with scant justice. Then in 1909-10 came the Morley-Minto reforms, under which one Indian Member was appointed in each of the Executive Councils; it was the same in the Governor-General's Council. The Legislative Councils were enlarged, the official element was reduced, and the elected element was to be not less than one-third of the whole. The system of government by Lieutenant-Governors was continued, except in Bengal, which was converted into a Governorship with Executive and Legislative Councils.

India's loyal services in the war and her sacrifices proved that she had far outgrown the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909-10, so that something considerably in advance of that was called for. They had in the very forefront of the preamble to the Act the statement that Indians must be increasingly associated with the administration. Then there was the very guarded language with regard to self-governing institutions with the progressive realization of responsible government in British India. They had the Legislative Councils considerably enlarged, the official element reduced, and the elected element increased to not less than 70 per cent.; in the Viceroy's Legislative Council the elected element was to be not less than five-sevenths. So that there was absolutely no doubt that in the Legislative Councils, at any rate, the Indian point of view was given due and ample recognition. That generous concession to the Indian point of view unfortunately had been taken as a matter for criticism in the paper before them. He ventured to think that it was a matter for due recognition. It was in order that the powerful Executive Councils in India might be subject to Indian influences and Indian advice that they had been so placed. Then they had this system of government, which he ventured to submit was misnamed Dyarchy; it was a system of reserved and transferred subjects in the local Governments. He was at one with Mr. Sinha that it was capable of amendment in detail. He saw no reason why there should be a Minister for Industries without Factories, and without Labour and so forth, or a Minister of Agriculture without Irrigation; but those were matters of detail. What they had really was a delegation of the power of Executive Councils to Indian Ministers, acceptable not only to the Legislative Council, but to the Governor and the Executive Council. It was an anomalous system in some ways, but it was suggested by what took place in England at the time of the supreme direction of the War, which was entrusted to an inner Council of the Cabinet; but Cabinet Ministers for the less important Departments had no direction in supreme matters. Then in India they had the Governor converted into what was a constitutional ruler. He could only influence the Legislative Councils through his Executive Councillors and Ministers,



and he was placed in a detached position. He quite agreed that there ought to be some method of curbing an unconstitutional Governor, but he was happy to think that unconstitutional Governors in India were rare. Then they had the Lieutenant-Governorships all converted into Governorships with Executive Councils and Ministers, so that the scheme of Government inaugurated by the Act of 1919, and introduced in India in 1920, was far in advance of any which existed before, and it was a scheme which should be tried longer than it had been. Of course it ought to be repaired and overhauled, but it certainly ought not to be scrapped. If Indian Ministers had not been as successful as they might have been, it was not a little due to the fact that the Legislative Councils themselves had not given them consistent or sufficient support (hear, hear), and also to the limitations of the public purse in India. It was no use quarrelling with the tools; they had to make the most of them, and those instalments of responsible government were given them in order to invoke the spirit of co-operation and to enable a judgment by results to be given. He submitted that it was a generous scheme of government, which had not been introduced sufficiently long to be properly appreciated; it had much to commend it, and he hoped that it would not be scrapped, but would continue.

In conclusion, Mr. Nissim said, on the subject of provincial autonomy, that it was easy to say provincial autonomy would be a solution of all their troubles in India, but they had to consider that it would be very difficult for the Government of India to work through local Governments entirely independent of it, and responsible solely to the Legislatures, especially in times of crises or of war. The weakness of complete provincial autonomy in the present circumstances in India would be quickly exposed. He desired, therefore, to pay his tribute to the authors of the scheme of responsible government in the Act, who he thought he might safely say, without betraying any confidences, were Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Sir Austen Chamberlain, and Lord Curzon, who was responsible for reducing into guarded language the promises contained in the preamble. It was the only system which could reconcile the divergent claims of the British and the Indians, Imperial and local, Hindu and Muhammadan, in the Government of that vast country. (Applause.)

Dr. PARANJPYE, in continuing the discussion, said that he had no intention of taking part in the discussion until he saw his colleague, Sir Henry Wheeler, taking part, and he followed his example.

He had been associated with the Dyarchical form of Government in a different capacity from that of Sir Henry Wheeler. Sir Henry Wheeler was a Governor who had to administer, and he was one of the administered. He would frankly say, first of all, that he regarded the dyarchical form of constitution as certainly more advanced than the previous Morley-Minto form of constitution, and to that extent he agreed that it was an advance, and it would be a pity to go back to the Morley-Minto form of administration, or to a form previous to the Morley-Minto reforms. He would also say that even the imperfect position of the Ministers and the Executive Councils under this constitution had shown



that where the Ministers had been operating their Departments, they had done so as efficiently as they were being administered before, and if Indians made a claim for a further advance in that same direction, there was no fear that the Departments would go wrong. He did not entirely agree with Mr. Sinha in all he said as regards the difficulties of the system. Of course, the difficulties theoretically were there, and it depended to a great extent upon the personality of the Governor and the Minister, and also perhaps upon the personality of the Secretary, as to who was to be top dog in all this trouble and fight. So far as the position of the Secretary was concerned, he could certainly say that if a Minister was alive to his position, the Secretary could not ultimately do him very much harm. After all, the Minister was the master, and all that the Secretary could do was to use the usual *vis inertiae* of the machine in delaying and in hindering as much as possible the progress of the Minister; but ultimately the Minister must succeed. His own Secretary was quite helpful to him, and he had no such difficulty as he understood some other Ministers had with their Secretaries. It was true that under the rules the Secretary went to the Governor once a week, and he could take any file to him at any stage, but the Governor could not pass a final order without consulting the Minister. Of course, it would always be better if the Secretary told the Minister when he was going to see the Governor. Speaking for himself, he did not know during his first term when the Secretary was going to the Governor, or what files he was going to take to him, and when he became Minister for the second time, he told his Secretary that he had no objection to his going to the Governor at any time he liked, but that he must tell him what questions he was going to take to him. However, he did not remain a Minister for more than six weeks, so that he did not know what really happened, because he came over to England, but so far as overruling a Minister was concerned, he did not think that if a Minister was sufficiently alive to his position, and knew the political situation properly, that it was possible for the Governor to overrule him directly. When a Minister knew that on any particular point he had the support of the Council behind him, the Governor could not possibly overrule him except on matters of the very highest importance which really did not come before the Minister. His own experience was that on various occasions he had had questions on which he had to fight with the Governor quite naturally. He had held to his point very strongly, and, as they all knew, Lord Lloyd was not a very easy man to get on with generally, and often it was a difficult matter. But when he was certain that the Legislative Council would support him through thick and thin, he was always able to carry his point. The Minister was stronger than an individual member of the Executive Council, and if he had the Council at the back of him, it was all right. Of course, the Governor had other ways to carry his point occasionally, but it was not worth while mentioning them. He could, of course, delay matters a great deal; he might keep the files back for a long time, or he might send the files backwards and forwards and take a very long time in coming to a decision; he might write occasionally, in the case of an



appeal, in order to delay that appeal. Further, the Minister's life was after all only three years, and it was very difficult, if all the delaying tactics were taken advantage of by the Governor or the Secretary, for that Minister to get very much done during his small period of three years. It took a Minister a certain amount of time to know the mere mechanical details of administration. Then he had to find out what had been going on in the Departments, and then to have his own schemes and ideas properly worked out. It took at least a year before he was fairly settled in the saddle. Then there was a financial rule that no scheme was to be entered in the Budget unless it was clearly worked out. A Minister generally came into existence in January when the Budget was practically all prepared, so that he could not do anything in his first Budget; in the second year he was sometimes able to put some money in his second Budget; perhaps some legislation had to be carried through or some departmental rules had to be framed; probably he might be able to carry through a few schemes in his second year; soon after the third year commences he has again to look to his election once more, so that during his three years he has not much chance to do anything. In saying what he had, he was giving them the practical difficulties which a Minister experienced. He would not say that they were not able to do anything, but in the short space of time in the new conditions in which he found himself a Minister was not able to do much. Then there was another very difficult position. In the Bombay Presidency the Council consisted of various groups, and the Ministers had their own separate groups of supporters, who had their separate interests. It was very difficult for Ministers unless it was upon a large question of public policy to come together. There were also communal distinctions and differences; perhaps that was more so in Bombay and Madras than elsewhere. Further, the fact that Ministers were to be considered as acting individually and not jointly had undermined to a very great extent the position of the Ministers. They had only one single meeting of Ministers together the day after they were appointed in January, 1921. Apparently, as on that occasion there was a question under discussion on which the three Ministers were opposed to the opinion of the Governor, and the Governor yielded on that occasion, of course, somehow or other from that time not a single meeting of Ministers was held in the Bombay Presidency. They afterwards learned that a legal opinion had been obtained apparently from some law officers in England that the Act and the instructions to the Governor meant that Ministers were not to be jointly and collectively responsible, but that they were individually responsible (laughter), so that though if the Ministers were to be taken together they might have a majority in the Council as a whole, but when the Council divided up into groups each single Minister had obviously not a majority, and the effect of taking the Ministers separately was something like the dying man in the fable, who gave his sons a bundle of sticks, and asked them to break the bundle; they could not break the bundle, but when the sticks were separated, each stick could be easily broken. It is exactly the same with Ministers. So far as the administration was concerned, he did not think that Ministers could go into administration details. There



were highly paid officials of the Government who were responsible, and who were charged with the administration. The Minister's position really required him to keep his eyes and ears wide open, and to see that there were no scandals or difficulties in the administration. If anything came up before the Minister which was not in order, he ought immediately to pull up tight the particular administrator who was at fault. He personally used to see everybody who wanted to interview him, even though it might be the humblest individual; but one of the heads of his Departments complained to the Governor, and said that he was upsetting the discipline of the Department, and therefore the official was not able to control the Department. Apparently he did not want the Minister to see any of the officials except with the cognizance or with the knowledge of the head of the Department. That was a position which a Minister could not possibly tolerate. He was responsible to the public, though, of course, he could not pass any orders without going through the proper official channels. Fortunately, he himself had not many of such difficulties, because the heads of the administration had confidence in him and knew that he would not do things for the sake of mere popularity; he did things according to his own judgment, whether they were popular or not. The period when he was a Minister was a period of very great stress and strain. The dyarchical form of government required a policy of give and take, a charity of judgment from all sides, and that charity of judgment was a thing which was not experienced during his three years of office. The principle of Dyarchy was that the Ministers were responsible for certain parts of the government, the Executive Council being responsible for other parts of the government, but the public either deliberately or unconsciously considered government as a whole; they did not consider that the Ministers were somewhat different from the members of the Executive Council; all government to them was one, and the Ministers were supposed to be responsible for things done in the reserved half of the Government. As a matter of fact, Ministers were not responsible. In the early days when they were asked to be present at the Cabinet meeting they requested the Governor to send them the papers relating to subjects on the reserved side. The Governor said: "No, you cannot have them as a matter of right; you had better write to my Private Secretary with regard to any particular case, and I will see if those papers can be sent to you." The Ministers refused to accept that position, and said they did not want to have anything to do with the reserved department if it was only a matter of charity towards them, and not a part of their right. Even when in their own judgment decisions come to by the Government on the reserved side were wrong, they themselves were held responsible for those decisions when they went for re-election. They were days of very acute feeling politically, and things done in the reserved half were put down to their discredit. In his opinion this form of dyarchical Government could only go on in the best of circumstances when everybody was doing his utmost to carry it on. In the United Provinces for the first year and a half the system worked very well, but apparently later on a change came over a great number of people, especially after the retirement of Mr. Montagu;



the spirit altered, and with that altered spirit whatever might have been obtained from the dyarchical system under a proper spirit could not any more be obtained. While the present form of government had shown that Ministers could carry on the administration with efficiency, the position was so difficult that not very much more could be obtained from it. He fully admitted that it was a mistake to go back again; the only way was to go forward, and to make all departments of Government responsible. Finally, he desired to refer to a point which had been raised by Mr. Nissim with regard to the Provinces being independent, if provincial autonomy were granted, and there being difficulties in the way of administration. When they said there should be provincial autonomy, it did not mean that the Province should be separate or independent. Speaking for himself, in order to keep together such a widely diversified country as India, he would have all the residuary powers—*i.e.*, all the powers which were not specially given to the Provinces—remaining in the Government of India. If that were so, he did not think that complete provincial autonomy given to the Provinces would do any harm—in fact, it would do good, and then the ideal set forth in the preamble to the Government of India Act would be carried out. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. GOPALJI said, in the first place, at the time when the reforms under discussion were inaugurated, he was a Master of Science and a graduate of three years' standing, but had no vote, and he would ask what would be thought of such a thing in any civilized country? There was no need to wait for an answer. The whole matter with regard to the reforms should be judged from the way it had worked. As regards its practical working, Dyarchy was reduced to a dead letter. The speaker was proceeding to quote from some old books and documents when—

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN rose on a point of order, and said that the paper that they were discussing was "The Working of Dyarchy" and not what people said twenty-five or thirty years ago, and suggested that remarks should be limited to the working of Dyarchy, and whether it was a failure or a success.

The CHAIRMAN asked Mr. Gopalji to confine his remarks to Dyarchy, and not to history of fifty years ago.

Mr. GOPALJI said he thought that his point of view was being suppressed. Such an effort had been made by another President, but they could not suppress his point of view, and if they did want to suppress it they should do it openly. (Cries of "Order.")

Mr. SORABJI said that he had not had the pleasure of listening to the paper, but he had read it very carefully and, in his opinion, Dyarchy had been most unfortunate, because those who introduced it unwisely gave it a bad name; they said: "We know that this is not perfect, but let us see how it will work." He was rather surprised at Sir Henry Wheeler's speech, because if he really did make the remarks which were attributed to him at page 11 of the paper, they could not be surprised at Mr. Sinha's paper because Mr. Sinha was an official in Sir Henry Wheeler's Government. Dyarchy had not had a fair chance, and if high officials like Sir Henry Wheeler gave opinions such as were to be found in the paper, it must be



very unfortunate for Dyarchy. Then, again, they had people who had never given it a chance. Dyarchy had never been given a fair chance in India because of non-co-operation and so on. They came there and they heard the remarks of Dr. Paranjpye, who was himself a Minister. He had listened very carefully to Dr. Paranjpye's speech, and what it amounted to was that Dyarchy was workable by strong men of good will. Nobody had told them, not even Mr. Sinha, what they would suggest as the first step to what is called Home Rule. What were they to have if they did not have Dyarchy? He did not like people trying to knock down a scheme unless they could offer something better. The only scheme Dr. Paranjpye proposed was provincial autonomy. That could not be the first step. Dyarchy was the scheme of a man loved all over India, Mr. Montagu, and of Lord Chelmsford, a man who might be considered to have had tremendous sympathies with India. The only real difficulties which had been pointed out were by Dr. Paranjpye. But what did they amount to: that the Council held Ministers responsible for the acts of the Executive members with whom the Ministers had nothing to do. But that was not a fault in Dyarchy; that was a fault in the Council who could not distinguish between what the Ministers were responsible for and what they were not responsible for. They had been told that Ministers would have a project and they would not have money to carry it out. Why? Because India was the least taxed country in the world. If they wanted money for things, they would have to submit to taxation. Indians were not willing to submit to taxation. There would be money enough if India paid up in taxation. Where was the money to come from unless from taxation? They had made a mistake in not taking Dyarchy and making it a tremendous success. If they had done that, they would have shown that India was capable of responsibility. He had no doubt at all that Dr. Paranjpye had tried to show that the Indian was capable of responsibility, but he could not say that all Indians in all parts of India had shown that they were capable of responsibility to the extent of carrying out Dyarchy. Instead of trying to make the best of what they had, they had attacked it so that Dyarchy had never had a fair chance. Further than that, nobody had told them of any reasonable step apart from Dyarchy which would satisfy India. As a first step it had been said that nothing but complete Home Rule would satisfy India, but he desired to point out to them that full Home Rule could not be a first step. They had been listening to their friend who had just sat down. If he was a representative of the feeling in India, it was obvious how difficult they found it to keep to the point. But they had got to keep to the point. If they did not keep to the point, they could not govern. Life and time were short. They had to be trained, and Dyarchy offered a fair chance to be trained in the school of responsibility. Ten years was a very short period in a nation's life. With all the imperfections which had been pointed out by Mr. Montagu, by Lord Chelmsford, and by Sir Henry Wheeler, there was something in Dyarchy which ought to have been used and used to the full; then they could have turned to England and said: We have worked this so well; now give us the next step. It was not right to run away with the idea that Dyarchy was going to be eternal. Something better would come



and he did not think that the best way to get the next step was by simply damning Dyarchy, which they had not really or properly tried. When they did get Home Rule, their difficulties would begin, because then they would have to find the money.

Dr. Paranjpye had pointed out the difficulties which beset a Minister, whether he were Muhammadan or Hindu, in having to please the critics, and had said that he could not do it because he was limited to three years. But those were difficulties not in Dyarchy, but were inherent in the fact that the Indian had not been properly trained politically. In conclusion, he said he wished that before the next two years had passed Dyarchy might be really tried, so that they might have a real claim for another and greater step in the future. (Applause.)

Mr. HARCOURT said with regard to the question of financial control, why could not it be dealt with by appointing a Finance Minister instead of giving the post to one of the Executive Councillors? There was nothing in the law to prevent the appointment of a Minister to the Financial Department. If that was essential to the success of Dyarchy, why not let it be tried? Dyarchy, like every form of government, could only succeed if people were prepared to work it. That was true of every government, but it was peculiarly true of Dyarchy. No system of government could possibly be invented, he submitted, which required more willingness to make allowances and more give and take than the system of Dyarchy. That particular willingness to help one another out of difficulties had been lacking. They must, of course, accept the evidence of ex-Ministers that Dyarchy had failed; he did not deny their conclusions, but he ventured to say that it need not have failed. It occurred to him that the somewhat curious attitude adopted by some of those in authority had been responsible for the failure. Lord Ronaldshay had made use of what could only be described as rather confused obstetric language when he likened Dyarchy to the Siamese Twins. Speaking for himself, he would prefer to bring the matter into a department where he had a little experience, and take another metaphor. For instance, consider the case when steam was introduced for the propulsion of ships. In the first instance, all the ships were equipped with sails under the control of one set of men, and the steam was of an auxiliary character, under the control of another set. That division must have added to the embarrassment of the captain. Yet the ships got along. He could not help thinking from what he had listened to and what he had read that Ministers all seemed to feel that they had been harshly treated and that the Governors had powers by which they might, if they chose, overrule the Ministers. They might. The King similarly possessed powers by which he could make government impossible. Judges had powers in respect of contempt of court, by which they could make themselves very objectionable to anybody attending their courts. There were lots of people who could exercise powers, but in point of fact such powers were exercised cautiously because people knew that they had to be reasonable and use common sense and have some sort of consideration for one another. In his opinion, Dyarchy could succeed if the spirit of the common policeman at the street corner were exercised.



The Rev. Dr. STANTON desired as an outsider and non-political person to be permitted to add a word. He could not give opinions on matters of administration, but one did want to look at the whole thing fairly, and the paper before them had rather assumed that Dyarchy had not succeeded. He looked back to about ten years ago, and remembered that India then suffered one of the most serious visitations that any country ever encountered. That was the fearful influenza of 1918-19, by which some twelve million people were wiped out of the population of India. At that time the country was in the most sore and battered condition it had ever experienced, and Dyarchy had a very grave handicap to start with. Bearing this in mind, he would refer to two aspects of development. First that of the Untouchables. In the eight or nine years since Dyarchy was introduced, what had been their development from a political and national point of view? As political leaders they had become convinced that it was impossible to build up a national life on a basis of virtual slavery, and the untouchable community had actually gained a political position in the nation such as they never had before. During the course of government by Dyarchy, the position of a great section of the Indian people, whom every Indian and Englishman wanted to help, had been materially bettered and was on the way to further progress. Then there was the cognate question of caste. Co-operation in the legislature, administration and public affairs, had brought together men of various castes in far closer touch than before. Compared with eight or nine years ago, there was a marked difference as regards caste distinctions and social intercourse between the different sections of Indian society. There remained, no doubt, very great difficulties, and those not only as regards Dyarchy. Democracy itself was on its trial, and while they were trying to help India to democratic freedom, there were some who asked: Was that the best thing for a nation? He held that the principles underlying it certainly were for good. How to teach them to a nation was a difficult problem; still as a piece of political education the work of Dyarchy had not been altogether in vain. Mistakes had been made, but "he who makes no mistakes makes nothing," and he believed that they were mistakes on the up grade. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that you will all agree with me that we have had a very interesting discussion on a very interesting paper. The views which have been broached as to the workability, or otherwise, of Dyarchy have been somewhat diverse. But on the whole, perhaps, the root and branch condemnation which the author of the paper expressed, has not been altogether borne out. I think that it is a fair conclusion that Dyarchy is a system which works with difficulty, and when one comes to consider its essential nature, one can scarcely fail to see that this must be so. Dyarchy appears to attempt to do what is in essence an impossibility. It attempts to do it as a temporary expedient no doubt, but nevertheless the object seems to be impossible; it attempts a partition of the essential functions of government; and not only of the essential functions of government, but also a partition of the responsibilities which those functions necessarily involve; it amounts to an endeavour to



substitute for an organic unity a machine consisting of more or less imperfectly articulated parts, and in the working of a machine of that kind it is inevitable that a very considerable amount of friction must be generated. That is a general consideration which would apply to a system of Dyarchy in any country and among any people; but in India I conceive that there is another reason, perhaps still more fundamental, and that is the absence of anything which can reasonably claim to be an electorate, adequately proportioned as regards size to the vast population of India which is to be served by dyarchical government. At present no such electorate exists among the masses in India—I desire to emphasize the use of the word “masses” as opposed to the comparatively small minority of those who are educated and politically minded, though I by no means desire to minimize the importance of the latter. To me it was one of the most striking points in this discussion that practically no reference was made to the subject of an electorate, and that is very much like having the play without Hamlet. The masses of India at present have no sense of political community as an expression of common political life; there is no general vision or recognition of a common political good transcending the limits of caste, religion, and locality. Whether India can develop such a political consciousness—I mean India in the mass—whether she has the capacity to do so; whether such consciousness exists potentially and can grow seem to me to be questions which lie at the root of the entire problem of political and constitutional development in India. If she has a capacity for democratic institutions, its development must necessarily take a long time—generations; it may be centuries. If India is to develop such a capacity, her response to the stimulus towards democracy which Britain is applying will have to be very complex, morally, intellectually, and socially, and it seems probable that such a response must involve something like a transformation of many of her social institutions. Thus, then, for the present there does not exist, and it is impossible that there should exist, an electorate capable of forming an adequate basis for popular, representative, responsible government. The remedy which the author of the paper suggested for what he regards as the breakdown of democracy is provincial autonomy. That rather vague expression is not explained, but I gather that what he means is, as has been suggested by Dr. Paranjpye, a complete transfer of all subjects to Ministers selected from the elected legislatures, and responsible to the electorate. But surely that is very much like building a house without foundations: erecting walls and putting on the roof while trusting that the foundations will, in due course, insert themselves if and when they may; it amounts to instituting popular responsible government without any electorate to which the all-powerful Ministers will be really responsible. That would appear to be a system which will be even more impossible than Dyarchy itself. I shall be asked: What, then, do you propose? I would say: Back to unitary government; a unitary government which will include, in adequate proportions, both British and Indian elements; with legislative councils which will retain much of their present functions and powers, subject, of course, to the consideration that the distinction between transferred and reserved subjects will no longer exist.



Then, no doubt, I shall be asked: What elements of development are there in a system of that sort? I would reply that if India has the capacity for democratic institutions, for popular responsible government, we may look forward to the time when political consciousness will have largely developed; and that with the development of political consciousness, consequent upon increased education and enlightenment, it will be possible to extend the electorates, and with their extension to give increased powers to the legislative bodies, and concurrently gradually to increase the Indian element in the Government, until at last (if all this works as one would hope it might—a matter which time alone can show), a stage may be reached in which we shall have something like real, responsible, popular representative government of Indians by Indians, for Indians. (Applause.)

Mr. STANLEY RICE (Secretary), in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, said he was sure they all deeply regretted the absence of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, but at that time he was probably on the Red Sea; nevertheless, he was sure they would all desire him to convey to Mr. Sinha, when he wrote, the sense of the meeting. (Hear, hear.) Further he was quite sure they would desire to pass a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Patrick Fagan, who had taken the Chair, as he himself had said, on no notice at all and most reluctantly. When he found himself in the position of having no Chairman, he had no hesitation in inviting Sir Patrick to occupy that position. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. Sinha has sent from India the following reply:

Through the courtesy of Mr. Stanley Rice, I have received a copy of the report of the discussion on my paper on Dyarchy, at the adjourned meeting on October 17, when I was on the high seas on my way back to India. I wish I could have been present to answer my critics on the spot. Readers of my reply will, I trust, kindly keep in mind the disadvantage under which I labour.

The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan agreed with me in the main and differed but on minor matters. As a member of the Government of Bengal (both before and after the introduction of Dyarchy) his views are entitled to weight and consideration, and it is gratifying to me to find that he substantially confirmed my view. He rightly said that both he and I "know for a fact that" our "conclusions regarding the working of Dyarchy were practically the same"—namely, "that provincial autonomy was perhaps the only remedy." I am quite content to leave it at that. It seems a pity that none of the speakers at the adjourned debate cared to notice the significance of the valued support I had received from the Maharajadhiraj on my main contention.

Similarly, it is a source of great satisfaction to find that though an experienced administrator like Sir Patrick Fagan started by saying that the "root and branch condemnation which the author of the paper expressed had not been altogether borne out," he declared in the same breath: "Dyarchy appears to attempt to do what is in essence an impossibility." This was precisely my own contention. His words (following those I have reproduced) amount, I submit, to an even stronger



condemnation of Dyarchy than may be justly said of my statement. As to Sir Patrick's complaint that I had suggested as remedy "provincial autonomy" which "rather vague expression is not explained," I regret I cannot plead guilty, for my last words were a definition of this very phrase as "a system in which the Executive is composed of a constitutional Governor and a Ministry responsible to the Legislature." I submit that this statement of the principle underlying provincial autonomy makes its meaning as clear as my command of English enables me to do.

Dr. Paranjpye's observations seem to me to be, on the whole, of a nebulous character. He emphasized that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform (even though afflicted with Dyarchy) is better than what it superseded—namely, the Morley-Minto constitution. I myself hold that view, and expressed it unambiguously in the paper. Nor did I ever suggest, or could do so, that we should go back to the old constitution, merely because it was impossible to work Dyarchy. All this is, I submit, what lawyers call "raising a false issue"—just to draw a red herring across the trail and thus cloud the main issue. But Dr. Paranjpye, while he "did not entirely agree in all" that I said "as regards the difficulties of the system," had the fairness to admit—for which I am grateful—that, "of course, the difficulties theoretically were there." That is an admission to which I attach great weight and value, as Dr. Paranjpye, having been himself a Minister, has had practical experience of the inherent defects of Dyarchy. But when it comes to the practice of it, he seems not quite disposed to agree with me, though here again he is not direct and specific in his statements, but takes shelter behind the specious plea that the smooth working of the system "depended upon the personality of the Governor and the Minister and also perhaps upon the personality of the Secretary as to who was to be top dog in all this trouble and fight." Well, to a learned Brahmin like Dr. Paranjpye, the spectacle of such contending may cause no worry and may not upset his equilibrium. But his declaration amounts, in my opinion, to the strongest condemnation of the system in practice, as he lays down as its precedent condition an ideal state of affairs, which is not likely to be realized in this workaday world—namely, the Governor (Brahma), the Minister (Vishnu), and the Secretary (Siva), all three working harmoniously, when, as a matter of fact, each of them—according to Dr. Paranjpye himself—is but struggling to be at the top.

Sir Henry Wheeler kindly acknowledged my "able assistance" during more than four years that we worked together as colleagues. While conveying to him my sense of profound gratefulness, I may say that of the many things I learnt as the result of my close association with him, not the least important was that, in public discussions, hard words break no bones, and that therefore it is best either to avoid them, or, at any rate, to be temperate in one's language. That I have taken this lesson to heart and tried to benefit by it is evidenced by my paper on Dyarchy having been accepted by the East India Association as one which—in the words of Sir Louis Dane—was "written in a most admirable and temperate spirit," and in which "there is nothing which need give rise to



anything in the nature of acrimonious discussion." It has, therefore, come as a rather disagreeable surprise to find that Sir Henry charged me with having fallen a victim to the use of a catch phrase "Dyarchy 'must go'" (which I had never used!) "borrowed from English politics in the way that catch words and phrases travelled round the world," with having "entirely misrepresented" the position of the Secretary under Dyarchy, with having depicted the Governor as an "ogre of the piece," with having stated "that Ministers were daily overruled," and (to omit several other similar accusations) he averred "that the picturesque language of journalism had rather carried the writer away into some disregard of the actual facts." Such language is, in my humble opinion, wholly at variance with the sound teaching Sir Henry graciously imparted to me and the lesson he so kindly inculcated on me, both by precept and example, in the matter of temperateness in expression and in adopting fairness of outlook in dealing even with those from whom we may differ in opinion. It would not be difficult for one like myself, who has been thirty-five years at the Bar, to indulge in effective retorts and smart persiflage on the line of criticism adopted by Sir Henry, but I advisedly forbear from doing so, preferring to follow the example he set me in his responsible office of Governor to that in the (comparatively speaking) much less responsible position he now occupies as an inmate of that Cave of Addulam—the India Office.

As to the merits of his accusations, Sir Henry seems to me—if I may say so without impertinence—to have brought to bear upon my paper not quite an unprejudiced frame of mind, which has resulted, not unnaturally, in a warped judgment. For the statements I made I gave incontrovertible facts, unimpeachable data, and unquestionable authorities, and they are there, for what they are worth, for anyone who may care to study with an impartial mind the problem I dealt with. To say, as I did, that by reason of the non-establishment of the principle of joint ministerial responsibility (in the administration of the transferred side) the Governor finds it easier to overrule individual Ministers is very far from stating or even implying that the latter are overruled "daily" (the word Sir Henry puts into my mouth, but which I nowhere used) by Governors; and to say, as I did, that the direct right of access to the Governor which the Secretary enjoys materially weakens the position of Ministers is not at all to imply (as Sir Henry vigorously puts it) that "the Governor and the Secretary got together to see how best they could do down the Minister." Such comments—howsoever in their proper place in "notings" on Secretariat files—are not likely to commend themselves to or find acceptance with people trained to sift, appreciate, and weigh things properly.

But Sir Henry's criticisms of my paper are not confined merely to faults of commission, but (in a larger measure) to those of omission as well. My answer on this charge is that the omissions were advisedly made, as, in my opinion, they did not come within the purview of my paper—which was Dyarchy in theory and practice, but not in its working in the various provinces.



Referring to the many omissions which he enumerated, Sir Henry said : "Beginning with the basis of the whole structure, how had the electorates worked?" Now supposing I had dealt with this particular aspect of the question and had stated that the electorates had not yet worked well, in the sense that they had not displayed sufficient interest, enthusiasm, or a right perception of the qualities or qualifications of the candidates. Surely the matter could not rest there. The question would at once be raised why it was so. And what would be the answer of any educated and thinking Indian? It would very probably be that it was so, as the Government (though it has ruled, say Bihar, since 1765) had grossly neglected its duty to the people and had failed to educate them, with the result that even after 162 years of British rule the vast bulk of them (more than ninety-five per cent.) were grossly illiterate, and that this was due to the Government's indifference to the condition of the masses, on account of its personnel being foreign and its character despotic (of howsoever benevolent a type), and its natural anxiety to spend a larger portion of the public revenues for the upkeep of its British civil and military services, and the maintenance of an unnecessarily large army to garrison the country, and so on, and so forth.

If an Indian said so at a meeting of the East India Association, could any Anglo-Indian (using the term in its classical sense) be prevented from repeating or paraphrasing, in his reply to the Indian argument, the substance of the observations emphasized of late by Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords, in which he has eloquently descanted on the origin of British rule in India, the past and the existing conditions in the country, and the consequent inherent rights of the British as the perpetual trustees of the Indian people? And would not such a debate—which I have adumbrated in the mildest language—be in all likelihood highly acrimonious, full of bitterness and recrimination? I hope Sir Henry will now realize why I felt justified in excluding from my survey the actual working of the Dyarchic system and confined myself to its theory and practice. But if he does not, then all I can say is that in this matter we are evidently looking at the question from different angles of vision, and must therefore agree to differ.

# POLITICAL VIEWS OF ORTHODOX HINDUS

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## INTRODUCTION

BEFORE I submit the political views of orthodox Hindus I feel called upon to answer two questions :

- (1) Who are the orthodox Hindus?
- (2) Can there be any political views which may be called typical or representative of the orthodox Hindus as a body?

### (1) WHO ARE THE ORTHODOX HINDUS?

An orthodox Hindu is, as defined by some orthodox authority, a member by birth of the *Varnâshrama-Dharma* (the religious institution of the castes and the four stages or orders of life), and who acknowledges the authority of the Vedas (*Shruti*) as scriptures and the *Dharma Shâstras* (*Smriti*) as institutes of the law. Popular orthodoxy pays reverence to the *Itihâsas* (epics), *Purânas*, and *Tantras*, too, as sacred books which subserve and uphold the authority of the Vedas.\*

Strictly speaking, the membership and acknowledgment of authority is but nominal, as in all old systems of religion. Practically nothing but birth (in a family belonging to one of the castes of the Hindu social organization), initiation sacrament (investiture with the sacred thread) among the descendants of the three higher castes, called twice-born, marriage and funeral rites according to some modes prescribed by different schools of orthodoxy (the rules and restrictions of which are now gradually relaxing) are insisted upon to constitute an orthodox Hindu.

\* Yâjñavalkya adds: *Vedângas* and *Mimânsâ*. Shankara emphasizes *Âchâra*.



## THE CASTE SYSTEM

The *Varna*, or caste system, has continued among the orthodox Hindus from time immemorial, but under varying conditions of laxity or rigidity. The large principles upon which it was founded were gradually subordinated to narrower ideas and rules which no member could break without paying the penalty of expulsion.

But under the British rule of religious toleration and facilities for learning the Pandits are having the opportunity of making wider studies and discovering that the narrow caste restrictions, etc., have no place in the *Sruti* and *Smriti*,\* and that the social order of things depicted in the epics are by far broader and more liberal than the present. Hence there is an honest attempt towards going back to the order of those days,† and the undoing of the knots of the hard-and-fast rules is already in progress. Popular ignorance cannot be removed in a day, but there is transition of different stages of progress in different provinces.

It is, therefore, that membership of the caste indicates different conditions in different parts of India; but to be called an orthodox Hindu one must be a born member of one of the existing castes, and must acknowledge the membership so long as he does not retire from worldly duties.

Birth has been treated as the *sine qua non* of membership of a caste for ages, and up to now the orthodox Hindus treat it as such; conversion was unknown to them. Lately the Hindus are awakened to the fact that continuous expulsions and wholesale conversions into other religions have thinned their ranks, which fact is affecting their political status (based on numerical strength) prejudicially. Hence reformers are pushing their case of the legitimacy of conversion or reconversion into Hinduism, and the Hindu politicians, including some orthodox leaders, have given their consent or rather joined the campaign.

\* Cf. Manu, IV. 253; II. 85, 87; and III. 125-26-33; and Yājñavalkya, I. 166; I. 96; and I. 8.

† The heroic or golden days of the epics (*Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*) of which all the Hindus are proud.

## BASIC PRINCIPLE OF HINDU BODY-POLITIC.

We shall never grasp the secret of the Hindu social organization, which has withstood the ravages of age with a solidarity unique in human history, if we do not realize that the basic principle underlying the organization is the harmonious co-ordination of the subtle and the gross, the high and the low, the pure and the impure, the spirit and matter, in such a way that it should conduce to the growth, maintenance, and ultimate preponderance of the former (*i.e.*, the high and the pure). No social, no political, no economic considerations or order of things should be allowed to outweigh the paramount importance of the religious ideal of spiritual progress towards the eternal; no temporary, sensual, or earthly pleasure should have the license to mar the supreme glory of the permanent or eternal bliss.

I must proceed to the second question, although I feel that my answer to the first is still inadequate to give you a full idea of the orthodox Hindu ideals, which are intimately connected with their political views. The keynote of these views is struck by the following remark: that in a body-politic, as in a social or religious organism, the principle of the division of rights and functions must proceed on the lines of *adhikāra*\* based on *guna*† and *Karma*,‡ and in no case should *satwa* be left at the mercy of *rajas* and *tamas* to be governed. In other words, it amounts to this: that in no State the high thinkers and the good should be entirely governed by the masses of a lower temperament or mentality.

## (2) CAN ANY POLITICAL VIEWS BE REGARDED AS TYPICAL OF THE ORTHODOX HINDUS?

It is extremely risky to maintain that a certain set of political views represent the views of *all* the orthodox

\* Right created by qualifications.

† Quality of *satwa* (purity), *rajas* (passion), and *tamas* (inertia).

‡ Action.



Hindus of today. But we can safely treat the views given expression to by a body, recognized to be representative of orthodox Hindus, as the political views of an average orthodox Hindu, and we can also assert that certain political doctrines ought to be accepted as the doctrines of orthodox Hindus if they are enjoined by their sacred books of supreme authority and accord with the spirit of the principle they universally follow.

To be on the safe side, I think I cannot do better than quote the following extracts from an address presented by Sri Bhárat Dharma Mahámandal (the Grand Assembly of All India Orthodox Hindus) to His Excellency the Viceroy of India at Benares on 5th January last, which was read by the Hon. Dr. Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, the acknowledged leader of orthodox Hindus for at least thirty years.

#### POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE ORTHODOX HINDUS

*(Extract from an Address of the Mahamandal.)*

"All thoughtful observers of the orthodox Hindu community are seriously alarmed at the present situation created by a defective system of education, tending not only to disregard the authority of our beloved Emperor and to destroy the sentiments of loyalty and reverential trust which form an integral part of the religious duties of the Hindus, but also to cut at the root of the religious strength and moral worth of the people.

"Since the date of its foundation the Association (the Mahamandal) has been serving the cause of humanity, and its definite aim had been one of advancing a God-loving spirit among the people in complete harmony with the Government. . . . A true Hindu, according to the pronouncement of our holy sages, considers the whole world as one family-home. And while true Hinduism wants to maintain a conservative spirit, it is always amenable to right progress. The Mahamandal's orthodoxy is not stagnation. We are not opposed to reforms or democracy, but we want to harness and marshal the present world forces to discipline and organized social hierarchy so that humanity's spiritual goal is never lost sight of.

"Talks of freedom, liberty, independence, and self-determination form the order of the day. Every people is clamouring for freedom. A true Hindu believes that temporal freedom or self-rule without attaining the emancipation of the inner self from the bonds of low self-interest is a pure hallucination, and this is why, in spite of all endeavours for the establishment of peace and order, the present world has every day been losing its harmony and tranquillity."

#### THE SENTIMENTS OF LOYALTY

Loyalty to the Raja and the *Samrât* (Emperor) is an essential characteristic of the orthodox Hindus, and the sentiments are as old as the Vedas.

As early as the Vedic age we see the *Rájyas* (Kingdoms) and *Samrájyas* (Empires) established, and obedience of the people to the King is enforced. (Rig-Veda, I. 67. 1 and IV. 50. 8.)

*Swárájya* (uncontrolled dominion, opposed to *rájya*) occurs in *Káthaka Samhitá* (XIV. 5), *Maitrayani Samhitá* (I. 11. 5) and *Aitareya Brahmana* (VIII. 12. 45); and we read of Republics in Northern India about Buddha's time. Even now the Chiefs of some tribes in the Himalayas are elected. But these forms of Government are not familiar to the orthodox Hindus, as the system recognized by *Manu-Smriti*, and other *Dharmashastras* is Kingship and the overlordship of an Emperor. The Epics mention *Rájya-suya* ceremonies to celebrate the installations of Emperors.

The protection to the people that kingship stood for in ancient India gradually began to be interpreted as the outcome of divine dispensation, and the idea evolved that in a king the divine power manifested itself. *Manu* (VII. 12) says: "Even an infant king should not be despised as a mere mortal, for he is a deity in human form." *Gita* (X. 27) says: "Among men I (God) am the King."

I remember with what sacred respect our good old people took the name of the *Mahârâni* Victoria, and what a wave of thrilling sentiments prevailed all over India



during the Jubilees. I also remember how old orthodox Hindus fought for the opportunity to have a glimpse (*darshana*) of the sacred person of our present beloved Emperor, under the walls of the Delhi Fort, and wherever His Imperial Majesty appeared publicly in India.

The doctrine of loyalty is, therefore, an essential feature of orthodox Hindu politics, and it has been repeatedly asserted by all orthodox Hindu public bodies.

#### REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Although a Raja has been deified by the Dharmashastras his political status was not the same as James I.'s *absolute right*; or Louis XIV.'s "*L'État c'est moi*."

A Raja being the Defender of the Faith and protector of his people was held as the emblem of Divine power, but he had to rule as a constitutional monarch, and not as an autocrat. He had no power to make laws, and was bound to obey the laws of Manu.

So, according to orthodox doctrines, a king is divine so long as he discharges his duties divinely, and he is as much bound by laws as the Divine Being Himself is supposed to be by His self-made laws.

Devoid of legislative powers the King could exercise his executive powers only through a *Sabhā* (Council) consisting of seven or eight very competent and honest men. (Manu, VII. 54.)

Speaking of such Councillors of the olden days the Greek writer, Megasthenes, says: "The Councillors and Assessors deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected on account of the high character and wisdom of its members, for from their ranks the advisers of the King are taken, and treasurers of the State and the arbiters who settle disputes." (Indica, Fragment 41.)

Under the protection of a State of the above nature, and with a few duties exacted by the State, the Indian social life enjoyed complete autonomy. The laws to govern the

people were Rishi-made, subject to interpretation of their own Pandits belonging to their own school of laws, the revenue due to the King from their lands, if they held any, was at a fixed rate, and all their everyday affairs, disputes and troubles, were settled by their *Panchâyats*, and in all common dangers and perils in rural life they were assured of the help and protection of their village community. Thus India has been used to benevolent Personal Rule with oligarchy and village autonomy.

The State being thus devoid of legislative functions, and the people being free from taxation, no extra imposition being levied on the commons even to wage wars, there was no necessity for representation of the people on the State Councils. Beyond paying homage to the established Government and loyalty to the King, the masses of India never cared for politics and took no interest in the work of Councils—a state of political mentality which continues among the Indian masses, especially in the Indian States, where parental Government means that the Ruling Prince himself is the representative of the people.

The reason why political democracy has not had existence in India is that for ages and ages the people have been left undisturbed by the State. Megasthenes draws some pictures of this non-interference :

“It is accordingly affirmed that famine had never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food.” (*Indica*, Fragment I. 36.)

“There are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them (beside the two harvests a year) ; for whereas among the nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other,



but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down its trees." (Fragment I. 37. McCrindle, p. 32.)

Here is a shrewd observer of the land, which may be called the cradle of political democracy in Europe, contrasting the characteristics of the Indian people with his own, and giving the true reason of the absence of the spirit of unrest among Indian masses. Over two thousand years have since elapsed, but the people of India changed very little, except here and there on the surface, until recently.

Under the British Government there has reigned peace in India, and protection of life, property, and religious and social institutions, is one of the many blessings conferred by it on the country. The orthodox Hindus are grateful that their *Varna-shrama Dharma* is protected from aggressions, and the laws of their own Dharmashastras are allowed to govern their own family succession, etc. But they are concerned and quite alarmed at the advent of a new enemy along with the British Government, which is threatening to infuse political disruption into their social organization which has survived countless onsets. I mean the economic struggle. High prices, multiplication of the necessities of life, taxation, and enhancement of land revenue, etc., ushered in by fresh economic conditions, are gradually disturbing the tranquillity of the masses in such a way as was never known in the bygone days. Hence political unrest and growth of political democracy are inevitable, and fresh legislation to meet new demands and to cope with the newly created conditions is also unavoidable. Under such circumstances it is absolutely necessary, in the absence of selfless sages as legislators, to have the different interests of the country represented on the Legislatures, and it would be unfair on the part of orthodox Hindus to oppose a thoroughly representative Government. "Orthodoxy is not stagnation. We are not opposed to reforms or democracy."

## SAFEGUARDS

Although the orthodox Hindus are not opposed to the reforms which are, according to the pledge of the Imperial Parliament, to run to the length of a full measure of self-government, they are anxious to see that the future representative bodies and cabinets should not be swamped by such people as would not care to preserve the institutions and priceless treasures of traditions which they have zealously guarded for innumerable years, and which His Majesty's Government has so far helped them to preserve. They are also alarmed at the growth of the anarchic spirit among the rising generation in India, as the result of defective education and certain pernicious Western influences, which also threatens the annihilation of the orthodox institutions of the country, and the subversion of the principle and policy thus far followed by the orthodox Hindus.

I venture to submit here two safeguards for the consideration of the forthcoming Statutory Commission: one touches the principle of election, the other the constitution of communal representation.

## REFORMS AND THE PRINCIPLE OF ELECTION

The best reforms introduced in India are not free from dire evils. Take, for instance, the educational system and the Courts of Justice. This is not the place to dwell on their evils. I may only say that both these in their present form are unsuitable for the soil. They are both too expensive luxuries for an average Indian, and the worst of it is that after all the expenses they fail to attain the ends they are to serve. For justice it is commonly said in India:—"You can but buy justice in India at a high price. It is a rich man's game, and the poor man only suffers from it. As between two rich parties both lose, 'he who conquers and he who falls'; the lawyers only fill their pockets. What on earth are the lawyers required for? Does not the



Judge know the law and how to cross-examine a party? Unnecessary case-law and cross-examination prolong the hearing of a case only to swell the lawyer's pockets," and so on. As a lawyer I endorse the bulk of these remarks, and my heart often bleeds for the poor litigants.

I do strongly plead the necessity of simplifying judicial proceedings to suit the soil. A comparison is invited between the complex proceedings and legal technicalities of today and the simple Adjective Law of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Nārada, to which the country was used, and which, with slight modification, will still suit India (except certain cases in Presidency Towns).

I think that there is a very strong demand in India for a radical reformation of the two greatest of reforms introduced to the country by the British Government—namely, the Educational and Judicial Systems. The fundamental principles should be laid down by an Imperial Legislation to be worked upon by Provincial Governments.

Now, before further steps are taken in political reforms, we must see that another evil in the disguise of blessing be not allowed to take root in India like the above two—I mean the system of election. It is, in its present form, also foreign to the soil, and is likewise an expensive game, failing in its real object.

Whatever be the utility of canvassing in its land of origin it is in the last degree unsuited to India for the purpose of electing the real and best representatives of the people.

One of the greatest virtues of good and learned men among the orthodox Hindus (among orthodox Muhammadans too) is modesty. *Vidyā Dadāti vinayam* (Knowledge breeds modesty). No modest man can encourage the canvassers to sing his praises, and no honest man can stoop to the mean practice of buying votes. The result is that the worthiest people among the orthodox Hindus, who would prove the fittest representatives of their fellow-men, refrain from offering themselves as candidates. Besides, the best of men need not necessarily be rich or

party-men. Such men have absolutely no chance in the present system of election.

It is therefore submitted that canvassing should be altogether prohibited in India as a criminal offence. All the election officers should compile statements about the candidates' qualifications and antecedents through authentic sources, and have them published with the candidates' political views. They should arrange to have these statements distributed broadcast among the voters, and on the eve of the polling it may be so arranged that the candidates should address the constituents of their electorate from an official platform under the presidency of the election officer, for an hour each, one after another.

#### COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

I need not touch upon the communal strifes in India at length, as they have been already too much discussed. As a Pandit,\* who is incapable of communal ill-feeling, I cannot reduce myself to communal partisanship. The position of both the parties, petty *zids*, leading to bloodshed, is absolutely ridiculous and foolish. One thing I can say is, that the bone of contention between the two combatants is not what may be strictly called religious, but only a legal right.

The proper forms of Hindu prayer are mental,† *japa* (repetition of a *mantra*) and *dhyāna* (contemplation). These are as much disturbed by boisterous music as are Muhammadan prayers. Similarly, the morning call to prayer at the Masjids may be taken as a nuisance by anybody who loves to sleep in the early hours of the morning. Again, some traffic is more noisy than a passing street music.

So, on the very face of it, the apparent cause of the recent communal disturbances is the outcome of foolish ignorance. To oppose legal rights, either of playing music

\* "*Panditāh sama-darshinah*"—Gitā. The Pandits view equally (all humanity).

† See Manu, II. 85.



or of religious conversion, is stupid. To push the legal rights in such a way as to wound the feelings of our neighbours is equally stupid. Stupid strife cannot continue long, and must come to an end, if not through wise advice, from the practical experience that it does not pay either party to wage the foolish and profitless war.

The facts that have emerged out of these strifes are : (1) Both the Hindus and Muhammadans have realized that either the one or other cannot have the upperhand in the political administration of India to the exclusion or subordination of the other. The dreams of a Hindu India or a Muhammadan India must be abandoned as empty dreams. (2) That the present communal bitterness is a precursor to a political settlement just in the same way as the Protestant-Catholic war in Europe in the Middle Ages.

One feature in the Hindu-Muhammadan struggle for political ascendancy has some depth in it ; the Indian Muslims are as proud of their culture and past traditions and are as much entitled to their preservation as the Hindus or the Europeans in India. Their anxiety to safeguard their interests, prompted by the above considerations, is as natural as that of the conservative Hindus in the same respect.

I have been always impressed by the fact that higher cultures of different peoples cannot be conflicting with each other to such an extent as to create strifes and feuds. In a body-politic two or more distinct cultures may meet in peace and harmony, retaining their distinct character and features, as in the League of Nations distinct nationalities can meet in peace and harmony for common interests, retaining their political independence and individuality.

My experience is, that the best of Pandits and the best of Maulavis are the best of friends, especially in the Indian States. The most orthodox Hindu aristocrats are the best friends of the most conservative Muhammadan aristocrats. Although they do not inter-dine or inter-marry, they under-



stand each other, and their regard and respect for each other are often genuine, and family friendships have become traditional. You may conclude that those who are really anxious to uphold the respective cultures and traditions among the Hindus and the Muhammadans—the followers of the Vedas and the Koran—do not necessarily fight and can live on the most amicable terms, as in most cases in the Indian States they do. The Hindus are as proud of the glorious traditions of the Muhammadans in India as the Muhammadans themselves. The Hindus and Muhammadans equally boast of the architectural and artistic beauty of the Taj Mahal. These traditions are now common property. We read in history how the Hindu Princes and sepoys laid down their lives voluntarily for their Muhammadan overlords, and I remember how, in Bengal, Muhammadan *râyats* (tenants) and *barkandâjes* (peons) fought for their Hindu Zamindars or Munibs even to death in *Kâjiâs* (feuds for the occupation of lands). The *eating of salt* created a sacred obligation stronger than caste or communal relation. This sense of obligation is still continuing in the Indian States which are not influenced as much by the wave of irreligious communism from the West.

The present communal unrest in British India has been whipped up by political exploiters to support their political propaganda. Practically all the parties in India are trying to court the Demon of the Masses, for whose favour there is now a regular tug-of-war; but the question of conversion and reconversion has assumed an acute phase among the Hindus and Muhammadans, each of whom is eager to muster stronger in each province. The principle of communal representation introduced into Indian Constitution is indirectly responsible for this extraordinary fanatic activity.

Woe worth the day when communal representation, based on numerical strength, was thought of. The tension of ill-feeling that has developed out of it must be deplored by all parties including the orthodox Hindus. I, for one, strongly condemn it as a narrow constitutional measure,



which must result in widening the gulf existing between the important members of the Indian body-politic.

I think I am representing the views of the orthodox Hindu politicians correctly when I say that although they thought of proposing communal representation they are now turning against it because of its evil effects. At the same time they share with the Muhammadans the anxiety of having their traditions, religious principles, and communal interests safeguarded against possible swamping of the legislative bodies by those who bear antipathies towards their community and are antagonistic to their traditions and customs. In fact, that is the anxiety not only of the Muslims and orthodox Hindus but of all the communities in India—the European, Indian Christian, Parsi, Sikh, and Jain communities, for instance. In the course of time each caste, the Mális, Dhobis, Náís, Kahárs, Kumbhárs, Khátis, Chamárs, Bhangis, and then the hill-tribes—Bhils, Santals, Odars, Nagas—and who not, will come in for a share in communal representation.

The problem that presents itself is how to do away with the present form of communal representation of Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans and still to safeguard their communal interests. It is really a constitutional dilemma, and I beg leave to submit a solution which appears to me to be feasible as a lesser evil.

Both the Central and Provincial Legislative bodies or parliaments should be composed of two Houses like the British Parliament. Elections for the Lower Houses will have nothing to do with communal or denominational interests, with exception to those of modern organizations, such as Universities, Hindu or Muhammadan or Christian.

The Upper Houses will have for their members the leaders of recognized denominational institutions, representatives of organized societies, assemblies, and leagues of acknowledged authorities among particular communities and representatives of nobles' houses or families, and large business concerns, etc.

The Upper House of the Central Legislature should have among its members the representatives of the Chamber of Princes, hereditary Maharajahs among the nobles and baronets among the commercial magnates and high priests or religious heads of all important religious sects, and Europeans of high distinction and standing in India.

The Statutory Commission should prepare the lists of such institutions, associations, and aristocratic houses, etc., as will be deemed fit to be represented on the Upper Chambers, and such lists should be subject to periodical revision by committees appointed by the Central Parliament.

If any Bill passed by the Lower House of a legislative body be opposed unanimously by the representatives of a community in the Upper House, it should be referred to the head of the Government, who should consider it with a Joint Committee, composed of members for and against the Bill, and if the head of the Government be satisfied that the proposed measure to be legislated by the Bill would really affect prejudicially the interests of the particular community concerned, he should disallow the Bill or veto it. An appeal against this decision should lie to the Viceroy, if the head of the Government be a Provincial Governor, and the Viceroy should try the appeal, aided by such members of the Central Upper House as would be interested in the subject-matter of the Bill, and his decision would be final.

#### RECRUITMENT TO GOVERNMENT SERVICE ON COMMUNAL BASIS

Lately economic necessity, more than any other consideration, has prompted the Muhammadan leaders to attach urgency to this question; while, to my knowledge, the Government has all along helped the Muhammadan claim in this respect rather indulgently.

The orthodox Hindus are at one with the heterodox



Hindus in insisting on merit and qualifications as the only standards on which to base the principle of selecting candidates for Government offices. It would be a dangerous principle to grant special favours in public service to the members of a community simply on the ground that it is backward in education. The only favours to which such a community is entitled are grants and facilities for the advancement of education among its youthful members. The orthodox Hindus have never been opposed to the spread of education among the Muhammadans or among the depressed classes. If by chance you find that in some parts of India they have refused to allow their children to sit with the children of the depressed classes in a school, you should not be in a hurry to conclude that they are opposed to mass-education, but they object to what they think means lower association for their children. Before you condemn this fastidious consideration you should remember what you yourselves or the majority of your people would do in such cases. It is the same principle, acting on which you would send your children from India to England or to the European schools in the hills to be educated, but not to the missionary schools where the Indian Christian boys go.

The orthodox Hindus are in favour of mass-education,\* but they particularly wish that this education should be spread on right lines. Training in the cardinal principles of religion (Hindu or Muhammadan), training in physical and moral culture, sanitary habits, and some particular avocation suiting the students' condition in life and

\* As to the charge that the leaders of the orthodox Hindus tried to shut out enlightenment from the masses in the past, it is pertinent to ask what country in the world thought of mass-education in the modern sense before the printing press came into general use, and how many men and women in the countryside of Europe could read and write in the last century before education was made compulsory. By education the orthodox Hindus mean real culture, progress from *tamas* to *satwa*, which can be properly attained by the students being placed under a *guru's* personal influence and training by examples along with the intellectual culture through lessons which are derived mostly from sacred books.



aptitudes, and training in reverence for Indian traditions, reverence for age, rank, and position in life, respect for law and order and loyalty towards the Sovereign, should form the essential basis of mass-education in India, if we want in future the happy association of the higher classes of orthodox Hindus with the so-called depressed classes of today on the same platforms, social or political. A healthy quality and refined habits must be developed in the present depressed communities to fit them for association with the higher communities with equal grace, and without producing any feeling of discomfiture; and wholesome views about society, laws, traditions, and toleration for the religious ideals of others must be produced in them before the orthodox Hindus agree to the removal of the safeguards against their swamping the legislative bodies.

Education should aim at producing these qualities and virtues among our masses. The process can but be slow and gradual even if we take all possible and reasonable care to expedite the progress. Unreasonable and unwarranted hurry would only lead to social dislocation and political disruptions. Proper education and competence must be insisted on as passports to legislation, executive and public service, without any undue indulgence or concession to any communal demands. On no account should the public be victimized by being placed under an incompetent public officer, who has been thrust on them simply because he hails from a backward community.

### IS HINDU CONSERVATISM A POLITICAL DISABILITY?

It has been a fashion of long-standing to run down the social customs and habits of the orthodox Hindus, and describe them as bars to any political advancement. But I must confess that I am too dull to grasp all that is said in this respect, nor can I accept in full the theory that the orthodox Hindus' social drawbacks stand in the way of all sorts of political progress. The subject requires an ex-



haustive treatment based on facts and figures for and against the theory. Here I can only draw your cursory glance at one or two of these, which would be enough to establish that the theory has flaws, and does not stand examination.

Take, for instance, two solid elements in nation-building and national solidarity—*Unity* and *Honesty*.

*Unity*.—You will find more unity in an orthodox Hindu village community in spite of caste divisions and rigidities—a compact body, which stands for mutual help and support—than in the liberally educated circles of today (urban or rural). I am armed with concrete facts and figures, which I refrain from citing here, for they would amount to personal remarks.

*Honesty*.—Everybody in India knows how the Indian bankers and traders, bred and brought up under orthodox traditions and customs and very little affected by modern education, transact with strict honesty their daily business, which involves the handling of lakhs of rupees with very little documentary acknowledgments, and also how their account books record items with religiously scrupulous honesty. Exceptions only prove the rule, and in these exceptional cases the “black sheep” come from the ranks who have acquired a smattering of English, and learnt the tricks of modern litigation.

It is exceptional to find that in business and banking transactions the unorthodox and “educated” Indians come out with a clean sheet and unimpeachable integrity. The investigation reports in liquidation cases and the many prosecutions for misappropriation will prove this statement. The former is a product of caste system, child-marriage, and all sorts of restrictions called social tyranny; the latter is the product of godless education, free from the prejudices and superstitions of the “stupid,” orthodox people. Would you still maintain that orthodoxy is the root cause of Indian degeneracy?

## RELIGION AND POLITICS

The orthodox Hindus hold that religion is inseparably connected with politics. But the slogan of the political fanatics in India today is "Down with Religion." I am never a supporter of prejudices and superstitions unless they have a deep mystic significance, but I believe that there is an eternal moral law ordained by the Eternal Law-Giver, and the system of principles which every individual chooses, or is helped or taught to choose, for himself to follow in order to conform to the eternal moral law is his religion. Compare the term *Dharma* (from *dhri*, to hold, so, which upholds the moral order). Hence *Dharma* must be maintained for moral order in a State. My meaning is better explained by the following lines of Burke :

"It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Nor communities nor nations. They need to be reminded of what is superior to them. Moral force, which comes from within, an ideal of humanity. But this, too, must be regulated by a higher will—the ethical will. The nation, too, must obey the moral law. When this is set aside, the common may only be concentrated passion of hate, and nationalism itself no better than the tyranny of collective selfishness. This true ideal of humanity can be realized only through the help of religion and spiritual culture."

Only the other day a great Leader of Indian Politicians said to me at Paris: "Throw your Vedas and Koran into the fire in order to attain Swarajya." I ought to have answered: "After the Vedas it will be the turn of the Mahatmas and Pandits to be committed to the fire." Standing on the soil, drenched with the blood of thousands of innocent persons shed by mob-violence let loose from the restraints of religion, our worthy leader of the most important political party in India forgot the lesson of history, how the rage of the masses, lashed into fury to demolish religion, recoils on the very heads of those that



court them in the beginning, and of that the French Revolution is the greatest example.

If Swarajya be established by banishing the Vedas from the land of the Vedas it should be called something else—the Vedas, to which Indian India has stuck with its life-blood and which it zealously guarded from destruction by foreign invaders. But why have the Hindus hugged to their bosom the Vedas with such fanatic enthusiasm? You cannot understand this fanatic enthusiasm unless you place yourself in the position of a Hindu, who is proud of the fact that while in the other parts of the world the highest civilization was producing at most hieroglyphic records, Indian sages were writing fine poetry, which in versification and sentiments might rank with any verses of the world; that while in all parts of the world the people had no conception of the unity of Godhead, a Vedic poet says: "He alone became Supreme Lord of the Universe," and the Upanishads (*i.e.*, the Ends of the Vedas) soared up to such heights in mystic science that even today they feed the minds of the highest thinkers of the world. Could this pride be felt today by a Hindu if his ancestors had allowed these most ancient "Revelations" to perish?

England cannot allow Shakespeare's works to perish for any price. So could not India part with the Vedas, even if it cost India's life-blood to retain their possession. A king that gives protection to the Vedas deserves the blessings of the orthodox Hindus and heart-felt loyalty.

#### ADHERENCE TO BRITISH THRONE

Notwithstanding many defects—and no individual or Government is perfect—the British Government has rendered wonderful services to India, which a study with right perspective of historical facts can truly depict. The past continuously progressive course in the evolution of self-government in British India bids fair to bring in its train the full measure of autonomy in the Commonwealth of British Empire in the fulness of time. But what

touches the orthodox Hindus more directly and individually is the feeling of security for their religious autonomy. The British Government not only stands for law and order, for the protection of person and property, but also for peace and religious toleration, which was a great relief to the orthodox Hindus. For ages had the poor sufferers clung to their religious faiths and forms with bleeding hearts from wounds inflicted by aggressors until the advent of the sword of the mighty Defender of Faiths in India. This, as nothing else, alone places the Hindu community under a lasting obligation to the British Power. But there are other considerations too; policy, based on self-interest, also dictates that the orthodox Hindus should adhere loyally to the British Throne to gain the friendship and alliance of the British Power. The Hindus have no foreign power to look up to as the Muhammadans have, and the safest policy for the Hindus is to remain loyal to the British Government, under whose protection it will have the opportunity of developing a national life, the wholesome growth of which must needs take time. Sound Hindu Diplomacy can suggest nothing better after a full examination of the men and materials at its command and the prevailing conditions.\*

It need not be concealed that our younger generation feels it humiliating to tender loyalty which our ancestors have already pledged to the British Throne with thrilling fervour. An idea has dawned on the minds of our youth, as the result of some teachings, that loyalty implies slavery, and it is inconsistent with our self-respect and sense of equality with the fellow-subjects of England. Loyalty does not imply slavery. The Brahmanas professed loyalty to the Kshatriya rulers, but never felt humiliated at the

\* The political foresight of Ranjit Singh (King of Punjab), Jang Bahadur (of Nepal), and Zalim Singh (of Kotah and Jhalawar, Rajputana), predicted a solid British Empire in India. The first said: "All will go red" (in the map of India a *red* colour indicating British possession). The last said: "One currency will prevail in India" (*i.e.*, the British currency).



idea. In spite of that loyalty they felt free and independent and were respected by the King. To quote from Magasthenes again :

"Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians there is one prescribed by the ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable, for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that enjoying freedom, they shall respect equal right to it which all possess.

"For those, they thought, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot."

It is ridiculous to think that a nation which has earned the eternal glory of being instrumental in abolishing slavery in the world should create a slave consciousness in us. If we respect ourselves the world is bound to respect us; the best way to enjoy freedom is to free the mind from selfish thoughts, fears, and low passions and attachments. But to destroy law and order, to establish anarchy for freedom, is only to lose the liberties which the British law and order guarantee in India.

#### CONCLUSION

If anybody wants to fight, if anybody wants war in India, let him fight Ignorance—ignorance of scientific truths, ignorance of spiritual laws, ignorance of history and traditions of the nations that Providence has placed together in the country. Let him go with all the fiery zeal he can generate and strike at the roots of all false prejudices and superstitions, all wrong perspectives, all one-sided views, all illogical conclusions based on half-truths and the consequent false notions about the neighbouring races or communities. Fight, fight with your might and main the monster of ignorance and the mania of seeking self-interests at the sacrifice of the country's good. But do not think of an ideal political national life in India before the war is won.

No country is happy in its political ideals; no peace anywhere in the political world. The memory of the Suffragette disturbances in England is fresh in our minds,

and the clash of conflict with the Communist creed is gradually gathering in volume. Why did you not grant franchise to your own women even so late as the beginning of the twentieth century? Does that mean that the English nation was unfit for self-government up to the twentieth century inasmuch as its better half was incompetent to vote? Or, twist the question and put it as follows: "Can a people or group of peoples be held to be unfit for autonomy if the masses are unfit?" Certainly not. Applying the same principle in India as you applied to the fair sex of your country until recently, you can give India full measure of self-government with the provision that the sections of Indian populace who at present lack in proper education and wide outlook or are ill-educated should not have the upperhand in the Legislature and Administration. This is the pith and marrow of the orthodox Hindus' political demand—a demand in which conservative Muhammadans and Ruling Princes share with equal anxiety. This does not in any way mean that the orthodox Hindus oppose the grant of the full measure of self-government to India. Breathes there a man, with soul so dead, who does not wish the uplifting of the political status of a people, to whom he belongs by birth, to a level of equality among the comity of nations?

Pledged to equality and equanimity, as a Pandit, I maintain that every race or people is entitled to equality in the scale of nations—*i.e.*, equal status and equal opportunities, although for practical politics there must be a difference in the distribution of functions according to faculties and fitness of the individuals. Equal regard for all does not mean equal expectation of the same amount of fitness in everybody for everything.

The real heads of orthodox Hindus are more interested in world's peace than in their home politics. All their higher religious doctrines permeate them with a world-feeling, not limited to any particular race or sect. Whenever they wish a pious wish it is for *iagat-Kalyána* (good of the



whole humanity). Their *Dharma* means universal law and order for progress,\* and it is not qualified by any term signifying any sectarian or dogmatic religion associated with the name of a prophet. If they ever use a qualifying term, being obliged to distinguish it from a sectarian religion, they use the word *Sanātana* (eternal and universal). Says the Gita : "That intelligence is *Sāttwika* which realizes unity (in all humanity) through the undivided Universal Eternal." The following grand teaching of the Mahabharata has been long embodied in the Sanskrit Moral Maxims :

"To a broadminded person the whole world is kith and kin."

Followers of such doctrines as these must needs be the genuine supporters of the ideals of the League of Nations and shall remain always at humanity's service to discard race-hatred, class war, and brutalities of all sorts. The great motto of the Hindu *Satwikas* is *peace*—peace to the mind, peace to the soul, peace to individuals, peace to nations—universal peace.

\* "Yatah abhudayah," *Mimāṃsā*.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, November 28, 1927, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, when a paper was read by Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A., entitled "Political Views of Orthodox Hindus." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen among others were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir William Owens Clark, Colonel A. D. Bannerman, C.I.E., C.V.O., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. D. H. Lees, C.S.I., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. S. Shunmugam, Mr. and Mrs. W. Birch, Colonel D. Warliker, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. S. Bharat Karandikar, Mr. A. M. L. Rahman, Miss Ida Bessburger, Mr. M. Warrall, Mr. V. Jones, Mr. K. B. Orme, Rev. Oswald Younghusband, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. E. Hopkins, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Colonel S. H. Roberts, Mr. Gopalji, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Major Gilbertson, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mrs. Herron, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Dickinson, Dr. Gilbert Orme, Mr. D. H. Lees, Mr. T. Emerson, Mrs. J. M. Ritchie, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

Mr. STANLEY RICE (Secretary) said that he had received a letter from the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan regretting that he would be unable to preside at that meeting. He was sure they would all be sorry to hear of his indisposition. However, they were very fortunate in the fact that Lord Lamington was with them, and had consented to open the proceedings, but it would be necessary for him to leave rather early, and he had asked Sir Edmund Barrow to be good enough to take the chair for the rest of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have had notice given you by Mr. Stanley Rice that the Maharaja of Burdwan unfortunately would be unable to fill the chair this afternoon. However, I shall have the privilege of presiding over this meeting, and I am very glad to say that I have had the opportunity of reading this paper beforehand. I think when you have heard it you will agree with me that it is a paper of most extreme interest. It is very broadminded, and very well balanced in construction. With these prefatory words, I will now ask the lecturer, who as you know was a Minister of Jhalawar for some time, and also was secretary of that very important religious body the Grand Assembly of all India Orthodox Hindus, to read his paper.

The LECTURER read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very sorry to say I am now forced to leave you, but I have to preside at a meeting of the Persian Society. We have listened to a statement of Indian life and outlook, which I consider to be very valuable indeed, but no doubt, like all other human statements, it is open to criticism. There are so many points



which have been drawn to our attention that it would be impossible for me now to allude in detail to them. But there is one point that I should like to mention, and that is where the lecturer suggests the possibility of doing away with communal representation. That is one of the big difficulties which will have to be considered with all other Indian political developments. The lecturer referred to an upper chamber. I do not quite understand the manner by which a person is to be appointed to that chamber, whether it is by election or nomination. However, we are practically barred from discussion of a future political development in India in view of the fact that there is an impartial Commission going out to India simply for the purpose of studying and collecting views as to what should be the future of the Indian Constitution. There are many notable points in the paper, and there is a very remarkable statement contained in the last paragraph of the address: "The great motto of the Hindu Sastwikas is peace—peace to the mind, peace to the soul, peace to individuals, peace to nations: universal peace." I think that passage gives the key to the whole of Indian life and thought. The spiritual world is what dictates the whole of a man's conduct in life, and it may also influence or bear upon his political views. Ladies and gentlemen, I repeat I regret to leave you, and I will ask Sir Edmund Barrow kindly to take the chair in my place. (Applause.)

Sir EDMUND BARROW then took the chair.

Dr. PARANJPYE said that they had listened to a very interesting paper, but personally he had not been satisfied that there were any political views of orthodox Hindus as such at all. Hinduism was a religion, or, if they liked, a social system; but it was very difficult to say that there were any political views common to all orthodox Hindus. It would be perhaps equally incorrect to speak of the political views of Dissenters, or Roman Catholics, or Jews, though in the case of Dissenters English history may entitle us to speak of their broad political views. There were prominent orthodox Hindus whom he could name—for instance, the Maharajah of Durbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, and the late Mr. Tilak—of whom it would be impossible to postulate any common political views, though they were all orthodox Hindus. They had a social system; they also had their views upon the world and also the world hereafter, but to talk of the political views common to all orthodox Hindus was to talk of something which did not at all exist. The lecturer had discussed the ideas underlying the inner life of the Hindus, but he must obviously understand that the books that were regarded as sacred by Hindus were written thousands of years ago. The religious books to which the Hindus looked with such great reverence had not been adapted to modern conditions. It was interesting indeed to see what was the groundwork of thought of Hindus, but to say that the groundwork was actually represented by present-day thoughts was really not giving proper weight to modern conditions. They could take as an example the Greeks. It is said that the civilization of the West was founded upon the old civilization of Greece and Rome, but if one discussed in detail the writings of the Greeks and said that those represented



the political thought of modern Europe, it would be absurd. The Greek social system was of one kind; the political ideas of today were adapted to the modern social system. The conditions of the world at present are quite different from those of the Greeks. The world had become one, so to speak; it was no longer a number of units like city states, as it was in ancient times in Greece. Speaking for himself, he was born of a very orthodox family, and he could quite understand the ideas and ideals of the orthodox Hindu, but orthodox people as such had not much political thought at all. Educated Hindus derived their political ideas from what they had been learning in the last 150 years. The lecturer, in a very pregnant sentence in his paper, said that "The slogan of the political fanatics in India today is 'Down with religion.' I am never a supporter of prejudices and superstition unless they have a deep mystic significance, but I believe that there is an eternal moral law ordained by the eternal Lawgiver," etc.; but everything among the Hindus had a certain mystic significance. They could always find out some text from the old books and attach a certain mystic significance to it. But many of our institutions were rather out of date. They had to grow out of that mystic significance, and they had to adapt their ideas to modern conditions. (Hear, hear.) In days when the people were confined to their particular village, or within a few miles round about it, these old practices could be observed; but when they had to go thousands of miles by railway train, a Brahmin must relax to a certain extent some of his restrictions with regard to food and drink. Exactly the same thing applied to education. The lecturer said they must have education confined to a certain extent to the higher classes; and in any case he would not allow members of the depressed classes to sit in the same school. (The LECTURER: No, I did not say that.) He was very glad to be assured that the lecturer was not of that opinion, but the orthodox Hindu would think that it was a pollution to sit with the lower classes. If they were going to come up to modern conditions all these things would have to disappear. The lecturer had given them the example of the French Revolution, which had the effect of radically reorganizing French society. He appeared to lament the fact of the French Revolution, but the French people did not lament that Revolution. It had had the effect of reforming the French and remaking France when it was on the point of a break-up. The present silent, peaceful revolution which was going on in Indian society was something to be welcomed. They did not want violent revolution, but silent revolution in thought and practice. It was only when that revolution was properly directed that India would rise to the place which they all wished her to attain. It was no good deprecating these modern ideas as the lecturer appeared to do. It was impossible to say in such a short time at his disposal all that he would desire to say, because his point of view was diametrically opposed to the point of view of the lecturer. (Applause.)

After some remarks by Mr. Gopalji, Mr. FRANCIS SKRINE said that he had known the Pandit for a great many years, and he ventured to say that there were very few people in the room who could have written in Bengali as good a lecture as the Pandit had written in English. But wonderful as



was the lecturer's literary style, he could not agree with many of his ideas. First of all, as to the derivation of the word "orthodox." It came from a Greek adjective and a Greek noun—"orthos," meaning "right," and "dogma," "opinion." But there were two factors in orthodoxy, and one of them was right-thinking—the acceptance of the doctrines and practice of the ceremonies enjoined by the Purans. The other factor was birth. The theory of Hinduism was no doubt as the lecturer had stated, but it was a closed religion just as much as Judaism. There were two castes among the Jews—the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim; so Hinduism maintained iron-bound caste barriers which depended upon birth. By no amount of brain-power, intellect, or physical strength, could a Hindu rise in the hierarchy. His position was stereotyped from the cradle to the grave. Opposed to Hinduism were two intensely proselytizing religions in India—Muhammadanism and Christianity. There were about forty million Bengali Muhammadans whose Hindu ancestors had been forcibly converted during the reign of Aurungzib. He failed to see any connection between orthodox Hinduism and modern politics. India was the last country in the world where democratic experiments could be tried. Not only was the caste system dead against them, but with regard to the political education of Indians (great admirer of them as he was), a great deal of Hughli water would flow under the Calcutta bridge before the Montagu reforms could bear good fruit.

Mr. SHAH asked with regard to the depressed classes whether the lecturer would allow a Pandit's daughter to be married to one of them, and secondly, what would he do for their education and amelioration?

Colonel WARLIKER said that he understood from the previous speaker's remark that there was a hidebound restriction between castes, and they were not interchangeable; that it was merely dependent upon the wife, and one could not go from one caste to another. His reading with regard to the matter was that when the castes were founded they were interchangeable. There were records in the Hindu scriptures wherein it was stated that a Sudra on his finding Brahma was accepted as a Brahmin by the Brahmins; a shrine was erected in his honour to which all the castes paid homage. He would like to hear somebody else's view on the matter. This view was corroborated by the lecturer.

Mr. KARANDIKAR said he spoke as a Brahmin coming from an orthodox family and also as representing the rising generation in India. He would like to be allowed to express his extreme disappointment at the lecture which they had heard that afternoon. They had been told that education was an expensive luxury in India. The average expense of that particular department was 1d. for every Hindu, and they would find in that much maligned and falsely maligned Russia that the educational expense was 7½d. per head. That was one of the reasons for the terrible illiteracy which prevailed in India. In 150 years of British rule there was still 2 per cent. of literacy in the land.

The LECTURER in reply said: Ladies and Gentlemen—I feel that this little paper of mine has been misunderstood. I fear that the community of orthodox Hindus, although the most important one in India, is the



least studied and less understood, even by my own countrymen. Even such a distinguished gentleman as Dr. Paranjpye has disclosed a deplorable ignorance of true orthodox Hinduism. I would call his attention to the very passages in my paper which deal with some of his criticisms. He says that the changed conditions of life in India require a change of politics. I have said that on page 8 of my paper. I still say, however, that the ideals can never change, whatever the conditions of the world may be now or in the future. I have tried to make it clear in the beginning of my lecture what these ideals are and how *they must be applied to politics*.

No orthodox Hindu leader, of whatever school of thought, can disagree as to these being the fundamentals of politics in any country and in any age.

Remarks about narrow caste-prejudices, pollution, etc., are too commonplace, and were uncalled for in view of what I have said on page 2.

Whatever fastidious precautions against contaminous associations were studied by our forefathers in the dark ages, they were only temporary accretions and cannot be accepted as standards of orthodox Hinduism, the principles of which are derivable only from the Vedas and sacred books which uphold their authority.

I invite a study of the references I have quoted (page 2), and may add that there is unity underlying the apparent diversities in Hinduism, and that orthodox Hinduism is the most liberal and tolerant system which allows and comprehends within itself three distinct cultures, (1) *Sāttwika*, (2) *Rājasika*, and (3) *Tāmasika*, graded according to mentalities in humanity. So, in criticizing orthodox Hinduism, one should not, as is often done, consider its lower aspect, which is *only tolerated* among the *Tāmasika* masses ignoring its higher and real feature (the *Sāttwika*), which is held to be (*Sandātana*) eternal and universal.

I fail to see how caste or the marriage of a Pandit's daughter \* can have anything to do with politics or affect political capacity.

None of my critics has gainsaid what I have said regarding the two factors of national life: *unity* and *honesty*. Let me mention another fact: Did not the Rajputs, Dogras, Gurkhas and Jats come out of India to fight for their Emperor? Are not they orthodox Hindus? (Personally, I preach against wars, but I mention this only to meet you if you attach political importance to the fighting capacity of a people.)

My reference to the French Revolution was only to establish the fact that wise and moderate leaders are always thrown overboard by self-seeking and unprincipled firebrands leading mob violence. With due deference to Dr. Paranjpye's historical philosophy, let me submit that it was the rise of Napoleon that saved and reformed France, and not the Reign of Terror, which cannot be justified by any right-thinking member of humanity.

Both Mr. Paranjpye and my esteemed old friend Mr. Skrine refuse, rather in a sweeping way, to admit that a religious or social body like the

\* Was Europe politically backward when girls of royal or the upper ten families could not marry a commoner?



orthodox Hindus can have anything to do with politics as the Catholics or Jews.

They seem to ignore my explanation in answer to Question 2, and do not specifically refute the points I have submitted in relation to the "political views," "Hindus," "Muhammadans," "non-Brahmans," "Sikhs," "Parsis," are terms correlative to a religion or society only, as much as "orthodox Hindus," and if any of the former can have a distinctive voice in the country's politics, the premier party in the country, which represents not only India's but the world's oldest civilization, is certainly entitled to have a say of its own.

As to unanimity of views, none of the above people is unanimous.

The orthodox Hindus are not a people dead and gone like the old Greeks—they are very much alive, and hold the Hindu masses in their grip. It serves no useful purpose to ignore their *living* thoughts and sentiments and treat them as dead fossils in shaping the political future of India.

Those who say that the Catholics cannot form a political party need only cross the Channel to find that the strongest party in the Belgian Parliament is called the "Catholic Party." In Vienna the Jews are being treated as a distinct political party.

I deplore the necessity of the multiplication of political parties in India, either on communal or cultural grounds, but the necessity is clear on the eve of such a serious step as the reconstruction of the Indian Constitution involving communal questions in India.

If there is anything in my paper which should come out as a strong appeal, it is for education to remove the *ignorance* of the masses, including the so-called "educated"—equal facilities for all on right lines. I did not say that education in India is an expensive luxury on the part of the Government, but it is so for an average individual.

## TOURISM IN JAVA

BY H. SALOMONSON

(General European Manager of the Netherlands East Indies Press Agency, Aneta).

"... If anyone should ask me as to the most beautiful place in the world I saw on my trip about the earth, I should unhesitatingly name this island." (Dr. H. C. Bryant, Secretary of the American Alpine Club, when speaking of his experiences in Java at the meeting of the Appalachian Mountain Club.)

WITH a few—regrettably few—exceptions the appearance of tourists in Java recalls the flight of the swallows: when they come, they come in great companies, in flocks of dozens or hundreds.

The world-cruise, that aspect of tourism which has manifested itself increasingly, especially of late years, brings ships full of tourists on their trip round the world to Java, or rather past Java, for the visit seldom lasts longer than three days. And then the floating sight-seeing car turns its back to the green island and seeks pastures new.

Crowded as is the whole itinerary of such a world-cruise, it devotes to Java the time for no more than a flying visit—a visit, further, which leaves no impression which can be compared with that which the magnificent scenery makes upon the leisurely traveller. For Java's soft and indolent skies, Java's blue mountains, and the monuments which dream of a far-distant past, breathe peace; they do not thrust themselves violently upon the attention of the Northerner: they will be understood in their beauty in the quiet hour which masks, in a blaze of colour, the birth of a new day, when the day melts into dusk and the dusk into the mysterious tropical night, in which the moon shines over the ruins of the temples and silvers the leaves of the palm trees, when the stillness vibrates with the humming of hundreds of insects.

The crowds of visitors who are transported in comfortable electric trains through a perfectly cultivated country; dash to the world-famous botanical gardens at Buitenzorg; rush headlong to the plateau of Bandoeng, with its modern technique of observatory and radio-telephonic communication with Holland, 15,000 miles away; still a spurt perhaps



through the principalities of Middle Java to Soerabaya, the heart of a world export centre—these hurried foreigners may later refer appreciatively to a great feat in the sphere of colonizing, to an efficient agriculture, and admirable means of communication; but—and I have often asked myself this question on seeing the crowds pass by—what have they understood of the country of Java, its remarkable beauty, its inhabitants?

If you will accompany me on the journey from Europe to Java, I can give you the choice of making the voyage *via* Marseilles or Genoa, Port Said, Colombo, Sabang, Belawan-Deli, and Singapore, with one of the luxurious boats of the two great Dutch Steamship Companies which maintain a weekly service, the voyage lasting twenty-one days, or with an English steamer to Singapore, and thence per the Kon. Paketvaart Company in thirty-eight hours to Batavia.

There may possibly be a third alternative shortly when the development of air transport will enable the traveller to reach Batavia by means of an established aerial service, *via* Sofia, Aleppo, Bushir, Karachi, Allahabad, Calcutta, Bangkok, and Singapore. Dutch aeroplanes have made the trip successfully on three occasions. Twice the trip out and home again has been accomplished in about a month. On the last occasion, carrying an extra mail, the distance from Amsterdam to Batavia was covered in ten days and the return trip in twelve. A few months previously an ordinary passenger aeroplane of the Dutch Royal Air Routes made the return journey, carrying an American tourist and his valet as passengers.

With a regular service it has been estimated that the fare per passenger, including food, would amount to £175. The journey by boat costs about £100, but lasts twice as long. However, that is a possibility of the future, and we will not reckon with it here. I invite you, therefore, to disembark with me at Tandjong-Priok, the port of Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. You will probably be astounded at being greeted by a ceremonious Javanese hotel representative, wearing a Sam Browne belt and being guided by him to an extremely modern electric train, with armchairs upholstered in leather.



There is no doubt about it. You have arrived in a country that is prepared to receive tourists. At the station the hotel motor-car awaits you, and you will be welcomed by the *chef-de-réception* in your own tongue. You find yourself on a large covered terrace, bar, and dancing hall, which does service as a lobby. It is in the middle of a large park, in and around which are the living-rooms, grouped in galleries and situated in the shade of the trees. These galleries are connected with the central building by covered pathways. And in the centre of this park rustle the tall waringins, Java's holy trees, in which dwell spirits which it is better to have as friends than enemies.

Look at the Javanese who is dancing. He is in European evening-dress, but wears the traditional turban, knotted round his temples. He is of good birth and fills an important Government position over and amidst his own people, assisted by an "older brother," a Dutch Government official. He is a member of the Volksraad, the representative body, and speaks Dutch, English, French, and German with the ease of a travelled European. He was at school in the Netherlands and studied at Dutch universities. His sons will go into the army or graduate as engineers, doctors or lawyers at Dutch East Indian universities. Perhaps, like their father, they will co-operate with the Netherlands in guiding and educating their people to economic independence and self-government.

After the dance a servant darts forward and places the chairs for his compatriot and his European companions. . . . Java, old and new. You are no sooner in your hotel, that caravanseraï of East and West, than this contrast of old and new strikes you. There drives a procession of six motor-cars through the garden gate, respectfully greeted by the keepers at the gate and the people looking on. In the first car, beside the native chauffeur attired in a conspicuous livery, is sitting a Javanese, with an open, gilded parasol. Within the car you see a heavily built man in the uniform of a lieutenant-general of the Dutch East Indian Army, his breast covered with orders. Beside him is sitting a young Javanese woman, slim and refined, her features immovable, as carved out of ivory, her Javanese costume sewn with enormous precious stones. He is the Soesoe-



hoenan of Soerakarta, self-governor of his Middle Javanese kingdom, in which task he and his regent are assisted by a Dutch Resident and his staff. His Highness is residing for a few days in this hotel, where forty rooms have been reserved for him and his suite. You can see the suite passing in the other cars: princesses and court dignitaries, with faces like masks, either in uniform or the graceful Javanese costume, with the kris, sparkling with jewels, stuck behind in the belt. They carry with them the attributes of the Sultan: gold dishes and boxes containing the ingredients for making "sirih," a drug which the Javanese chews and which makes his teeth black and his saliva blood-red.

The procession passes slowly along the dance terrace, and the Soesoehoenan has it stopped for a minute in order to observe the spectacle. He is a man full of curiosity and fond of all Western novelties. The modern machines and instruments used in the European sugar factories and laboratories in his country are a never-ending source of pleasure to him. Lately, when three travelling acrobats performed before him several especially daring feats on motor-cycles, he presented each of them, according to tradition, with a valuable gold watch. He is an old man and has many wives and children. He belongs to the old India, but his sons are modern. One of them has been a Dutch cavalry officer at The Hague and another is Chief of the Antiquarian Service of the Government and a member of the Volksraad. As modern as his sons is the Mangkoenegoro, the other self-governing prince, with whom he shares the capital. The Mangkoenegoro rules over a much smaller territory. Formerly, the two courts, that of Mangkoenegoro and that of Soesoehoenan, were violently antagonistic, and, as a souvenir of that time, cannon still stand before their respective palaces, threateningly directed at each other.

The princes now use these cannon to salute each other on special occasions or to express their mutual homage to H.M. Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, whose portrait hangs above their respective thrones. The Mangkoenegoro has a legion of one thousand well-trained soldiers, under the supreme control of European, but com-



manded by Javanese, officers. Some years ago the legion rendered excellent service in maintaining order during a railway strike. This prince has introduced the Boy Scout movement, and maintains the ancient traditions of his people by giving excellent performances of the old hero sagas in his court theatre, when the princes and princesses of his house give their co-operation. This custom is also followed by the three other princes of the self-governing kingdoms in Middle Java, and the tourist, with the help of an introduction from the Dutch authorities, may witness these performances, which are remarkably beautiful and which are accompanied by the stringed instruments and music bells of the orchestra. On such occasions the tourist is received with great ceremony, and introduced to the prince and served with champagne, whiskey-and-soda, and cigarettes.

#### JAVA, OLD AND NEW

In your hotel you can see the old prince driving in and out. When he dines you can see how the dishes, covered by the princely golden parasol, are carried from the modern European kitchen to his apartments, every dish accompanied by a European chef, who, according to tradition, tastes the dish in the presence of the Soesoehoenan before the prince ventures to touch it. . . .

The old and the new—you see them, curiously blended, when you leave your hotel the following morning on a visit to Batavia, the old coastal town. This is the old settlement of the year 1619, two years older than New York. These two towns, Batavia and New York, are sisters. The old navigators of the East India Company founded them both. Here you can see, now deserted and decayed, the seventeenth-century buildings in characteristic Dutch style, with handsome sculptured work and with that tiled flooring which one finds in seventeenth-century paintings of the Dutch school. One of these buildings has been restored and serves as the Government Record Office. It is situated in the middle of a park which has been arranged as an open-air museum, containing many handsome old doorways and sculptured work dating from the early days of Batavia. Another building is used as a Bank, but has been altered



as little as possible. The electric fans whirl against ceilings with heavy, oaken rafters.

Between the seventeenth-century houses stand high, white, modern office buildings, topsy-turvy Chinese shops and restaurants. Here are to be found canals spanned with little bridges similar to those in old Amsterdam. These canals, formerly breeding places for malaria mosquitoes, are now filled with running water, and chiefly serve for transport purposes and as bathing-place for the people. The European population have withdrawn more inland where, among shady trees, they have founded a garden-city, which in extent can compete with anything in the world.

There are residences, sixty or seventy years old, with extensive galleries of marble. This marble was brought by ships which came to Java to take in cargoes, and was used by them as ballast. Beautiful villas are to be found everywhere, every house surrounded by a large garden. As in most towns of Java, water and electricity is supplied by the town. Electric trams and trains carry the business man in the morning to his hot office. Old and new Batavia, the latter called Weltevreden, also communicate with each other by a canal, crowded with traffic.

Proceeding farther, in the direction of the sea, you pass a little wall adorned with a skull stuck on a pike. It has been there for two centuries, this head of the traitor, Pieter Elberfeld, a German by origin, who organized a revolt against the Dutch authorities. It remains there as a warning of the fate which befalls traitors. Electric trams and motor-cars glide past the spot. . . .

#### BATAVIA, OLD AND NEW

Farther, the fish-market. This was formerly the harbour of Batavia, where you now see the curiously shaped and brightly coloured native fishing-boats. The old house is still standing in which the bold navigators from the mother-country were welcomed and where the cargoes were bound. It is now in a state of decay; opposite stands a modern building of the fish-market. There you can also see a rugged square tower called the "Look-out," where our forefathers strained their eyes to detect above the horizon



the ships from the Netherlands which arrived after long and weary months, often with only half the crew surviving.

At Amsterdam, down by the old harbour, you find the equivalent of this tower among the palm trees. It is called the "Weeper's Tower," where the weeping women in the seventeenth century waved a last farewell to their men-folk who would probably never return.

The tower under Java's palms and that at the old harbour of Amsterdam have served their purpose and are used no longer. Ocean greyhounds, with wireless, travel to and fro between well-equipped harbours. The towers stand dreaming of a romantic past. Close to the old "Look-out" at Batavia a modern laboratory for deep-sea research has been constructed, with, as an annex, a fine aquarium full of tropical fish with shining scales and brilliant colours. Here, as elsewhere in this land, the past and the present lie curiously jumbled up together, the result of a great colonial experiment which in the course of years has given this country its great importance.

This is not an article with figures and statistics; one can get these without ever having set foot in Java. This is a brief testimonial from one who loves Java—a testimonial which, I trust, will be convincing, or at least awaken in you the desire to visit Java. Come with me from the hot coast regions where the sea breezes rustle through the tall palms, to the mountain country: past Buitenzorg, the residence of the Governor-General, where there is an almost complete collection of tropical flora in the Government Botanical Gardens, a centre of scientific research which is incomparable in its natural beauty. Presently, in the mountains of the Preanger, I will show you a section of the same, the nursery Tjibodas, three thousand feet above sea-level.

From Buitenzorg there are two railway lines to the plateau of Bandoeng, formerly a volcanic lake of great extent. There you find a town not yet fifty years old, ambitiously planned—too ambitiously, perhaps—for a speedy realization of its aspirations. Here you find large buildings and modern villa districts. The Departments of Government Industries and War, the Technical University, the workshops of the railways, the quinine industry, the aviation service, and the Radio-stations, make the Bandoeng plateau



a centre of importance. In 1928 the astronomical observatory will be equipped with the largest telescope in the southern hemisphere. This cool mountain region, however, also derives considerable importance from the wealth of the surrounding mountains, where tea, quinine, and other products are harvested and prepared in enormous quantities. Down the mountain roads come the loaded truck-cars of the plantations towards this centre point; here the planters meet and bring life and prosperity to this little mountain town.

From Bandoeng the tourist can reach by train or the excellent roads glorious holiday resorts: Garoet, within a ring of volcanoes and with a crown of comfortable hotels on the slopes of the mountains which surround a plain of magic beauty. Lovely mountain lakes, grand primeval forests, with winding paths leading to the craters and sulphur wells, rushing waterfalls—this country has them all in abundance. You can reach the top of the mountains on horseback or in portable chairs, or, if you have the sporting spirit, you will disdain such aid and go on foot. From the summit an incomparable view is obtained of the grand tropical scenery.

You will be surprised at the comfort your hotel offers you, and if you like hunting you will find game in abundance. The wild boar lives in great numbers on the slopes of the mountains, and drivers and dogs are easily obtainable. If you desire greater excitement, you will find in Krawang woods and in Bantam the banteng, the name given to the wild bull of the tropical forest.

From Garoet splendid mountain roads lead to Java's romantic south coast, with its wild rocks crowned with palm trees and washed by the blue waves of the Indian Ocean. Here and also farther east and west along this Riviera of the Far East, the accommodation is on a more modest scale.

In the mountainous district of West Java there are various other pleasure resorts: Soekaboemi, where the inhabitants of Batavia recover from the heat of the coast climate; and Sindanglaja, the site of the mountain palace of the Governor-General, situated near warm springs.

Above Sindanglaja towers the wild top of the Gedeh, a



great volcano, from the summit of which, in clear weather, you can distinguish Java's north coast. On the way thither you pass through picturesque Soendanese mountain villages, bright with flowers and the coloured dresses of beautiful women. Mountain brooks purl between the extensive tea-grounds and the vegetable gardens. In ponds before the houses swim sacred goldfish. An idyllic country. Mount higher, into the primeval forest, high and quiet as a cathedral. Fantastically shaped orchids and lilies grow amid the confusion of tropical vegetation; enormous ferns, enormous tree trunks. Monkeys peer down at you through the trees; brightly coloured birds flit between the leaves and fill your ears with melodious sound. And then suddenly the damp and gloomy forest opens, and you find yourself in an enormous park: magnificent trees surrounding wide grassy spaces over which you urge your horse to a gallop. You have reached the mountain garden of Tjibodas, and already you can see before you the Botanical Laboratory with small dwelling-houses and an hotel.

The path leads farther, however, and now you have an opportunity of making one of the numerous volcano ascents in Java; the mountain scenery becomes wilder and bare, until finally you reach the crater over a path of grey stones and hardened lava. Here you see Nature in a form which makes you shiver; then you understand why the native fears this place with its sulphurous atmosphere, where the world lies at your feet like a toy. Here is the habitation of spirits, the mountain gods who allure the stranger, and, when they are angry, fling glowing sulphur and rocks over the land. This old belief lives everywhere in Java, and nowhere more strongly than in the kingdoms of Middle Java, one of whose princes you have seen in your modern hotel in Batavia.

A day's journey from the mountains, by rail or motor-car, and you are in one of the richest sugar countries of the world. This is historical ground, covered with great Hindu monuments and the innumerable, white, and absolutely modern sugar factories; old forts dating from the time of the Java war, and the princely pleasure resorts high up on the wild mountains. Side by side the remains of princely magnificence and the enormous wealth of modern industry.

Djocja and Solo are the seats of princes who rule with



the assistance of Dutch officials. Here, magnificent motor-cars belonging to wealthy sugar planters, the latest fashions from Paris; there, the poverty of the people who, thanks to Dutch rule, are making the first hesitating steps along the difficult path which leads to economic independence. A silent, agricultural people, over-numerous, dressed in indigo blue. Along the paths the women drag heavy burdens. The men in the sugar factories or on the land, under the supervision of a modern labour inspection. The land produces rotary crops: rice, the food of the people, and sugar, the costly world export product. The giant hum of modern industry is heard here. Small goods-trains pass across the country, heaped up with sugar-cane; and along the roads you meet Indian oxen ceremoniously pulling waggons filled with the same material. And amidst all this the century-old Hindu temples dream their dreams of an old civilization which passed over this country a thousand years ago and still lives on the stage and in industrial art.

Two waves of civilization, the Hindu and that of modern industrialism, passed over this country and blended their influences. The latter is powerful: it arose on the mountain slopes where the sugar plantations ousted the old coffee and cacao gardens. Higher and higher mount the little whistling trains, disturbing the deserted houses of the coffee planters, with their gardens and fountains in the stillness of decay. This is the beating heart of Java.

In the neighbourhood of Djocjarta is the Boeroe-boedoer, a hill composed of terraces and cupolas, the whole forming one enormous stupa with hundreds of little stupas in which the figures of Buddha sit dreaming.—a huge mass of architectural work constructed by unknown Hindu architects in the middle of a romantic plain, surrounded by mountains. From the highest terraces you look down upon a luxurious tropical landscape; on the one hand, a wild mountain-side, curiously shaped rocks towering above the palms. A favourite time for visiting the Boeroe-boedoer is the evening, by the light of the moon. Those romantically inclined can then enjoy the mystery of the East, when the Buddha figures throw strange shadows over the terraces and the palms softly rustle as if Hindu priests were engaged in their devotions. Even a strong mind



like that of Monsieur Clémenceau—he himself admits it—received a deep impression from this majestic peace. It was shortly after he withdrew from politics, and after the convulsions in Europe in the last years of the war he must have felt in a double degree this sublime peace of a thousand years.

Perhaps “the tiger” found here, in the East, his real *milieu*. Djocjacarta and Soerakarta, seats of Middle Javanese princes, contain numerous vestiges of the past. You may visit there many ruined temples, scattered by earthquakes, but lovingly restored by devoted antiquarian experts, so that—although now and again you will meet with a Hindu god in a sculptured temple which is supported by modern iron construction—the whole forms a faithful impression of this extensive temple settlement.

Proceeding farther through Middle and East Java, along splendid roads, you understand what a blessing modern scientific agriculture has been to this country, and how unavoidable it was that Western culture should penetrate, even with violence, into this sphere of autocracy. Frequently you come across old forts of the time of the Java war, and the mountains contain many hiding-places of the rebel leader Diepo Negoro, the pretender to the throne, who led the opposition against the Netherlands. The forts are now old-fashioned, but the irrigation works, the roads, the railway emplacements, and the electric lighting are, of course, modern.

Around the Merbabve and the Merapi, the volcanoes of Middle Java, lies an enormously fertile country: to the east, falling in undulating plains; to the west, rising to the beautiful mountainous district of Wonosobo; northwards, developing into an enormous valley, around which Ambawara, Salatiga, and other garrison towns are situated.

Farther north you finally and suddenly reach the steeply descending hill country of Semarang and obtain a magnificent distant prospect of Java's third commercial town on the north coast. Here also the town reflects the wealth of its hinterland: villa districts containing splendid houses of Europeans and Chinese; asphalt streets leading to the busy trading quarter where the offices lie grouped along the harbour storage buildings; a densely populated Chinese



quarter; heavy traffic of lorries, carrying the export products to the loading platforms and entrepôts.

Further eastward lies Sourabaya, the great sugar centre, on the Strait of Madoera, opposite the island of that name. The Madoerese are a hardy race of seafarers and agriculturists.

Their bull-races are famous—yokes of handsomely decorated bulls pulling a kind of sleigh on which their master stands. Those races, with furiously running and snorting bulls, the yelling drivers, and the surging public dancing with excitement, form a spectacle which you ought not to miss.

Sourabaya itself reveals the picture of a great, modern, commercial town of the East. Tradition, expressed in the narrow streets of the city, calls a halt to the heavy traffic which passes over the wide boulevards outside, with its electric trams.

The interior of East Java surpasses that of West Java in grandeur, but not in charm. The Bromo crater, with its enormous sea of sand, is one of the most imposing sights in the Far East. The hill station Tosari is not inferior to many Swiss health resorts in coolness and comfort. And everywhere—everywhere—the great sugar industry, endless plantations of cane, with the great white factory buildings.

Still farther eastward we reach Besoeki, where the last industrial battle took place against the forces of primeval nature. Almost the whole of Java has now been brought under cultivation. Close to the east coast rise the Idjen Highlands. Near the coastal town of Banjoewangi ends the great post road. This road, the pioneer work performed by Governor-General Daendels a century ago, passes across Java from west to east. Since then it has developed great ramifications—the nervous system of a modern, economic structure.

Looking from the east coast across the narrow Strait of Bali, you can see in clear weather an island rising up vaguely, high and fantastic. It is Bali, magic country of untouched Hindu culture, land of temples and flowers and beautiful women. The sacrificial feasts and the corpse-burnings with their ritual of sacred dances constitute a piece



of pure tradition that delighted, not long ago, the poet Tagore. He called Bali the home of the plastic expression of Hindu thought. And, indeed, whoever sees those temples and the customs which rule there cannot escape the wonderful impression made by this island of paradise.

With Bali, however, there opens a new tourist perspective—that of the islands around Java, with their variety of races and cultures—a perspective ranging from the civilized Toradjas of Celebes to the still almost unknown dwarf races in the interior of New Guinea, the hunting-ground of birds of paradise; from Sumatra's modern tobacco-growing country on the east coast to Borneo, where you find the great oil industry of the Royal Dutch, and where in the interior big game still roam wild.

We may deal on another occasion with these regions, which together form the valuable and enormous territory of tropical Holland. We give below itineraries of two trips for tourists, with Singapore as starting-point and terminus :

TOUR A: 18 DAYS (JAVA).—Singapore-Batavia by K.P.M. steamer, f. 100; Batavia-Sourabaya by rail, on special tourist tickets, f. 67.90; Sourabaya Singapore by K.P.M. steamer, f. 175. Total first-class fares, 342.90 guilders.

1st Day.—Leave Singapore on Friday afternoon by steamer of the express service of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij.

2nd Day.—On the China Sea.

3rd Day.—Arrive Tandjong Priok (harbour of Batavia) in the early morning. By rail or motor-car to Weltevreden station (Koningsplein). Visit museum and drive around town.

4th Day.—From Weltevreden (Koningsplein station) by rail to Buitenzorg. See botanical gardens and the different museums.

5th Day.—From Buitenzorg by rail to Garoet.

6th Day.—At Garoet. Excursion to one of the craters.

7th Day.—At Garoet. Excursion to the Telaga Bodas (white lake).

8th Day.—From Garoet by rail to Djocja. In the afternoon drive through town and see water castle.

9th Day.—At Djocja. Excursion to the Boro-Budur temple and back. This excursion may be done either by motor-car the whole way, or by tram to Moentilan, and thence by carriage to the Boro-Budur. On the way see temple Mendoet, near Moentilan.

10th Day.—From Djocja to Pasoeroean by rail.

11th Day.—From Pasoeroean to Tosari by the daily motor-car service. In the afternoon walk to the three Hindoo villages, or to the Nymph's Bath.

12th Day.—At Tosari. Excursion to the Sandsea and the crater of the Bromo.

13th Day.—From Tosari by the daily motor-car service to Pasoeroean, and then by rail to Sourabaya.

14th Day.—At Sourabaya. Drive round the town. In the afternoon leave by steamer of the express service of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (every Thursday) for Singapore *via* Semarang and Batavia.



15th Day.—On the Java Sea. Arrival and departure Semarang.

16th Day.—Arrival and departure Tandjong Priok (Batavia).

17th Day.—On the China Sea.

18th Day.—(Monday.) Arrive Singapore in the morning.

TOUR B: 25 DAYS (BALI AND JAVA).—Singapore-Sourabaya by K.P.M. steamer, f. 175; Sourabaya-Bali-Sourabaya by K.P.M. steamer, f. 85; Sourabaya-Batavia by rail on special tourist-tickets, f. 67.90; Batavia-Singapore by K.P.M. steamer, f. 100. Total first-class fares, 427.90 guilders.

1st Day.—Leave Singapore on Friday afternoon by steamer of the express service of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij.

2nd Day.—On the China Sea.

3rd Day.—(Sunday.) Arrival and departure Tandjong Priok (harbour of Batavia).

4th Day.—Arrival and departure Semarang.

5th Day.—(Tuesday.) Leave Sourabaya by steamer of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij for Bali.

7th Day.—Arrive Boeleleng, the landing-place of Singaradja (the capital of Bali). There are no hotels in Bali, but Government rest-houses (Pasangrahans) in the most important places. It is advisable to wire in advance from Singapore through the K.P.M. branch office to the Assistant-Resident of Singaradja, asking for permission to stay in the Government rest-house. Excursion by motor-car. It is advisable to arrange for this trip and those on the following days at Singaradja. Good motor-cars can be hired a.o. from Mr. F. H. Bryl at Singaradja, from whom also advice as to routes can be had.

8th Day.—Excursion by motor-car.

9th Day.—Excursion by motor-car. Leave Boeleleng for Sourabaya if the K.P.M. steamer that week is running the intermediate route, otherwise:

10th Day.—(Sunday.) Leave Boeleleng by steamer of the K.P.M. (direct route) for Sourabaya.

11th Day.—Arrival Sourabaya. Visit to the holy graves at Grisse.

12th Day.—Leave Sourabaya in the early morning by rail for Pasoeroean. From Pasoeroean to Tosari by the daily motor-car service. In the afternoon walk to the three Hindu villages or to the Nymph's Bath.

13th Day.—At Tosari. Excursion to the Sandsea and the crater of the Bromo.

14th Day.—Leave Tosari by automobile of the daily service to Pasoeroean. From Pasoeroean by rail to Sourabaya.

15th Day.—From Sourabaya by rail to Djocja. In the afternoon drive through town and see water castle.

16th Day.—At Djocja. Excursion to the Boro-Budur temple and back. This excursion may be done either by motor-car the whole way, or else by tram to Moentilan, and thence by carriage to the Boro-Budur. On the way, see temple Mendoet near Moentilan.

17th Day.—From Djocja by rail to Garoet.

18th Day.—At Garoet. Excursion to one of the craters.

19th Day.—At Garoet. Excursion to the Telaga Bodas (white lake).

20th Day.—From Garoet by rail to Buitenzorg.

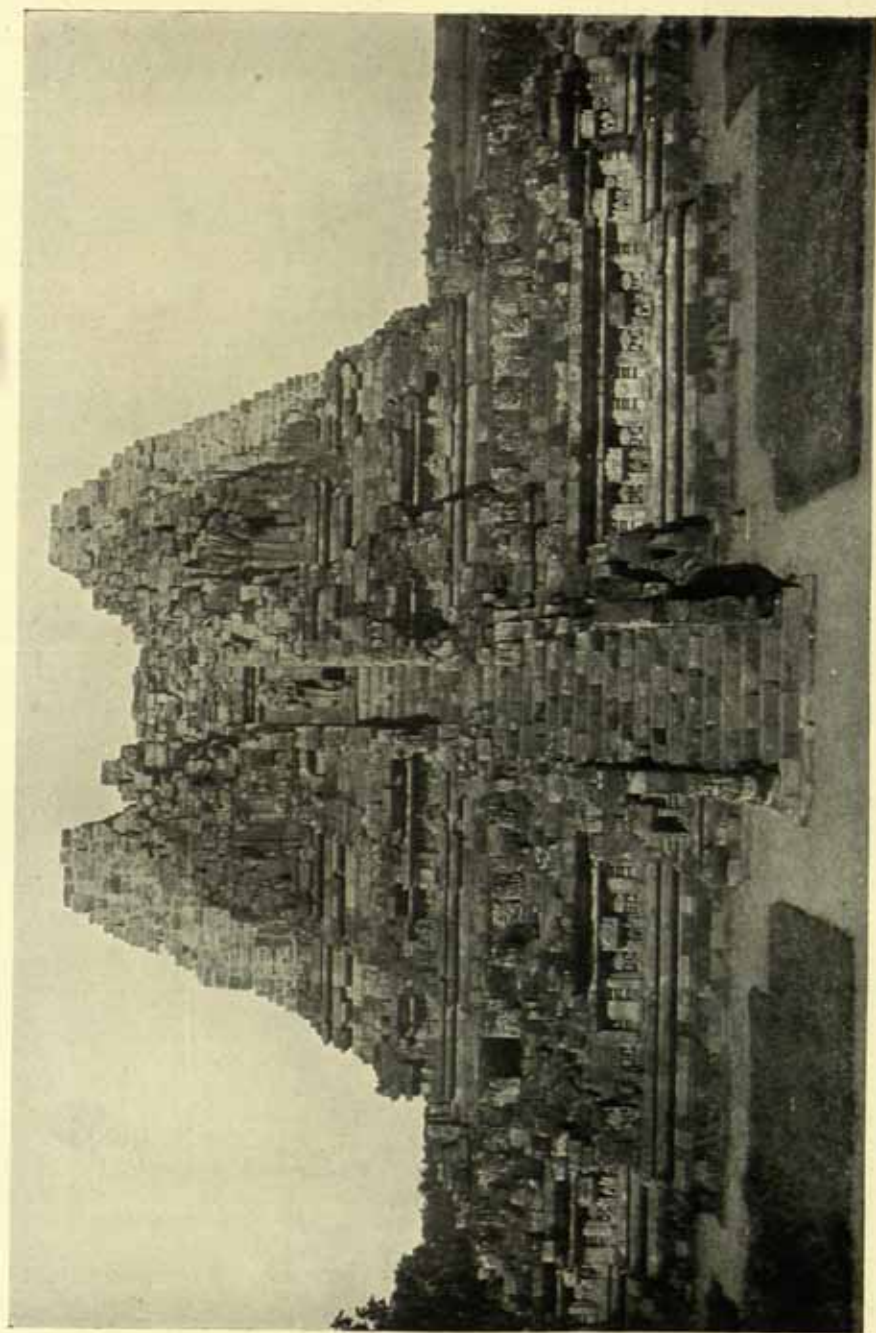
21st Day.—At Buitenzorg. See Botanical Gardens and the different museums.

22nd Day.—From Buitenzorg to Weltevreden (Batavia). Visit Museum and drive round town.

23rd Day.—(Saturday.) Leave Tandjong Priok (harbour of Batavia) by steamer of the express service of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij in the afternoon.

24th Day.—On the China Sea.

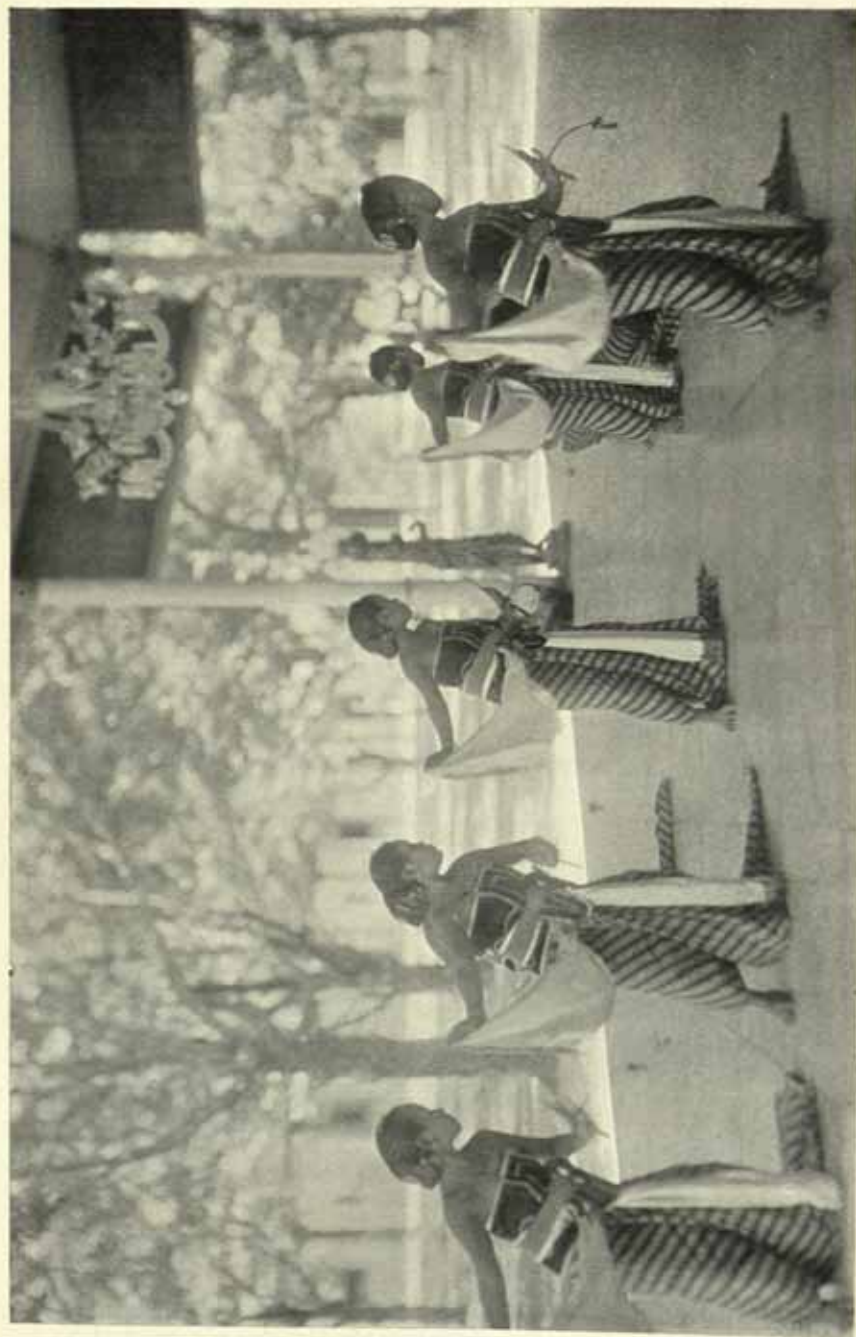
25th Day.—(Monday.) Arrival Singapore in the forenoon.



PRAMBANAN TEMPLE

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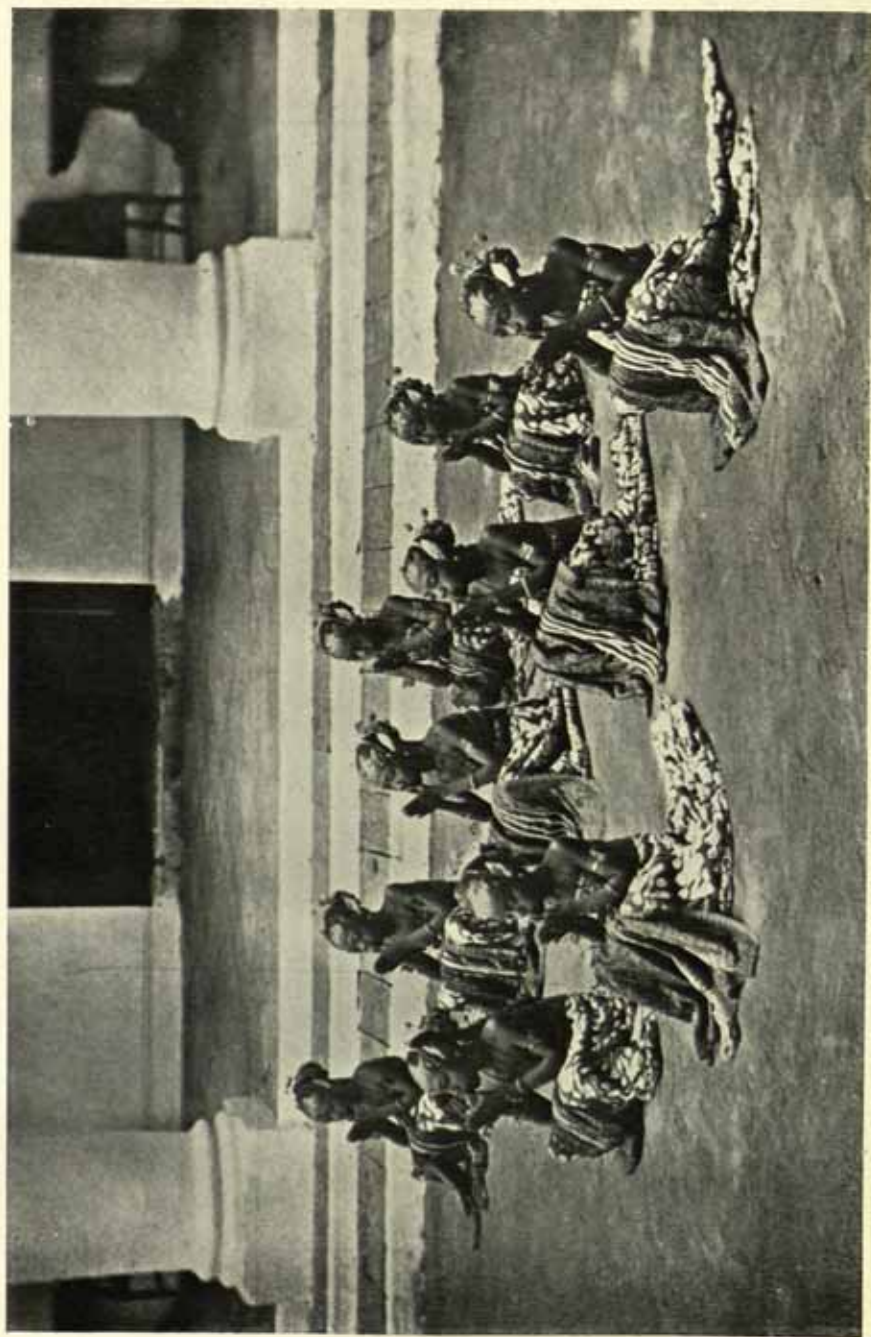




*Photo: Tazila Adam.*

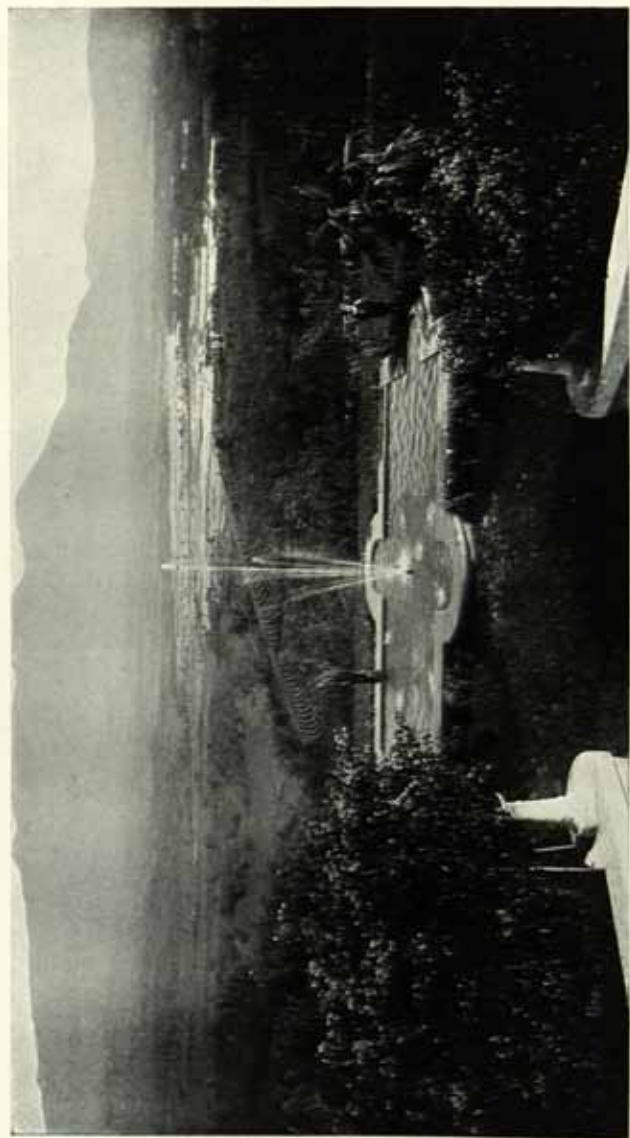
BEDAYAS

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SARIMPIS





VIEW FROM SANATORIUM, GAROET, JAVA

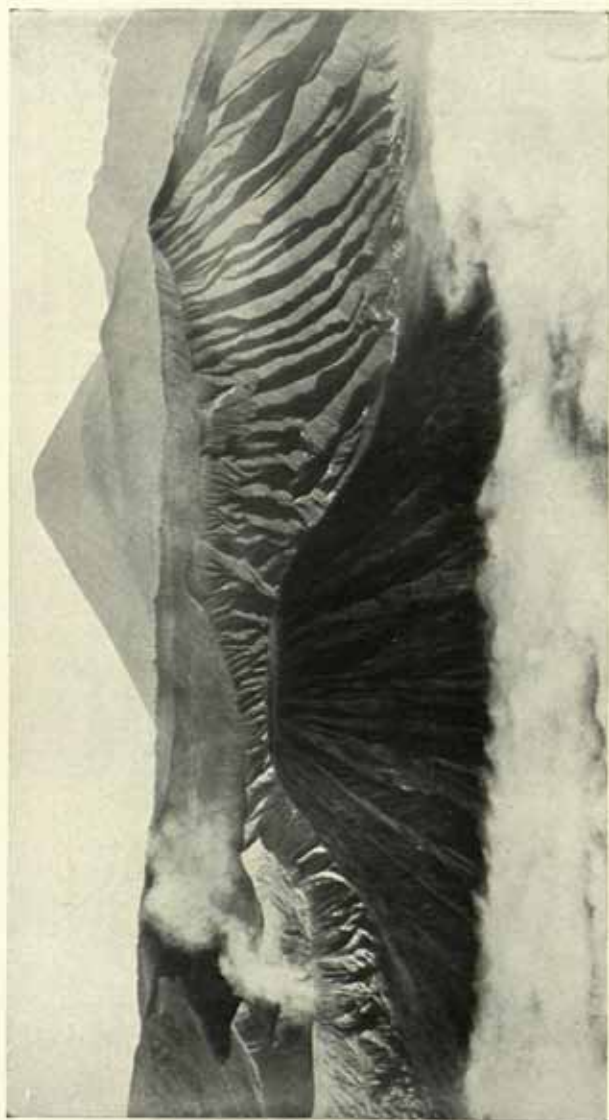
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TERRACE : BOROBUDUR TEMPLE

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THE BROMO CRATER

*Copyright : Koninklijke Paketvaart Mij.*

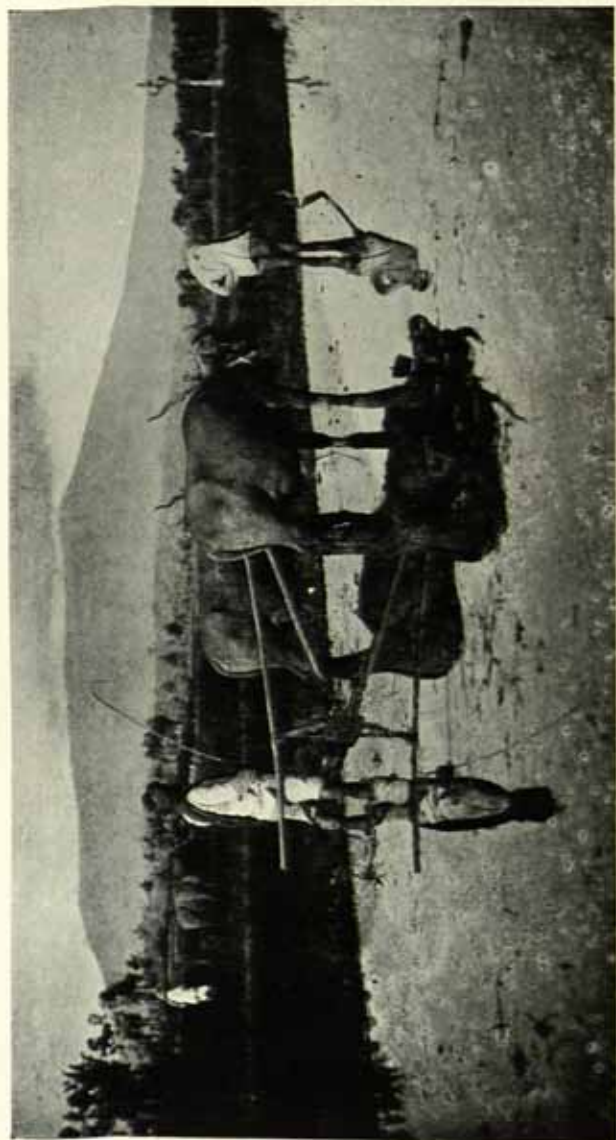


*Photo : Wynand Kerkhoff.*

WIJNKOOPS BAY : SOUTHERN JAVA

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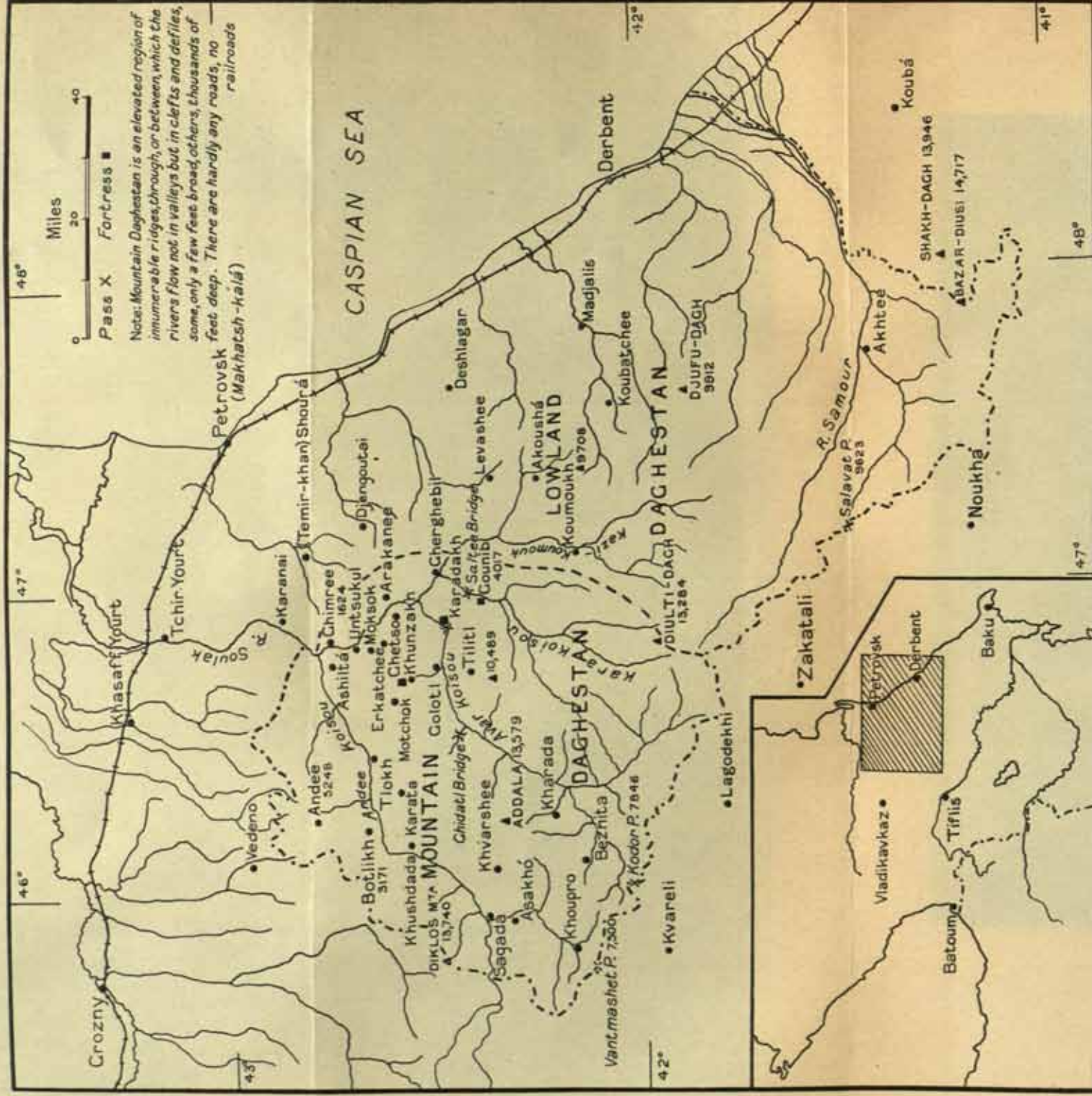
*Photo: Wynand Kerkhof.*

TILLING OF RICE-FIELD, JAVA

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## THE INNER EAST

[Under this heading will be published articles dealing with the history, politics, and economics of the Asiatic territories at present included within the Soviet Union. The collaboration of an English authority on Asiatic Russia has been secured in obtaining information on this region, and while it is intended that all articles shall be as far as possible objective, the opinions expressed therein must be taken as those of the authors.]

### I

## DAGHESTAN

By J. F. BADDELEY

(The author has been special correspondent of the *Standard* in Russia, where he resided for thirty-five years. He is the author of "The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus," "Russia, Mongolia, China," "Russia in the Eighties.")

THE aftermath of the war and of the Russian Revolution as far as concerned the Caucasus, and especially the Armenians and Georgians, is not altogether unknown to the outside world. General Dunsterville threw light on one gallant episode, and the whole has been admirably summarized by Mr. W. E. D. Allen, in a volume of Colonel Buchan's valuable series "The Nations of Today," entitled "The Baltic and Caucasian States." But what happened in Daghestan will, I believe, be new to English readers; for the fact that a war, recalling that of Shamil both in its aims and in the desperate courage displayed by the mountaineers, was fought out between them and Red Russia from November, 1920, to May, 1921, has apparently escaped notice in this country. It has been dealt with, however, in book form, separately, the authors bearing the names of the leaders both of the regular and irregular (partisan) Bolshevik troops ("The Red Army in the Mountains," by Al. Todorsky,\* and "Daghestan," by Samoursky [efendeer]†), and a summary of their narratives, however brief and imperfect, may be of interest even six years after the events described.

I propose to deal with the material under three headings — the Protagonists, the War, and the Results,

\* Military Printing Office, Moscow, 1924.

† Government Publishing Department, Moscow, 1925.



premising that the mountaineers, like the Georgians, were as a whole equally hostile to Tsarist and Bolshevist ideas. All they wanted was national independence and freedom to maintain their *sunnite* faith and worship. Now Denikin's adventure, thanks, mainly, to the large proportion of Cossacks—the natural enemies of the mountaineers—in his ranks, ended in rousing the bitterest possible hostility throughout the Caucasus, and in Daghestan so much so that at the end of March, 1920, the victorious Red Army was welcomed at Shourá, the capital, as well as at Petrovsk and Derbend. At Baku it was already established.

There was, of course, no liking for Bolshevist ideas in the mountains, and some measure of hostility was inevitable; but, as both our authors frankly admit, it was the gross and stupidly ignorant conduct of the Red emissaries from Russia that in a short time brought about sufficient exasperation to enable the Nationalist leaders to start a war, or, as the Bolsheviks prefer to call it, a rebellion, and for a time to achieve a large measure of success.

Who, then, were the Protagonists? On the one side the Bolsheviks; we know much of them already and may now learn more. On the other the mountaineers of Daghestan, led by men who proved themselves the worthy successors of Shamil and his *murids*. Let us hear what Comrade Samoursky has to say of them and their ways, and, to begin with, of the leaders.

"Nowhere," he writes, "in all the U.S.S.R. (except, possibly, in Bukhara) do the clericals exert such influence on the people as in Daghestan.

"We know that the religion of Muhammad strikes much deeper root than that of Christ, because it is so much more intimately bound up with life and being. The Shariat (the Muhammadan canonical law) defines not only man's relations to God and to the Church, but all human interrelations in general, down to the merest daily trifles. The Shariat is not only a compendium of religious and canonical law, but a complete code of laws, including public, private, personal and material, civil, criminal, and family law; and even all that relates to sanitation and hygiene. It is thanks to this that Muhammadan clericals order not merely the



affairs of religion, but the whole of life day by day. The schools, courts of justice, whatever relates to family life and property—all is in the hands of the clergy, everything is directed and decided by them.

“The Muhammadan clergy is not a closed caste; it has no hierarchy, knows nothing even of ordination. To become a clerical it is enough to have received a certain education. Nor is their life in any way limited or peculiar; they live exactly as their neighbours do, and in Daghestan wear no distinguishing garments. The Moullá is dressed like other men; he, too, wears a *kinjal* (two-edged dagger) and carries a rifle; and when it comes to fighting he is usually the leader and captain, and fights in the foremost rank. All this binds clergy and people together far more strongly than is the case in Christian countries.

“Furthermore, there being no classes or social division in this patriarchal existence, the clergy do not figure as champions of any class-interests—they are imbued rather with the democratic principles of the primitive, free Arab tribes, the creators of Muhammadanism and of the Shariat. This democracy, coupled with support of the poorest and defence of the weakest, formed the basis of Shamil's policy, and for such support the clergy has certain means at its disposal, namely the *zakiat*, or compulsory contribution of all Muhammadans to the extent of one-fortieth of all their incomings, which, as directed by the Koran, goes to those in want, a fund distributed conscientiously enough, since the clergy for its own sustenance has the *vakouf*, i.e. lands and properties gifted or left by testament to the *mechets*. Obviously, having in its hands the distribution of money to the poor, the clergy is able to keep a tight hold over them.

“Besides all this, the clericals in Daghestan are the champions of National independence. It was they who carried on the sixty years' war against Russia. From their ranks came Shamil, Kazi-Mahoma (Moullá) and other leaders. In the memory of the people are enshrined the names of tens and hundreds of clericals who fell heroically fighting in that cause.

“So that in Daghestan a ‘clerical’ is not only what we others mean by this term, but a judge, a popular teacher, a



military leader, a fighter for liberty and independence, the bringer of education, the distributor of communal funds, and the president of the mutual-help committees. Ideology, culture, the rule of life, economy in its wider sense—all are in the hands of the clericals, or, to put it otherwise, in their hands rests the whole organization of public life.

"The clericals in Daghestan number altogether some 40,000 persons, *i.e.* 4 per cent. of the population, including *sheikhs*, *imams*, *moullás*, *kadis*, *mutallims* (students of the Koran), *alims*, etc., whereas in Russia such categories include not even one-tenth of 1 per cent.

"In regard to intelligence, the Daghestan clericals are beyond all question superior to the Orthodox. Not in vain has Daghestan been for centuries a seat of Arabic culture.

"All these *sheikhs*, *imams*, *alims*, and *mutallims*, who are always in evidence in every *aoul*, are, from the Muhammadan point of view, well-educated men who have studied deeply the ancient Arabic culture, science, and philosophy, and become learned in all the refinements of the Muhammadan religion. Many of them were renowned as Arabists throughout the Mussulman world, so that, up to the revolution pupils came to them in thousands from all the Eastern confines of the U.S.S.R., and even from Persia and Turkey. The aureole of profound learning crowns them and makes their word law.

"It follows that the clericals constitute the sole power which the Soviets in Daghestan have to combat, and revolution in Daghestan, apart from outside interference, is mainly a fight against them.

"The chief figure of the counter-revolution—its *mufti* or head of all the clericals in the Northern Caucasus—was the *imam* Nazhmudin Gotsinsky, and the most typical 'political' figure in Daghestan the *sheikh* Usun-hadji. He it was who the most accurately expounded the teaching bequeathed by Shamil." His foreign policy "was based on an irreconcilable hatred of everything Russian, and a passionate striving after complete independence from the infidels." He died, "but his ideals remain, and to this day are those of the majority of the Daghestan clericals."

Then comes a remarkable admission. "As a matter of



fact, there is no opposition on the part of the 'clerical *intelligentsia*' of Daghestan to the Soviet power as the bearer of communism. On the contrary, *muridism*, which of late has (once more) made great strides in Daghestan, willingly identifies itself with communism, and it is not without reason that present-day *murids* call themselves communists." We might ask, why, then, the hatred of Bolshevism? The answer is: "In their teachings there are, indeed, traits of communism, but it is a religious, ascetic, primitive communism, answering to that of the Christian communities of the early centuries of our era. The 'clerical *intelligentsia*' of Daghestan looks upon the Soviet power not as 'communistic' but as 'atheistic,' as 'foreign,' and, as the bearer of Western civilization, sinful and accursed."

As to the rank and file, harsh natural conditions and sixty years of uninterrupted warfare against Russia welded all the mountain tribes of Daghestan—to the number of thirty-four—into one people, characterized by Todorsky as "warlike, brave, steadfast; sensitive and observant; morbidly vain and touchy; full of pride; jealous of their personal liberty; cunning and vengeful." Unlike the Tchetchens and other of their neighbours, they never took to brigandage. All labour in field, garden, or home, fell, it is true, to their womenfolk, but that was inevitable when every man's business was fighting or keeping ready to fight: nor did the women themselves resent it. The warrior, the fighting man, was their one and only ideal for the opposite sex. When we add to all this—still following Todorsky—that Mountain Daghestan was at best a miserably poor country, where the average of meadow and arable land taken together was but 1·07 of a *dessiatine* (one *dessiatine* = 2·7 acres) per household; that 50 per cent. of the cultivable surface was artificially created with incredible labour by building terraces, of which the walls exceeded sometimes in area the land they supported; that the cultivation of these poor little plots on the steep mountain-sides made necessary a most difficult and intricate system of irrigation; that with all this, even in good years, the mountain country never produced anything like enough food to keep the population from starving—one might suppose that the self-constituted champions of the



poor and oppressed the world over would have had some sympathy with, some compassion for, so valiant and in many respects so unfortunate a race. But it was not so. Class-feeling, we are repeatedly told, hardly existed in Mountain Daghestan; it was the duty of Bolshevism to create it. The religious leaders stood out for National independence—that, of course, the Bolsheviks could never allow; so in the name of “the village poor,” the idle, unprofitable element, mainly, in villages where all alike lived from hand to mouth, Mountain Daghestan must be, and was, crushed under the iron heel of a depotism more ruthless and bloody than ever was that of the Russian Tsars.

THE WAR.—I hope to deal with this at greater length elsewhere. Here I will give but the briefest summary of it, taken from Comrade Todorsky's “Red Army.” It began (September, 1920) in the Deedo and other districts of Daghestan bordering on Georgia, which at that time, in the hands of the Menshevists, afforded a convenient and, indeed, indispensable base. The chief clerical and political leaders, as stated, were the two *hadjis*, Gotsinsky and Usun, the military leaders Colonels Jafaroff and Alikhanoff, the latter a brother of the well-known lieutenant of Skobelev in Central Asia.

Shamil's grandson, Saïd-bey, a man of twenty-four years only, was brought over from Constantinople as nominal head of the movement, his presence being meant as a guarantee to the people that they were, indeed, fighting for Shamil's ideals, for the Shariat and for Freedom. The military forces on either side were at first small, but while those of the insurgents could never hope to reach more than a few thousands, the Bolsheviks had, of course, unlimited reserves to draw upon. They had, moreover, a still greater advantage. As I wrote in 1908, when recounting the prolonged resistance of the Daghestanis to the armies of the Tsar, “Nearly all of these *avouls* (mountain villages) could be battered to pieces in half an hour by modern weapons from half a dozen different emplacements”—and so it happened. In the long run, of course, Russia in either case was bound to win. The rapid reconquest of Daghestan in 1921 was due



almost entirely to the fact that the Red Army had an unlimited supply of modern guns and munitions of war, the mountaineers only what they could take from their enemy, and this after a while applied also to their small-arms and the ammunition for them.

It is evident, as Todorsky admits, that what success the mountaineers achieved—and it was at first very considerable—was due not less to the blunders of the Red Army leaders than to their own skill and courage. Describing the initial fighting, he tells us that “at the very commencement of military operations—by October 5—the enemy had destroyed the Botlikh (western) force, laid siege to Khunzakh and Gounib (the chief military stations of Russia in Mountain Daghestan), and cut communications between the latter and Shourá. The greater part of Mountain Daghestan was in their hands, and soon afterwards they established their authority in Arakanee, another very important position.

Gounib was relieved on October 17, Khunzakh on November 4; but meantime the Arakanee field force, 700 strong, had been totally destroyed (October 20). Todorsky was appointed to the chief command in the field on November 2; reinforcements were hurried up and continued to arrive from time to time while the war lasted. The “rebel” forces at this time amounted to 2,800 bayonets and 600 sabres, with an uncertain number of quick-firers and four guns taken from their opponents. To replace the Botlikh force a body known by the appalling name of “the first model-revolutionary-discipline rifle-regiment” had been sent up from the North Caucasus Line, but by November 18, these unfortunates, also to the number of 700 men, had been wiped out all but a few individuals who made their way back to Vedeno—the capture of which cost Prince Vorontsoff thousands of men in 1845—naked and frostbitten. Other disasters followed. At Moksok “of 148 fighting men, only 47 rank and file and 3 officers rejoined the battalion.” “The enemy surrounded one company of the 280th Regiment (48 bayonets) in Erkathee and destroyed it utterly; then falling suddenly on the 282nd Regiment at Ghetso drove it back with heavy losses.” At Motchok “they surrounded and killed the partisan leader



Comrade Bogatireff and the whole of his command of 100 sabres and bayonets." Todorsky was compelled to confine his attention to the defence of Khunzakh and Gounib, both of which by the second week in December were once more isolated and besieged. But when the gallant mountaineers attacked Levashee, on the one road in all the war-area where armoured cars could operate, they suffered a reverse, and this time their further progress was definitely checked. Again and again we read the frank admission—Todorsky is admirably frank—that "the enemy's losses were due chiefly to the fire of the armoured cars." The enemy "were driven back with considerable loss by the fire of the artillery and armoured cars." The last days of 1920 marked the turning-point of the rebellion in Daghestan—from insurgent success to insurgent failure.

Reinforcements came pouring in, and Todorsky was soon in a position to advance. On January 2, 1921, Gounib was again relieved, but in the attempt to take Gherghebil, famous for its desperate and successful resistance to the Russians in Shamil's time, one column was entrapped and lost 292 killed and wounded, including 21 officers, while other regiments lost 120 killed and wounded. Finally on January 26 the *aoul* was captured after an heroic defence against modern guns and high explosives, one episode recalling vividly the Murid War. "One group occupied the *mechet* and adjoining houses. The majority of the *saklias* were taken by main force, and by the aid of hand-grenades which were dropped down the chimneys from the roofs and burst in the dwelling-rooms. The insurgents occupying the *mechet* held out obstinately until 10 a.m., and in the attempt to dislodge them the attackers lost 15 killed and several wounded, after which orders were given to set fire to the *mechet* and adjoining houses, in which 100 or so of the defenders were killed or burned to death. The 'liquidation' (a sinister term in general use by the Red Army) of the enemy in the *aoul* of Gherghe billasted until 6 p.m."

Khunzakh was relieved for the second time on January 28. The garrison numbered 2,000 men; the attacks were half-hearted, and, indeed, on such occasions the mountaineers, without siege-guns and lacking the training and discipline



necessary for formal operations, were seen at their worst. The real danger to the garrison arose from its scanty stocks—both of food and munitions of war.

The main objectives were now Arakanee and Ghimree. So long as the former held out the latter could only be approached down the 5,000 feet of precipitous rock between it and Karanai, the eastern bank, so to say, of the three united Koisous which, with the addition of the Andee Koisou, just below Ghimree, become the Soulak. Arakanee fell on February 14; Ghimree, Shamil's birthplace—of which every house had been shattered by plunging fire from guns on the heights above—was entered without opposition on the 18th. But at neighbouring Ashiltá, of notable memories, a small body of *Kursanti*, cadets from Moscow, who "were not to be risked in serious fighting in view of their exceptional value" were entrapped and destroyed to a man. Their bodies were found mutilated, but what had occurred to induce such exceptional exasperation on the part of the villagers we are not told. Todorsky is obviously impartial to an uncommon degree in his account of the military proceedings, but there are two sides in war, and, as usual, when backward peoples are concerned, their side remains for ever untold.

Botlikh, the most important position in the north-west of the war area, was taken at last on March 5, and neighbouring Andee four days later.

Meantime, an event of supreme importance had occurred—one that of itself made further resistance hopeless. Tiflis, the capital of "free," independent, socialistic, "republican" Georgia, was taken by the Red Army on February 25; and that unhappy country, of so many imperishable memories, became, perforce, a Soviet Republic. Several small columns were organized there by the Russians and sent north over the main chain; the last heroic remnants of the insurgent bands were surrounded on all sides by overwhelming forces. The wild and mountainous nature of the border country on the south, and the winter snows, enabled them to maintain a desultory resistance, in small parties—in the Deedo country, chiefly—up to the fourth week in May; then the end came at last.



The "insurrection" or "rebellion" in Daghestan was "liquidated." The remaining insurgents dispersed, to regain their *aouls*, if at all, as individual fugitives. Colonel Kaitmas Alikhanoff and his three sons were taken prisoners, and all four killed; we are not told how. Later, Colonel Jafaroff surrendered voluntarily at Shourá. Colonel Omar Piráloff was likewise killed later on. Lieutenant Hasan Abakároff, taken prisoner, threw himself off the Ghidatl Bridge into the Avar-Koisou and was drowned.

"The head of the movement, Nazhmudin Gotsinsky, went into hiding in Daghestan. Saïd-bey fled back to Turkey."

"In the nine months' obstinate fighting the Red Army had lost 5,000 men."

And now for the actual Results of revolution, civil war, but, above all, of Soviet interference in Daghestan.

I quote Samoursky :

"When the struggle was ended, when the Red standard of the Great Proletariat Revolution, giving freedom to all people from National and Capitalist oppression, was at last planted firmly on the mountains, the people of Daghestan found itself enfranchised, indeed, but at the same time deprived of all means of subsistence.

"Since the revolution the area of grain crops had diminished by 60·5 per cent. ; of vines by 36 per cent. ; of fruit by 50 per cent.; of cattle and horses by 57 per cent.; of sheep and goats by 75 per cent. Tens of thousands of work people, no longer able to find a living on the lowland (the Caspian littoral), now constitute in the mountains a starving proletariat mass, numbering in the aggregate 23,000 landless and stockless households.

"The country was completely ruined. The towns were destroyed (some, such as Khasaf-yourt, to their foundations). Ninety villages were wiped off the face of the earth; roads and bridges were blown up, the fundamental branches of husbandry were hardly existent. Flocks and herds were reduced by two-thirds, village industries lapsed, earnings from outside industries gone. There was literally nothing to live by. There were no funds wherewith anything could be bought. People dressed in skins; in the *aouls* at



certain hours men were forbidden to go out of doors because that was when the women had to go to the springs for water, and they were all but naked. The conquerors in the revolutionary struggle looked round and wondered : What had victory brought them ? Land ? But there never had been any landed proprietors in the mountains. The villagers still had their former bits of land, the size of a *bourka* (felt cloak). Cattle and sheep ? But the cattle and sheep had perished owing to the impossibility of driving them to the winter pastures, or they had been devoured by the troops. Earnings ? Well, in the ruined towns and in the *aouls*, after the revolution, it had become almost impossible to earn anything at all.

"It appeared, then, that the 'poor' of Daghestan, having come off victors in the revolutionary fight, got nothing by it but liberty," which, I may remark, they had before to a great extent, but have not now.

"Later, the moment the civil war ended, came the famine of 1921, followed by elemental disasters : cattle-plague in 1922 ; an invasion of field-mice, hurricanes and hailstorms in 1923 ; and, finally, the failure of the crops in 1924." It is probably no exaggeration to say that Bolshevism brought worse ruin to Daghestan in nine months than the Tsar's armies in thirty years.

Let us now see what Comrade Samoursky has to offer for the future :

"Muhammad said : 'Everything that is not in the Koran comes from the evil one.' It follows that all European civilization is the invention of the devil, no matter whether it takes the form of Capitalism or of Communism. Blessed alone is the patriarchal family life and Natural Economy. Take your stand upon that and go not one step further. . . .

"Hostility to European civilization, a hostility sanctified by religion, is a phenomenon more complicated than any mere religiosity, and one far more difficult to deal with. To begin with, the idea of combating it by force is absolutely inadmissible, for the use of force only confirms the teaching of the 'clericals' that European civilization has always been the weapon of the enslavers and oppressors of the Eastern peoples"—an admission of almost incredible candour,



coming from one who had just taken a chief part in the ruin by physical force of a whole people and country! To continue :

"Agitation is powerless. How can you carry on propaganda amongst a people who ask at every turn, 'Is that in the Koran? If not, it is not worth hearing.'" As to direct anti-religious propaganda, with ridicule and jokes against religion—it is simply not to be thought of. No one will discuss or attempt to defend religion; it will only be said, 'He speaks against God—he must be mad. It is unseemly to listen to a madman,' and those present will move on."

The cynical mentality of the Bolsheviks is well exemplified in Comrade Samoursky's suggested remedy for the state of things he describes. Industrialism in Mountain Daghestan has up to now been simply non-existent. That is why there has been little or no ground there for Bolshevik propaganda to work upon. But, poor as the country is in other respects, it contains a vast untapped source of wealth in its water power. It also contains a reserve of minerals, the extent of which can only be guessed at. "Mining," he tells us, "only awaits the necessary capital, and Comrade Korkmasoff, in the course of his journey abroad in 1923, entered into relations with various groups of foreign capitalists. If capital were attracted by concessions, then Daghestan, with its inexhaustible stores of mineral wealth and the admirable working qualities of its population, would very soon become the centre of an industrial proletariat and the 'conductor' of communistic and world-revolutionary ideas throughout the Near East!" In other words, foreign capitalists are to lend money to Daghestan to create another centre of communism and of world-revolution!

It is hardly necessary to add that in sober truth under all this pretence of championing the "village poor," the aim and end of Bolshevik action in Daghestan was precisely that of the "wicked" Tsars. As Mr. Allen puts it, "From the standpoint of Russian Imperial policy the re-establishment of control over the Caucasus was a strategic and economic necessity."

## II

## THE TATAR REPUBLIC ON THE VOLGA

By W. E. D. ALLEN

(The author's articles are already familiar to readers of the REVIEW. He has written "The Turks in Europe" and "Beled-es-Siba: Sketches and Essays of Travel and History," and is part author of "The Baltic and Caucasus States" Colonel John Buchan's series "Nations of Today." Mr. Allen has travelled extensively in the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union.)

REFERENCE has already been made in a previous issue of the REVIEW to the internal organization on a national basis of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.\*

The Tatar Republic, although of comparatively small area—it consists of most of the former Government of Kazan, with small parts of neighbouring Governments—and of inconsiderable population—under 3,000,000, of which little more than half are Turkish-speaking—is culturally and intellectually the most important of all the Turkish-speaking areas of the Soviet Union. The Tatars of Kazan have the tradition of a very ancient civilization, which dates from the days of the medieval Kingdom of Bulghar, when the mixed Turkish and Finnish tribes of the middle reaches of the Volga built up a powerful feudal monarchy which controlled the trade routes between the Caspian and the Baltic. The great market towns of the Middle Volga, the chief of which was the city of Bulghar—ruined and deserted in the fifteenth century and replaced by Kazan—were the distributing centres of all the trade which passed between the empire of the Caliphs and the young Russian principalities—between South-Western Asia and North-Eastern Europe. In the middle of the thirteenth century the rule of the Mongols replaced that of Old Bulgharian merchant princes, but the tradition of the ancient Arabo-Turkish Islamic culture was not broken, and the nomad princes of the Golden Horde became the patrons and perpetuators of the venerable civilization which had taken root along the banks of the Volga certainly as early as the eighth century.

\* ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1927. "New Political Organizations in the Caucasus and Central Asia."



Ivan the Terrible conquered Kazan in 1552, the ancient Muslim Khanate of the Volga surviving its great counterpart in the West, the Emirate of Granada, by half a century. The Tatars of the Volga thus passed under Muscovite control, and hence under the indirect influence of Europe, two centuries before the Tatars of the Crimea, two and a half centuries before the Tatars of the Caucasus, and nearly three centuries before the Turks of Central Asia.

The gradual and steady growth of Russian cultural influence over the Tatars of the Volga had two effects, which in themselves produced contrary results. Continuous contact and intercourse between Russians and Tatars, soldered and given political form by the centralizing russifying policy of successive Moscow Tzars, and by the relentless proselytizing activities of the Orthodox Church, tended to assimilate the Tatars to the Russians, and to denationalize them as a distinct non-Slav group. The economic development of Russia in the nineteenth century, with the growth in the Kazan Government of such local industries as soap-manufacturing, brewing, distilling, tanning, and glycerine manufacture, and the opening up of Kazan as a Volga port, still further tended to absorb the national individuality of the Tatars into the Slavonic "whole" of the Russian Empire. At the same time the very tendencies, economic and cultural, which were dissolving the national individuality of the Tatars, began to further the growth of this national individuality on the familiar lines which have led to the universal development of the idea of nationality, not only in Russia, but throughout Europe and Asia.

The modern development of communication, both material and intellectual, brought a realization to the Tatars of the Volga of the significant unity of outlook and of interest of Muslim communities throughout the world. During the nineteenth century a Tatar national literature was born. Kazan University became no mean centre of thought, and the Tatars of the Volga began to assume the intellectual leadership of the Turkish-speaking peoples of Russia, and they began also to be regarded with respect by leaders of the Muslim world beyond the borders of Russia. Intellectual



nationalism in Kazan developed during the generation preceding the Revolution of 1917 in two divergent directions. There was one group of conservative tendency, with an academic and romanticist literature, which represented the outlook of the Muhammadan clerics, the landowning "begs," and the wealthy commercial and professional classes. There was another group, rather under the influence of international Socialist thought and "modernist" Russian literature, which found numerous recruits among the poorer professional classes, junior State employees, and the younger generation of all classes, and which exercised some influence over the half-educated industrial workers of the Middle Volga. Both groups, in different degrees, favoured the nurturing and development of the distinct force of Tatar nationality. During the early revolutionary period between March and October, 1917, the Tatars of the Volga, in common with the Tatars of the Crimea and the Caucasus, favoured an autonomous régime for the Tatar countries within the fabric of the Russian State. Events, however, forced the different Tatar groups towards the expression of more extreme views. The "Shuro," or Tatar Military Committee, drifted gradually towards the vague conception of a Volga-Ural group of Turkish-speaking states, including the Bashkir communities, with their centre at Ufa, and the sparsely populated Kirghiz regions, the principal industrial centre of which is Orenburg. On the other hand, the Muslim Socialist Committee, headed by the able, "intellectual" Mullah-Nuri-Vahitov, drifted gradually under the influence of the Bolsheviks. The position of the latter was potentially stronger than that of the "Shuro," since they had the support of the numerous Russian industrial elements who were naturally antagonistic to any extreme manifestation of Tatar-Muslim nationalism. During the period of the Civil War, 1918-1919, there was much confused fighting in and around Kazan. The temporary intervention of the Czecho-Slovaks for a short period gave the anti-Bolshevik elements the upper hand, and during the establishment of their control, Mullah-Nuri-Vahitov was, amongst others executed. Gradually, however, the anti-Bolshevik groups in the Ural and Siberia



crumbled away, and the Soviet régime was established throughout the Ural-Volga region—in Kazan, Ufa, and Orenburg. The Soviet régime was, however, nowhere very strong. The resistance in Kazan, the formidable revolt of the Bashkirs, risings among the Kirghiz, and the protracted "basmadji" movement in Turkestan, everywhere tended to emphasize the strength of national and religious sentiment among the Turkish-speaking Muslims of the former Russian Empire. The establishment of autonomous Socialist Soviet Republics, with certain powers of local government and the right to the use of the local language in administration, had already been inaugurated by Moscow as a policy calculated to conciliate the national revindications of minority groups. In pursuance of this policy, the autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic was established by decree on September 27, 1920.

Politically the Kazan Republic is not strong by comparison with the two fellow Turkish-speaking republics of Usbégistan and Azerbaijan. The large Russian majority inhabiting the territory of the Republic exercise an influence over local affairs out of all proportion to their numbers. In Soviet Russia political power is largely in the hands of the town proletariat, and the political influence of the Russians in the Kazan Republic can be gauged from the fact that, while the Republic contains a population in the proportion of 51·6 per cent. Tatars, 39·5 per cent. Russians, and 8·9 per cent. other nationalities, the population of the towns is in the proportion of 73·3 per cent. Russians, 23·4 per cent. Tatars, and 3·3 per cent. other nationalities. The Tatars have actually decreased by 3 per cent. since the Revolution, as the result of the Civil War and the Volga famine. The bulk of the Tatar peasantry are illiterate. Nevertheless, the importance of the Volga Tatars in the Russian Muslim world is considerable, and the moral influence of the small class of educated Kazanlis is out of all proportion to their numbers. They are the intellectual leaders of the Turkish-speaking elements in the Soviet Union, and these elements during the coming generation will exercise an increasing influence on all the imponderable problems of the vast Eurasian area.

## LITERARY SECTION

## LEADING ARTICLE

## MATERIALISM AND SPIRITUALITY

BY STANLEY RICE

"Admirers of India are unanimous in praising Hindu 'spirituality.' I cannot agree with them. To my mind 'spirituality' . . . is the primal curse of India and the cause of all her misfortunes. . . . A little less spirituality and the Indians would now be free—free from foreign dominion and the tyranny of their own prejudices and traditions. There would be less dirt and more food. . . . It is for its 'materialism' that our Western civilisation is generally blamed. Wrongly I think. For materialism—if materialism means a preoccupation with the actual world in which we live—is something wholly admirable."—ALDOUS HUXLEY in *Jesting Pilate*.

"The desire to know, the demand for knowledge . . . has always been discouraged by the great sages of the East. This desire, this yearning for knowledge, has been suppressed either by scepticism or by resort to a so-called deeper wisdom through meditation and contemplation. . . . We have been accustomed to regard these forms of deeper wisdom as forms of spirituality. But the modern Chinese are asking what spirituality really exists in these forms of deeper wisdom."—DR. HUH SHIH, *The Renaissance in China* (Lecture to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, November, 1926).

It is one of the common accusations against the present age that it is too material. Indian writers in particular are never tired of contrasting their own spirituality with the materialism of the West, and there is always an assumption on both sides that this spirituality is superior to materialism. It is certainly true that in books of travel which embrace both East and West, such as Keyserling's "Travel Diary of a Philosopher" and Mr. Huxley's "Jesting Pilate," there is a remarkable contrast between the atmosphere of India and that of America, nor is it to be found only in such books. Europeans who go no farther than India are struck by the same contrast with their own preoccupations; and Mr. Dhan Mukerjee, who tells simply enough in "Caste and Outcast" the story of his experiences, contrives to leave the same impression without directly contrasting the two and without making a special claim for his own civilization.



The words, however, are generally very loosely used. They do not always mean the same thing, and one suspects that some at least of the writers who use them are not very clear in their own minds what they connote. They are in fact drifting into the position of catchwords. If we really analyze the term "material" we shall find that there are in human society only two qualities which deserve the name without explanation or modification, the desire for food and the sexual appetite. These two are to be found in primitive man and in the lower animals, and it is only as a negative factor that the mind comes into play. It is true that Nature herself may utter a warning; the wild beast does not usually gorge itself to repletion, and savage man may learn by experience that continence is ultimately necessary to health. But the recognition that these things are vices in themselves is a mental process which acts by restraint. A child in whom the mental process is undeveloped tends to overeat, as do most animals in a state of captivity; a man who has cast aside the restraints of prudence and morality will tend towards excessive sexual indulgence. In all other cases materialism is mixed in varying degrees with intellect or ethics or æsthetics—all of them "spiritual" processes. The man whose sole object is to make money uses his intellect to achieve his end; the woman who buys a multitude of dresses is indulging her æsthetic faculty. She does not buy them because she needs them but because they are pretty or because they will suit her. Both may or may not be influenced by moral considerations: the man by common honesty, the woman by the avoidance of extravagance—which is a different form of the same thing. It is thus apparent that even in these, the crudest forms of materialism, there are mental processes at work which modify the term, and this becomes more obvious as we ascend the scale. It is, indeed, increasingly difficult to decide where materialism ends and "spirituality" comes into play as the foremost factor, for opinions may differ as to whether materialism should be applied objectively or subjectively. If it be confined to the subjective aspect alone we are concerned only with motive, but since motive must always be a process of the mind, whether intellectual or moral or æsthetic, we should be driven to the conclusion that there is no such thing as materialism except in the two cases already mentioned. That, however, is overrefinement; it lands us in the position that the word "materialism" so freely used means hardly anything. In practice it is un-



doubtedly used objectively. But the motives may vary in degrees which are admittedly unequal. The man who bets on a racecourse has no other object than to win money; he certainly does not view the transaction with any altruistic desire to put money into another's pocket. The maker of a motor-car has as his primary object his own profit, but he is at the same time doing a social service by supplying a public want. The administrator of public moneys has no other object than to serve the public by providing good roads, efficient lighting, sanitation, police, and so forth; and those who devote their time and energies to hospital work, often without reward to themselves, are actuated solely by philanthropy in the true and literal sense. All these people are, however, ministering in different degrees to a material object. It is to such things as these that Mr. Huxley alludes when he calls materialism "a preoccupation with the actual world in which we live"; the phrase is a loose one because our preoccupation extends also to that part of the universe of which we have any knowledge and also because it excludes certain things which are clearly not material and yet belong to this actual world.

This will be more clearly recognized when we consider the contrast which he makes between "this world" and the "other world." He apparently wishes to confine the term "spirituality" to the contemplation of the Unseen and the Unknowable, and the passage quoted is typical of the use to which the word is very often put. The word "spiritual" has been used more than once, because it was not convenient to analyze it earlier, though with the knowledge that it is a very vague and unsatisfactory word without such analysis. Man consists, it may be said, of three parts, body, mind, and spirit or soul, and I have endeavoured to show that nearly everything he does brings into play both the body and the mind. But if we are to maintain the antithesis between materialism and spirituality, we cannot afford to ignore the spirit which in conjunction with the mind deals with things wholly unrelated to the body. In this category would have to be placed not only all that appertains to the "other world" and is therefore matter of faith, but also all that belongs to the emotions. For the emotions are in fact spiritual states brought about by the action of the senses or of the imagination upon the mind, and imagination is to conjure up in the mind some ideas of the senses regarding material things which are not then present. A choice dish or a rare wine awakens by means of the mind the pleasurable sensations of taste; some masterpiece of music may,



through the ear acting upon the mind, produce emotions of joy or sorrow, of triumph or defeat; if it were not so, a funeral march would be the same to us as a drawing-room ballad, an anthem as a fox-trot. But the material thing need not be present. The sight of a dying mother will awaken feelings of grief, but the thought of the same picture may have exactly the same effect. How many of us have felt the emotion of fear in anticipation of the operator's table or the dentist's chair, to find that the reality was far less formidable than the anticipation? How many, saved from an imminent peril, have shuddered at the thought of what had so nearly happened?

The spiritual state, caused by the imagination, is transferred by the more ardent or sensitive believers to the other world of which we have no knowledge. Man being what he is cannot think except in terms of the phenomenal. It is, I think, impossible to conceive in the abstract those qualities which the ancient philosophers were so fond of discussing. Truth, justice, happiness, charity—these and other qualities exist in the abstract only as academic and unrealizable ideas; in practice they are notions which govern the conduct of man to man and are only conceived in relation to him or to the lower creation. Thus it is that if someone proposes to tell the "truth" about So-and-so, we know that he is not speaking of abstract truth but of the truth as presented to his own mind. Similarly, in a labour dispute between employers and employed we are frequently reminded that the one only desires to do, and the other to receive, justice, but the word means two different things to the two parties, and is clearly an abstract idea applied to human conduct. And so when the imagination dwells upon the other world it cannot but conceive it in terms of this. It has always been so. God is represented throughout the Old Testament in terms of man; He sits upon a throne, He speaks with a voice, He has a face which Moses may not, and back parts which he may, see. In the New Testament He is our Father or our Judge. The heaven is definitely a place, the angels are superhuman men, and the bliss of the righteous and the torment of the damned are described in human terms. Thus too it has always been through the centuries of the Church's history. The saints who saw demons in the wilderness, those who conjured up the awful visions of an eternal hell, those who had communion with Christ in the manner of St. Teresa, alike had recourse to the material objects of this world to stimulate their imagination. The realization of the crudity of these ideas, the very



thought that God and the unseen world are inconceivable, the rejection of the idea, itself extremely difficult to grasp, that eternal bliss differs only in degree, though in infinite degree, from bliss on earth, and the conviction that it is or may be wholly different in kind, have probably played their part in the scepticism of a rationalist world.

It may of course be objected that faith does not fall within this category, that there are certain articles of the Christian faith which we are content to take on trust, knowing that they do and always must transcend man's reason. Such are the doctrine of the Trinity, which is explained in the Athanasian Creed in terms inconceivable to man's finite intelligence, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which, however, is not universally held. To faith of this kind we give the name of mysteries. It may be remarked in passing that what some claim to be legitimate faith others regard as illegitimate superstition; the border-line between the two is very thin. It is in fact in Carlylean phrase a question of My-doxo and Thy-doxo. The devout Christian believes that to him alone the Truth has been revealed and that therefore to believe in the Incarnation is an act of faith; the devout Mussulman equally believes that he is the sole recipient of the Truth, and since to him it is heresy to say that God has a Son, the Christian belief must appear superstition. The Hindu does not deny the possibility of incarnation, but believes that God was incarnate in the person, not of Christ, but of Krishna. In order to embrace all kinds of faith and to avoid invidious distinctions between what is faith and what is superstition, we may include all that appertains to the other world and transcends man's reason as mysticism.

George Santayana has defined spirituality as "living in presence of the ideal." But if we are right in contrasting spirituality with materialism, this definition does not satisfy. At one end of the scale is the man whose whole energies are occupied with the Stock Exchange List; at the other is the Hindu ascetic who, according to his lights, is entirely preoccupied with the welfare of his own soul. Between these two extremes lie many varieties of mixture, for, as has already been intimated, no exact line can be drawn, and in fact neither the money-maker nor the ascetic lives wholly for the world. It was, and still is, the failure to recognize this truth that has so largely impeded the progress of knowledge; heresy was looked upon in bygone times with such horror that a man was not allowed to question not only the dogmas of the Church in regard to unseen things,



but also its quite erroneous tenets in regard to terrestrial things. And although this involved the power of the Church, it was genuinely thought that such scepticism did, in fact, endanger a man's soul, and that any deviation from blind obedience was an injury to the spiritual life. The same principle can be seen at work today. There are still men and women—especially women—who, though they are willing to believe that certain old dogmas have been finally and conclusively exploded, still regard genuine and honest doubt about those which hold the field, if not exactly with horror, at any rate with aversion, and if the point were pressed would maintain that such doubt was in a loose and unexplained way unspiritual. Yet surely it is clear that to confine spirituality to emotional or, if you prefer it, to intuitive faith is to leave out a large part of life, or in the alternative to relegate to materialism what can only by very forced language be called material; and that, on the other hand, if the study of metaphysics is "spiritual," the study of all other kinds of knowledge can only be excluded by an arbitrary distinction based on objectivity.

The case of æsthetics is perhaps more difficult. Certain conditions are caused by the action of the senses upon the mind, usually through the medium of the eye or the ear. They are not always pleasurable, nor are they always related to culture. To the highly trained and cultivated musician a Beethoven symphony or a Wagner scena may give the most exquisite delight, as to a highly trained and cultivated artist may Flemish primitives. There is in this delight something of the intellectual which gives it an added keenness, but it is shared, though perhaps to a lesser degree, by others of general culture but ignorant of the finer points of technique. To others, again, such things mean nothing: their æsthetic sense is satisfied in the sphere of sound by musical comedy or a pretty ballad; in the sphere of sight by the motion pictures of the cinema. What is usually forgotten is that, although one class of art may be "good" and the other "bad," one may be "high" and the other "low," all art acts in the realm of spirituality and not of materialism, and the controversy which rages about the moral value of the films begins with their æsthetic value. If the art of the cinema, which caters for what Americans expressively call "the hicks," tends to degrade the spirit of man or to lower his moral nature, the ultimate reason is to be found in the worthlessness of the æsthetic content; for as long as that content is held to be worthy, so long will the lessons inculcated be accepted and their



influence allowed their fullest scope. It is the greatest triumph of that great adventure, the "Old Vic," that it has never played down to the lowest tastes, but has played those tastes to a higher level, and the astonishing enthusiasm displayed at the least likely moments is eloquent proof of the keen æsthetic appreciation of charwomen and labourers. Æsthetics are largely a question of degree as they are largely a question of culture; many a man who professes to "like music," but who finds Beethoven and Brahms "beyond him," has simply not taken the trouble to cultivate a sense of music, and this is equally true of any other branch of art. The point to recognize is that all art is spiritual by whatever medium it reaches the mind; the creator of art—the musician, the poet, the painter, sculptor, or prose-writer—is to the extent of his art living a spiritual life, which, to that extent, also is shared by those to whom he offers his artistic gifts.

When we come to mysticism and ethics we are upon less controversial ground. Mysticism deals with the unphenomenal, with the other world of which Mr. Huxley speaks in mild sarcasm, and there is no one who doubts that the term "spirituality" may properly be applied to it. It is the special province of the spiritual teacher represented by the ministers of the Church, whatever be the religion, and in Christianity it is chiefly manifested in dogma and the Sacraments. There was indeed a time when it was thought that this was the only possible form of the spiritual life; the whole body was not only to be disregarded, but to be actually ill-treated, and the natural desires and affections were to be suppressed and, if possible, extinguished. Beauty was a snare of the devil, and the acquisition of knowledge was wicked materialism, so long as it was not bounded by theological speculation. Ethics themselves counted for little, and the man who murdered his relatives and rose to power through blood and treachery was still righteous before God if his opinions were orthodox. We read such things with amazement today; yet the leaders of the Church in those dark ages were only acting according to their lights, and were trying to stress the everlasting contrast between spirituality and materialism in a manner of which we see the traces in the common usage of modern writings. So far, however, has the pendulum swung the other way that the modern realist would deny spirituality altogether to the mystic, holding that his faith is only foolish superstition and has no value of any kind. In this, however, he is wrong. The history of every religion in every



country shows that mankind requires some central concept, and that that concept tends always towards the personal. Thus it was that the philosophy of the Stoics fell short of human needs; the popular religion degenerated into an obvious superstition which was seen to be unworthy of the educated man, and part of the triumph of Christianity was due to the fact that the void left by the disappearance of the older cults was ready to be filled by Christian mysticism. Cold philosophy makes no lasting appeal to the people, and in India it was soon found that the cold metaphysics of the Upanishads and the cold ethics of Buddhism could not supply the emotional side of popular life. In the one case the want was satisfied by the Bhakti movement, in which emotion could find vent in the adoration of the god; in the other the deification of the Buddha and the conception of a spiritual hierarchy formed a violent deviation from the purely ethical and atheistical teaching of the Buddha. Whatever may be the absolute and intrinsic value of the Sacraments, of ritual, or of certain dogmas, it is certain that to a particular type of mind, especially to the female mind, they have been of the utmost consolation, and to the more sensitive temperaments have almost attained an objective reality, so that they not only form a part, but the greatest and most important part, of life. To abolish the mystic element is usually to knock away some of the fundamental props of the people; it becomes increasingly difficult to adopt a code of ethics as the guide of life, because there is in fact no such thing as a conscious code, and the ethics of a people by which they live insensibly also change insensibly, and, without the objectivity of a mystic faith, in all probability for the worse. Hence it is that Communism is completely mistaken in its endeavour to destroy religion. The purely utilitarian view of life, which sees no good in anything that does not promise a visible and proximate return, would abolish as far as possible the whole element of spirituality, and, since its complete elimination is impossible, would so far neglect it as to discourage any cultivation of the higher feelings. In destroying the mystical part of religion, it equally puts in jeopardy the whole code of ethics, the ultimate sanction for which becomes private conscience and the civil law of the land. The whole conception of a Divine law may be beyond proof, but has had a very real and practical effect upon ethics, not merely among those who continually think in terms of it, but also among those who are only unconsciously or subconsciously aware of it.



But to some—and perhaps in practice to most—ethics are the most important aspect of the spiritual life. The fruits of the Spirit, we are told, are love, joy, peace, and the rest of the well-known catalogue, and it was the favourite occupation both of Greek and Roman philosophers to discuss the nature of virtue. To Gautama the end to be aimed at was Nirvana, a state of complete purity which enabled the man to be absorbed in the divine absolute, but the means of attainment were the complete suppression of all desire, or, in other words, the elimination of all that in Buddhist conception was an obstacle to virtue. To Muhammad the reward of virtue was a very tangible heaven, as the reward of wickedness was an equally tangible hell, but a large part of virtue consisted in the acceptance of the ecclesiastical dogma. But the negative quality of Buddhism reminds us that, if virtue enters into the spiritual life, so also does vice. We have a catalogue of the fruits of the Spirit, but we have also a catalogue of the things which defile, the spiritual quality of which is specially emphasized in contrast to those material things which enter the body. If we are to maintain the distinction between materialism and spirituality we must recognize that the spiritual life may be evil as well as good; that the materialist, in so far as he is non-spiritual, is as regards spirituality neutral, since he can follow his creed without being actively virtuous or actively vicious. Such a being is in fact an academic postulate; yet it may reasonably be said of a material civilization that its spiritual life is of a subconscious, latent, almost negative kind. The average materialist would be indignant if he were asked the plain question whether he approved of this or that form of what is usually accounted virtue or vice; but ordinarily it never enters his head to consider the matter at all.

But seeing that spiritual processes enter into every action of civilized man, including at times even those grossest material forms of which earlier mention was made, the question arises whether we are justified at all in our two main divisions, or whether we ought not rather to regard materialism as merely the grossest form of the spiritual life. In this view the usual antithesis would disappear and would be replaced by categories of degree; this is in fact the more logical method, for since there is a measure of spirituality in all life, none of it can be called purely material. But though it is not difficult to distinguish between the two extremes—between the religious ascetic who cares nothing for the world and the



worldly man who cares nothing for anything else—it is not so easy to assign positive values to other forms of spirituality. It is exactly here, I conceive, that error is most likely to creep in. Given the superiority of the spiritual over the material, a superiority which may be intuitive but which is based upon the observation of the rise of man from the primitive, brutal condition, can it be said that mysticism is in any way superior to intellectualism, or either to æsthetics? How are we to compare the relative spirituality of a St. Francis, a Newton, a Plato, a Beethoven, and a Michael Angelo? If it could be determined that one category is definitely superior to the other, then the man who possessed the greatest share of that category would be making the nearest approach to the perfect life. That is the assumption of the Hindu claim. Religion, they say, is the mainspring of Hindu life; everything is referable to it, and since the existing world is relatively negligible, Indians must be regarded as essentially spiritual. But exactly the same claim can be made by the intellectual man who is not religious at all; the man whose whole life is devoted to the study of science or history, to the entire neglect of his worldly affairs, can claim to be no less spiritual than the ascetic, and the same may also be said of the artist and the poet. The proposition has only to be stated to suggest the answer. The mistake of the Hindu is to confine spirituality to the mystic alone; it is not that one category is higher or lower than the other, but that no category is complete in itself, and that therefore neither the mystic nor the intellectual nor the artist can claim to be any nearer the perfect life than the other. In each case the too exclusive concentration on a single aspect vitiates the whole. The ignorant mystic, the intellectual atheist, the vicious artist, each misses something of the whole, and all are alike in refusing to recognize the true value of the world in which we live. From whatever aspect the case be viewed, it will be seen that the over-stressing of any one side leads to the abnormal. The supermystic becomes the anchorite of the desert, whose fear of women, whose struggles with demons, whose prayers and fastings, amounted to a disease; the super-ethic becomes the Puritan or the Scotch divine of the eighteenth century, whose austerity took all the joy out of life and steeped mankind in an everlasting dread of eternal punishment. It is true that the artist has very seldom lived entirely for his art, but we are all ready to recognize something abnormal in the man who most nearly does



so. And although the type is more common in Western civilization, we are equally ready to admit that there is something lacking in the life of the man or woman who lives wholly for the acquisition of worldly possessions or the gaining of worldly comforts.

The perfect life is therefore a balanced synthesis of proportion and degree in the various factors that make up life. It is necessary to add degree to proportion, because to the attainment of the perfect life the factors must be of high quality, and in each of the categories there are wide variations. It is manifestly impossible to attempt any kind of mathematical definition, or to explain this harmony in any but the most general terms. The man who combined in himself the excellences of a St. Francis, a Beethoven, a Newton, and a Buddha would hardly be recognizable as a human being. Much would depend on the ethical side alone, upon the virtues which are recognized as such, and upon the estimation in which they are held. We can, however, observe something defective in the character which is so given to mysticism as to be oblivious to the suffering of others, which is so steeped in æsthetics as to be indifferent to intellect, which is so engrossed in worldly affairs as to have no thought for religion. We realize that there is something different in quality between the intellectualism of the highly educated man and that of the newsboy whose ambition is to master the trade of a motor mechanic, between the æsthetic pleasure of a Beethoven symphony and that of a jazz dance, between the negative ethics of a man who does not steal and defraud and those of a man who devotes his life to social service.

To speak then of materialism and spirituality as if they could be placed in separate compartments, of which one is admittedly higher than the other, leads to much looseness, if not to confusion, of thought. There is nothing specially elevating in pure spirituality, as there is nothing derogatory in materialism. Each has its own part to play in human life, and the defect of any given civilization is that it stresses unduly one of the factors of which life is made up. The ancient Greeks were above all things lovers of beauty, to which they added a great reverence for intellect, but in stressing these things they neglected ethics and allowed mysticism to fall into derision. The ancient Romans stressed the worldly and material side of life to the neglect of æsthetics and mysticism, so that, as the Empire advanced in extent and organization, the people, having no religious or æsthetic standard, degenerated into vice and the baser



kinds of pleasure. The early Christians overemphasized the mystical side to such an extent that the way to knowledge was practically barred, the ethical factor was cramped, and æsthetics became a dreary procession of saints and madonnas and a continuous and stunted output of chants and hymn tunes. India today is inclined to stress overmuch the mystical and metaphysical elements, so that in the incisive words of Mr. Huxley, "a little less spirituality and . . . there would be less dirt and more food." The doctrine of Maya has been interpreted to mean that this world is relatively unimportant, but such a doctrine degenerates in the minds of unpractised men into the idea that this world is of no consequence at all. And finally the rationalism of the Western world, which revolted against the blind acceptance of ecclesiastical dogma and which is applying its intellectualism to the production of material things, found that the material life was growing ever more complex, swung to the opposite extreme, left its mysticism as a possible occupation for Sundays, and regarded its æsthetic pleasures as temporary relaxations from worldly toil. This was inevitable. In the competition for wealth and power, which brought the great rewards and which was made possible by the application of knowledge to production, to health, and to comfort, it was clear that those more spiritual elements must recede once the Church had lost her supreme influence. It is difficult to imagine any modern nation staking an Empire, as Spain staked hers in the sixteenth century, for the sake of a few ecclesiastical dogmas, for men have seen that no nation can remain great which sacrifices national prosperity to unprogressive teaching. And yet it is one of the most signal triumphs of Christianity and a proof of its worth as a religion that, in spite of its disadvantages, in spite of the unworthiness of some of its leaders in the past, in spite of the scandals and immoralities which have stained its history, it has never lost its hold upon the West in the mystical and ethical sides of life with which it is mainly concerned. Those who deny or doubt its dogmas, and those who are most deeply immersed in worldly concerns, are still the products of Western civilization, which has been so largely influenced by Christianity, though it is by no means, as some seem to think, the result of that alone.

Materialism in its grosser forms of making money and studying physical comfort is conspicuous all over the West, and particularly in the United States of America. The depression of things spiritual, to whatever category they



may belong, is deplorable. Though there is a remnant left who have not bowed the knee in the temple of Plutus, this general attitude to life cannot but have a lasting effect upon a nation. Religion can still awaken, if not passion, at least lively feeling, but to the great majority it has become a matter of ritual and routine. Art can still produce artistic things, but in painting, as in music and literature, the chief desire is to create something that will sell well, and the biggest rewards often go to the works of inferior merit. Yet so complex is human nature that even these gross material forms have their special virtues. An Indian has said: "Notwithstanding the vague claims of spirituality by the Asiatics they are crude materialists, and there is more humanity, kindness, probity of character, refinement of manner, social service, consideration for feeling for others, and simple living with high thinking in Europe than can be found anywhere in Asia." It is not difficult to assign the items of this catalogue to the various branches which, I have tried to show, collectively make up spirituality and to deduce from it that Europe is on the whole in advance of Asia even in the spiritual life.

But while it is comparatively easy for Asia to infuse into her mystical and metaphysical outlook something of the materialism of Europe which will increase her self-respect, earn her greater esteem, and improve the conditions of her physical life, it is not so easy for Europe to check her ever-growing materialism. It is far easier to give up praying than to give up smoking. It is far more attractive to make money without a name than to make a name without money. That this was not always so the history of mediæval Christianity clearly shows. Everyone loved power and everyone loved money—especially the Church; yet kings bowed meekly before the anathemas of popes and warriors flocked to the standards of Christendom for a pious sentiment. Jerusalem has fallen to the Christians, but it was in a war which was waged primarily on the one side for world power and on the other for the right to exist.

There are signs that to thinking men the complete victory of materialism in Europe is a danger to Western civilization, and they are looking for means to counteract it. Suggestions are made that we may find the remedy in the East, and the East may have this much to teach us, that there are many things in life worth having besides wealth and bodily comfort. But the East can teach us little more. She has exalted the mystical side of life



unduly and the result is too often misery and death and that weakness from which flow its own peculiar vices. The ideal to which we in the West ought to look forward is the balanced synthesis of all factors; not decrying materialism, nor overstressing it, not confining our spiritual effort to a single branch which has become, perhaps, too much divorced from Western life, we should set ourselves to the redress of the balance which is overweighted on the one side in the West, on the other in the East. It is a stupendous task, possibly an impossible one, but at least we shall make no headway unless we clearly recognize what the problem is and that its solution lies in the direction of a just co-ordination.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

## INDIA

INDIA TOMORROW. By Khub Dekhta Age. (*Oxford University Press.*)  
3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK.)

The author, who adopts the *nom de plume* of "One who looks well ahead," has put together briefly and in an interesting shape his thoughts and suggestions upon the constitution of the first decennial Commission which the Government of India Act has ordained as the instrument to assist Parliament in its formidable task of devising a progressive constitution for India.

The book deals both with the constitution of the Commission itself and the major problems which will confront it. The author has both sympathy and knowledge—sympathy with the ideals which he believes that India is subconsciously cherishing without being able to visualize, and knowledge of the manifold difficulties to be overcome before any such ideals can be realized. After showing the futility of any attempt to find a Commission which can represent in its membership all the diverse interests in India, as well as the British side of the question, and the patent objection to a Commission composed of persons who are ignorant of Indian conditions, he seems to find a solution in a small, select body of men who will fulfil the function of rapporteurs instead of judges, and will deal with the problem as they would deal with international questions at Geneva. *The Times*, in a leading article, gave its blessing to this suggestion that the function of the Commission is to interpret to Parliament and the nation what India wants and what all shades of opinion there will agree upon. The author supports the "Round Table Theory," advocated by many Indians as the best method, but confesses that no one round table is large enough to accommodate all those who would claim to sit round it. The conception which he puts forward is "of many small round tables at which the conversation shall be frank and informal, the rapporteurs moving freely from one to the other. The guests must not only be those who are bidden to the intellectual feast, but the rapporteurs must go into the hedges and highways to gain some insight into the viewpoint and needs of the man at the plough."

In theory, this is a most admirable objective to place before the Commissioners; and, in these matters, where there is no strict law of evidence to be considered, the members of such a Commission can learn more from outside observation than at formal sittings. But the author does not make it clear how a body of men, charged with a brief mission, are to attain this objective. It is not from direct questioning, but from many years' listening to the unguarded conversation of all sorts and conditions of men that one can discriminate between their real sentiments and the sentiments



that they either persuade themselves, or are persuaded by others to say, that they feel, when they are formally questioned. Indeed, it is very often more from the way that men act in particular circumstances, rather than from the sentiment they profess, that the key to their inmost feelings can be found. What the Commission are charged with ascertaining is how the reforms have worked in actual practice, whether that practice has been in accordance with the scheme contemplated by the Act, or in neglect of it, and whether the experience gained shows that "responsible" government, as intended by the reforms of 1919, has actually materialized or shows signs of materializing. Any opinions offered—and there will be many—must be tested by the actual facts, credit given where it is due, and responsibility for failure traced to its proper causes, whether these be the shortcomings of individuals or the faults of an unsatisfactory system.

The constitution of the Commission has now been set at rest. Both the most experienced administrators and the leading politicians, British and Indian alike, are relegated to the witness-box. Political India will dislike the exclusion, and will threaten to boycott the Commission, but the most moderate elements in politics will become reconciled to a personnel which is, on the face of it, neither prejudiced nor likely to be illiberal. Non-political India, so far as it can form any opinion on the subject at all, will not be averse; but the real difficulty consists in bringing into the comprehension of transient visitors to the country the real soul of the millions, when the only persons whom they can converse with represent exotic rather than inborn sentiments. The resonant demand of these will drown what Lord Reading called "the almost inaudible whispers of the masses." Mr. J. A. Spender, in a recent book on "The Changing East," deplored the perpetual inclination towards "The Westminster Model," so natural to British Parliamentarians, when the idea of "Government" through the ballot-box is so entirely foreign to the genius of the whole population.

The short chapters on the various problems that face the framers of an Indian constitution are all interesting and informing, but the comparison which the author has made between the provincial governments in India and the County Councils in England is most deceptive. It is true that provincial governments have to carry out many public duties and services which can be performed by County Councils in England, but they are charged with much larger interests than these. Counties are comparable with districts, and not with provinces, many of them larger than the United Kingdom, and some with larger populations than France or Italy. By making this comparison, the writer has conveyed to a British reader unacquainted with India an erroneous impression of the nature of the real problem, which is how to keep under a single completely Indianized Government numerous countries and races differing from each other as greatly as the various European States differ *inter se*, and with no greater readiness than the European peoples would show to be dominated by one another. It is the same problem, though on a much larger scale, of Ulster and the Irish Free State. These are difficulties which neither rapporteurs nor judges can remove or circumvent; least of all can they be



overcome by the simple process of ignoring them and proceeding to frame constitutional machinery as if they did not exist. Sir John Simon and his colleagues have in front of them a task of most extraordinary difficulty. The contrasting policies are the unity of the Indian sub-continent with permanent British partnership in a new Dominion, or the complete disruption of India under cover of a mock-democracy. There is no halfway house between these two.

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THE GARDEN OF ADONIS. By Al. Carthill. (*William Blackwood and Sons.*) 15s.

(Reviewed by Sir H. Verney Lovett.)

In this book the author of "The Lost Dominion" again takes up the tale of India. The "old autocracy," he says, has perished. It had its merits, but could not survive the changes which have come over British ideals and institutions, the mutations in India itself, and the pressure of the new forces generated by the war. India is now under a transitional constitution which, while transforming the headquarters of the Empire "into a national capital, the true meeting-place of the peoples," has done little good and has excited communal animosities to the highest pitch. The present central and provincial governments represent a decrepit autocracy; but the members of the new legislative bodies have not acquired any fresh sense of responsibility. So agitation continues unabated. Reaction is impracticable; and we shall soon hear of another "daring act of constructive statesmanship," whereby Dominion status will be accorded to India. It will mean complete autonomy, and any accompanying caveats will be wholly nugatory. The great sub-continent will fall under the sway of a central Parliament which will be an organ of the wealthy and professional classes, the landlords where there are landlords, the capitalists and the lawyers. Hindus will be the predominant element; this is inevitable both because they are by far the most numerous section of society, but also because in wealth and literacy they are far ahead of the Muslims. The Hindu Cabinet will be kept in their seats by a mercenary army, and being a Government established by the Imperial Parliament, will in the last resort be entitled to call for support from the whole force of the Empire.

It is plain that such an artificial system cannot possibly last. It has the seeds of death in it. At its best it will be a "garden of Adonis which flourishing today is tomorrow forgotten." It must before long make life too hard for the peasant, who is the pith and marrow of India, who creates her wealth and mans her armies. Embarrassed already by the pressure of growing numbers on the soil, he will find emigration hedged in by vexatious restrictions, and with rising tariffs will have to pay more for his finished goods and to content himself with lower prices for his agricultural produce. The British official and the British tea-planter will vanish from the land; authority will vest in those very classes of Indians from whom the peasants have least to expect. Their votes, where they have votes, will do them no good. They will suffer from the manner in which diffi-



cult currency problems will be handled, from an atmosphere which will become increasingly stormy, and from criminal classes who will be able to despise a feeble executive and an inefficient police.

Other calamities may safely be anticipated—a further development of communal rioting, a reduction of Islam in India to the condition of a blind Samson, Afghan or Russian invasion, Bolshevik penetration. Tendencies point to the solid establishment of Russia at the head of those passes which from time immemorial have been the gateway of India. "Free India," having practically cut itself off from England, will be unable to obtain help from the British Empire in its difficulties with other countries. That Empire indeed has been dissolved by the late Imperial Conference. The attainment of Dominion status by India will merely give it the *coup de grâce*. England will once more become a little England with no imperial responsibilities. The carelessness and incompetence of her rulers will have brought her to this pass.

Al. Carhill begins with the words: "The treatise will, I hope, be written in a plain and comprehensive style. There will, I trust, be nothing in it except facts, which may easily be verified, and the necessary deductions from these facts." Certain passages, however, are neither plain nor easily comprehensible; the style is sometimes strained and artificial, and there is an excess of historical allusions. He writes for the British elector, but the average elector will hardly appreciate either the book as a whole or even those portions which are certainly valuable—the chapters on the peasant, on usury, on "the fisc," on administration, and on crime. The chapter on religion, too, is instructive, but is marred by an irrelevant and somewhat savage attack on the author's own countrymen (p. 272). There is no relief to the general gloom; nor are we assisted by a single constructive suggestion, although on one page we are given to understand that Al. Carhill has a plan in reserve which will be disclosed *when it is likely to be well received*.

Meantime one naturally wonders whether a constitution which with all its defects has converted Delhi into "a true meeting-place of the Indian peoples," and might but for an inauspicious start "have worked well and formed a basis for a true constitutional Government," has really led India to perdition. Our hesitation to sit at the feet of Al. Carhill will be increased by observation that the course of events in that country during the past three or four years does not support the theory that her Government is decrepit, nor does it afford the slightest encouragement to the idea that the Muhammadans will tolerate the establishment by Parliament of a constitution which will place them in subjection to the Hindus. On the contrary, their attitude is one of alert and anxious vigilance. The ruling princes are equally wakeful. It is certain that the proposals of the Statutory Commission will be most carefully considered in all their bearings by all parties concerned. Much practical experience has been garnered since 1920, and arrangements which make no allowance for the imperfections of human nature are not likely to find favour with any responsible authority. The present Viceroy of India is no dreamer. Nor is he a man whose vision has been contracted by party politics. Hope and not



despair should clearly be our watchword, and there is no reason why it should not be. We know that whatever mistakes England has made in India, her policy has aimed, and now aims, at benefiting its peoples. We see that her work is far from done, and we refuse to believe for a moment that it will be abandoned in a spirit of cowardly defeatism. We would venture to suggest that old stagers who are inclined to despond cannot do better than read the closing passage of "India Tomorrow,"\* written by one who is at work in India now, and if they are unable to send any encouraging message to their younger brethren who are doing their best "with their faces toward the dawn," if they have nothing to contribute but prophecies of evil, they should turn their pens to some more cheerful subject.

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MURUGAN THE TILLER. By K. S. Venkataramani. (*Simpkin*.) 7s. 6d. net.  
(Reviewed by J. CHARTRES MOLONY.)

Neither the plot, which is well constructed, nor the style, which is frequently stilted, is of the first importance in Mr. Venkataramani's novel. The value of the book is in its faithful portrayal of peasant life in the sunny villages of South India, a life which the author knows, loves, and somewhat idealizes. Zola in "Fécondité," did not preach with greater earnestness the doctrine of the love of Earth, the "Mother of All." But the difference between the French and the Indian mind is at once apparent. To Zola's Froment the Earth brings wealth: to Mr. Venkataramani's Ramachandran she offers only contentment. Of Earth Mr. Venkataramani would say with George Meredith,

"She, drinking his warm sweat, will soothe his need,  
Not his desire."

Mr. Venkataramani is right in his contention that the real strength and goodness of South India (and, one may suspect, of most other lands) are with the tillers of the soil. But he somewhat overpaints his picture: he does not make sufficient allowance for the practically and spiritually beneficent influence of intellectual culture. Ramachandran's awakened mind enables him to direct to productive ends the rude, unthinking toil of his fellow villagers. Ramachandran, Kedari, Markandam, who find ultimate peace in village life, have all the capacity for contentment with simplicity which education gives: it is unlikely that the rough farmer of the Indian village savours so fully the absolute good of his daily life.

Mr. Venkataramani implicitly places the golden days of India in an age before the coming of the English, and implicitly looks towards a day when Western ideals of industrialization, of trade, of hustle and commercial strife, shall have disappeared. But he is scrupulously fair: he acknowledges ungrudgingly the Englishman's honesty of intention, and the Englishman's positive achievement. Cadell, the eminent "Civilian" of the story, with his irascibility and his kindheartedness, his firm belief in prestige and his genuine sympathy with the Indian people, is a pleasant portrait, and a

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\* Oxford University Press, 1927.



portrait so lifelike that many who knew South India twenty-five years ago will fancy that they recognize an original from which the portrait has been drawn. Through Cadell's careless conversation Mr. Venkataramani expresses two criticisms which deserve statement in a more precise and didactic form. The first is that in a bureaucracy the spirit of actual work is apt to be obscured by solicitude for observance of the exact letter of method. The second is that in a Government of permanent officials the official who reaches the topmost rung of the ladder is apt to mark time, to suggest, with Cadell, that initiative is best left to the young. Mr. Venkataramani might have added that the "old official in a hurry" needs very straitly to examine his conscience, lest subconsciously underlying schemes of bold innovation there be the comforting assurance that the innovator will not need to live in India under conditions which he himself has created.

FATHER INDIA: A REPLY TO "MOTHER INDIA." By C. S. Ranga Iyer,  
Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. (*Selwyn and Blount*.)  
6s. net.

Miss Mayo, an American tourist who visited India during the cold weather of 1925-26, has recorded her impressions of the country in a book which she satirically calls "Mother India." To those who have sought to discuss the volume with me, I have narrated the story of the three blind men who wanted to find out for themselves what an elephant was like. One of them, after passing his hands over the animal's legs, declared that it resembled the stem of a cocoanut palm; the second, who examined its tail in similar fashion, maintained that it was thin and sinuous as a snake; and the third, who confined his attention to the tusk, contended that the elephant was neither like a cocoanut palm nor like a snake, but like a boomerang of hard polished wood. Each was convinced that he was right, and that the others were liars. Miss Mayo's conception of India is as wide of the mark as the blind men's conception of the elephant, since her limitations as an observer are very much the same. The "facts" she has recorded may or may not be right as reflections of certain aspects of Indian life and character; but it certainly is a sad travesty of the truth to assert that they represent INDIA.

Does a book of this character need a refutation? Is it not clear to the feeblest intellect that any sweeping generalization which affects a fifth of the whole human race must of necessity be pregnant with fallacy? Mr. Ranga Iyer differs from me in thinking that a formal reply is called for, and has here examined a good many of the premises on which Miss Mayo's arguments are based. He deals with them with a becoming sense of restraint, and confines himself to pointing out how, on the precarious data of hospital cases and medical reports, which obviously deal with abnormalities, and which, nevertheless, constitute Miss Mayo's principal armoury, a similar indictment may easily be framed against any country in the world. Do not Mr. Iyer's profuse quotations from Judge Ben B. Lindsey show how easy it



would be for persons of weak judgment to pervert facts and arrive at entirely wrong conclusions as to the morals of Miss Mayo's own countrymen? May not an unbalanced mind draw the same inference from the character of the American films shown in India, most of which offend against the Indian code of morality, and against which the Indian public is now seeking protection? Again, Mr. Iyer has rendered his countrymen a distinct service in making it clear that the aim of the Indian politician is not, as Miss Mayo asserts, to drive the English out, "bag and baggage," but to obtain Swaraj within the Empire, and thus consolidate for ever the beneficent union that exists between the two nations by lifting that union above the sphere of possible controversies. This statement, coming as it does from an official member of the Swaraj party, is not without its significance. Many other cases of similar misrepresentation are here refuted or explained, and, on the whole, Mr. Ranga Iyer has succeeded in placing Miss Mayo's facts in their proper setting, thus enabling an impartial reader to arrive at a more accurate estimate of conditions in India than could be obtained from "Mother India."

This does not by any means imply that India is an earthly paradise, or that every single statement of Miss Mayo is wrong. There are a good many points on which it would be hard to answer Miss Mayo effectively. In drawing public attention to many admittedly evil habits and customs in India, she keeps herself in the background, and quotes from eminent Indian social reformers. Does this not show that the leaders of Indian thought are alive to the situation and its perils, and that they are seeking remedies for their social ills? And, in the circumstances, would not a word of sympathetic encouragement to the social workers of India have been more helpful than all this pitiless tirade?

P. P. PILLAI.

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INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

B. K. Thakore, I.E.S. (retired). (Bombay: *Taraporewala Sons and Company.*) Rupees 6.

This book possesses many outstanding merits and several equally noteworthy defects. Of Mr. Thakore's knowledge of Indian history, and his ability to write it, no reader of the book would doubt for an instant. The historical record of the history of British governmental institutions in India is as complete as it could be. Mr. Thakore would seem to have consulted, and extracted the relevant matter from, almost every available work on the subject. As a result, we have a narrative of the highest merit, a perusal of which would be of the very greatest value to anyone who intends to take up a career in India, whether in the Army, or in the Civil Services, or in business. Far too few of the British residents in India have even a working knowledge of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution, and fewer still any knowledge of the constitutional history of India. Such knowledge is an indispensable preliminary to any understanding of current Indian political questions, and those in search of it could find no better compendium of the subject than Mr. Thakore's book.



It is when we come to those parts of the book which are less concerned with historical and present-day facts—those in which the author discusses present-day controversial issues—that the book ceases to satisfy. The feeling is aroused that we would have wished that Mr. Thakore had been content to write a book of reference on the subject (which he has done with the greatest industry and success) and left his students to draw their own conclusions. We find that when he discusses problems which arouse little or no political feeling, he does so with judgment and acumen. He is fully aware of the evils due to the low professional standard of the Indian lawyer class. "How can they expect the public to feel sympathy for them as a class, while in the performance of their daily duties they behave as ministers and guardians of mere forms and ceremonial rather than of substantial justice?" (p. 160). He rightly attributes the poverty of India to the vast increases of population due to the *pax Britannica*, unaccompanied by more scientific agricultural methods and the development of other industries. He is aware, as an educationalist of experience, of the dangers of the utter illiteracy of Indian women. He is fully alive to the chaos caused by the presence of so many different scripts and languages.

When we come to those questions which have more purely political implications, Mr. Thakore ceases to be the calm historian, and turns himself into an Indian political controversialist of the Liberal school. This is a not uncommon fault among constitutional historians—Sir John Marriott among English writers is most guilty of it—and it is the worst vice of French historical writing. It is a particularly irritating feature of this book, inasmuch as the writer not only takes up a very decided attitude himself in Indian politics, but carries it into British politics, identifying himself heart and soul with a British political party. The dedication on the first page to seven Liberal politicians, from Burke to Montagu, the contemptuous reference to the Unionist debacle in 1906 (p. 83), the reference to "Curzonian manners" (p. 138), and the utterly extravagant laudation of Mr. E. S. Montagu (p. 375), are unfortunate, because they might prejudice the minds of British readers who are not in sympathy with the Liberal party, and blind their minds to the real value of the book as a history and a work of reference. It is necessary to stress this point, as it is a common failing of Indian Liberals, and tinges most of their speeches and writings.

Mr. Thakore seems to us equally unfortunate when he discusses Indian problems in detail. His strong and natural sympathy with the desire of the Indian intelligentsia for greater political influence, combined with his firm belief, as a Liberal, in the British system of representative government, are apt to blind him to certain facts in India which are causing doubts to arise in the minds of many thoughtful Englishmen, and will undoubtedly have to be considered by the Commission which has just been appointed. On the question of the railways, Mr. Thakore regards Indianization as the "only remedy" (p. 219). He has not faced the problem of the supply of engineers, taking into account the aversion of the average middle-class Indian from mechanical studies. Similarly with the police. We are not told from what class of the people the superior



officers for this difficult and dangerous work are to be obtained, though it is a problem even now to find suitable candidates for those higher posts which have been Indianized.

The three main Indian problems—the States, Communalism, and the Army—seem to us to be realized, but no serious effort made to suggest a solution to any of them. Communalism, the inherent antipathy of Hindu and Mussalman, the rigidity of the caste system, seem to many thoughtful men both in Britain and India to be an unsurmountable barrier against the proper functioning of a representative system on the British model. Mr. Thakore has no solution to offer but “the modern conscience, the modern sense of active duty, the modern ideal of sympathy and fraternity,” etc. (p. 444), forces which may be active in 100 years’ time, but are hardly applicable to the year 1927. The problem of how to fit in the absolutist régime of a Rajah or Nawab with a constitutional system is mentioned, but dismissed by suggesting that they become “not a legally integrated part, but a satellite of our system” (p. 441). Here, again, the problem is stated, but the solution is a mere vague formula. The military problem is discussed, but with a lack of realization of the essential factors of the case which makes it most trying to read. The assertion is made, on the authority of Colonel Wedgwood, that the masses of India were deliberately kept out of the Army during the war. It is a well-known fact that many attempts were made to bring classes other than the “martial” classes into the ranks. Anyone who served in Mesopotamia knows perfectly well that the throwing open of recruiting in Bengal resulted in one battalion, whose inefficiency was almost a byword. The true note was struck a few years ago in a speech by the late Maharajah of Gwalior at a Hindu conference, in which he said that the divorce of the mass of down-country Hindus from military pursuits was their own fault, and that the community would never hold up its head firmly until, by physical training and a generally more virile outlook on life, they gradually refitted themselves for military service. Even the mild form of Indianization of the commissioned ranks now being tried bristles with difficulties. Candidates of the necessary educational standard do not possess, on the average, the moral qualities necessary to maintain their authority and discipline. The classes possessing those qualities often find literacy in English, so necessary for military studies, an unsurmountable barrier. These problems do not seem to be realized, consequently the discussion on military matters (p. 453 ff.) lacks reality.

In conclusion, we would once again strongly recommend all who take an interest in this subject—and it will before long, when the Commission renders its report, be a matter of the greatest interest and importance—to read Mr. Thakore’s book with attention. We would, however, advise them, in regard to those subjects on which we have commented above, to read for themselves the authorities Mr. Thakore himself cites, and to think matters out carefully for themselves, before they give their assent to the conclusions to which he comes.

P. S. C.



BRITAIN'S RECORD IN INDIA. By J. E. Woolacott, formerly Editor of the *Pioneer*. (Room 74, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W. 1.) 1s. net.

(Reviewed by J. J. NOLAN.)

Published before the announcement of the Government's intention to appoint a Royal Commission of Enquiry into the working of the reforms, Mr. Woolacott's little book is most timely and valuable. Its opening words are: "The importance of a true appreciation of the aims and achievements of British administration in India was never greater than it is at the present time." The outbreak of prejudiced views which greeted the Government's announcement justifies Mr. Woolacott's remark to the full.

In the short space of eighty pages he sets forth a notable record that should be of great value to those who have to speak and write on the subject, as well as to those eager for accurate information, concisely given. He justly ascribes to the record of what Government has done for India the epithet "inspiring," although the increase in the number of lawyers in the Punjab, from 40 in 1868 and 360 in 1926 to 1,200 in 1927 which he mentions, is hardly deserving of the same praise! He regards the litigiousness of the Indian as one of the causes of poverty, and estimates the capitalized value of the annual expenditure on lawsuits in the Punjab as sufficient to redeem the whole mortgage debt of that province, apart from the loss of time.

Although it would seem primarily intended as a reply to, and criticism of, Dr. V. H. Rutherford's recent book on *Modern India*—a work which, in Mr. Woolacott's opinion, "teems with reckless misrepresentations of the actions of his own countrymen"—Mr. Woolacott has gone far beyond that narrow scope. He shows how agriculture has been benefited, the risk of famine averted, education developed and intensified, and public health improved, while stress is rightly laid on the fact that for four years the Indian Budget has shown a realized surplus, so that taxation has been reduced. The great problem of industrial labour, which is everywhere influenced by the fact that the labourer is as a rule a peasant who has migrated temporarily to a city or town, has been handled by Government in a way that compares favourably with that of other countries.

Finally, Mr. Woolacott, who, as a journalist in Calcutta before going to Allahabad, has seen many sides of Indian life, does not hesitate to say that "India has no greater enemies today than the men who endeavour to palliate rioting and outrage by laying the blame at the door of the Government." The story of the Rowlatt Act is briefly but convincingly retold, with a notable reference to Chauri Chaura, of which little is known here, and to the horrors of the Moplah rising, Mrs. Besant's criticism of Mr. Gandhi's attitude, made at the time, being quoted with effect.

He concludes with the remark that "the supreme need of India today is peace, and that all who desire her advancement should abstain from encouraging, directly or indirectly, any agitation that may tend to cause a recurrence of the terrible events of the past." Mr. Woolacott is not in any way an alarmist or an unfair controversialist: he writes as a sincere



friend of India and the Indian peoples, and he is no enemy of constitutional development.

There is a useful little bibliography as well as an index to this practical statement of the Indian situation.

### "RANJI" AS A STATESMAN

JAMNAGAR AND ITS RULER. By Naoroji M. Dumasia. With a foreword by Dr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams. (Bombay: *Times Press*.)

(Reviewed by F. H. BROWN, C.I.E.)

This handsome quarto cloth-bound volume contains many full-page photographic illustrations, and gives a detailed history of Jamnagar and the life and work of its illustrious ruler, affectionately known to the British populace for a generation past as "Prince Ranji." Dr. Rushbrook Williams, developing an idea of Mr. A. G. Gardiner in his "Pillars of Society," writes of the Jam Saheb as the first Indian of princely blood to be taken to the heart of the British public, and of the great contribution the Maharaja has made to good relationships. In his great cricket days "hundreds of thousands of Englishmen—yes, and men from the Dominions too—met India for the first time in the person of Prince Ranjitsinhji, and because of him came to hold a better opinion not merely of the Indian princes, but of India herself."

For twenty years, however, the Maharaja has had the responsibility of ruling what was before his time the backward Kathiawar State of Jamnagar; and it is with his work and influence in this relation that Mr. Dumasia is chiefly concerned. He gives abundant detail in confirmation of the ripened judgment of Mr. J. A. Spender, who spent some time in the State on his visit to India in 1925-26, and bore away "the impression of a very able, benevolent man doing dutifully the work which has fallen to him, and combining new and old in a very interesting way." The latest of many testimonies (too recent to be included in the volume) is the tribute of the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, on the occasion of his visit to Jamnagar in November to "the acute intellect, wide and sober statesmanship, and social charm" of the Maharaja.

Mr. Dumasia discusses both in the introduction and in a final chapter the future of the Indian States and their relations with the Paramount Power. He emphasizes the importance of scrupulous adherence to the guarantees and pledges given to the princes side by side with the adjustment of the polity of the States to a future in which the British provinces are moving towards democratic government.

The complicated and delicate issues arising from the intermixture of the Indian States with British Provinces are well illustrated by the differences between the Government of India and certain Maritime States of Kathiawar, leading to the reimposition of the Viramgam Customs Line. The Jam Saheb has expended large capital sums on the development of Bedi Bunder, and the rapid growth of its trade (illustrated in some of the photographs) has been a principal factor in the decision to re-establish the cordon. Mr. Dumasia shows that this course is held to be inconsistent



with a specific undertaking given to the Maharaja when the barrier was abolished in 1917 that Government had no intention of imposing conditions "which will interfere with a healthy development of the resources of your State to the extent of its natural capacity." It will be a matter for general satisfaction if an equitable *modus vivendi* is reached on this difficult issue, which will no doubt engage some attention from the small expert committee about to meet, under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler, to examine the relations between the States and the Paramount Power in their more technical aspects.

A HISTORY OF INDIA. By Edward Thompson. (London: *Ernest Benn, Limited.*) 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR PATRICK FAGAN.)

To produce a history of India in a small paper volume of seventy-eight pages, priced at sixpence, demands courage on the part of both author and publisher, as well as a very complete and well-arranged knowledge of his subject on the part of the former. Mr. Thompson's book, though by no means immune from criticism, is not unworthy of a place in that series of generally admirable little manuals which the praiseworthy enterprise of the publishers is at present providing as an aid to the adult education of the public.

The first eight chapters of the book furnish an excellent and well-written summary of the broad path of Indian history from pre-Vedic times to the eve of the introduction of British rule. They are not a mere chronicle of events so far as known, but an attempt, by no means unsuccessful, to convey a vivid impression of racial, social, and political environments. In his opening paragraph the author very appropriately mentions recent archaeological discoveries in the Indus valley, which promise to be epoch-making in revealing prehistoric racial and social contact of India with more Western countries, and thereby serving to dispel the mists which at present obscure all clear view of the pre-Vedic history of India.

A curious slip occurs in the chapter on Muhammadan rule. It is there stated that Muhammad-bin-Tughlak removed (in A.D. 1326) the population of Delhi to a new capital *forty miles* away. This new capital was, in fact, Deogiri, in the Deccan, which was not forty miles, but, according to the traveller Ibn Batuta, *forty-days' journey* distant from Delhi.

The brief sketches of Babur and Akbar in chap. vii. are clear and suggestive. Had the list of Muhammadan rulers included more men of their stamp we might now be hearing less of communal hostility in India.

In its treatment of the period of gradually established British ascendancy the book is less satisfactory. This unfortunate result is due to the author having succumbed to the temptation of entering the field of political and racial polemic. The issues therein involved are unsuited and far too wide for discussion—much more for confident decision—in a work of such limited dimensions, and one, moreover, intended, primarily at any rate, for those who have little knowledge of India.

A few instances must suffice among several which are open to exception in varying degrees. It is clearly unjust to set side by side, as is done on page 50, the grim and brutal tragedy of the Black Hole in 1756



with the suffocation of Moplah prisoners in 1921, established after prolonged official and judicial enquiry to have been purely accidental and unintentional. It is right to emphasize the scandals of the early years after Plassey, and the author does so at some length; but he does not make it sufficiently clear on page 52 that the class of later officials, commonly known as Bengal civilians, were not identical in status and morale with the corrupt commercial subordinates of the Company. The author on page 67 disparages early British administration in the Punjab as unduly severe, though, strange to say, beneficent withal. The writer of this review has worked for thirty-five years in that province, and he can confidently testify that the author's strictures have no support whatever in popular tradition. It is beyond question that annexation to the British dominions was universally hailed as a boon after the hopeless anarchy of Sikh rule.

Limits of space preclude further treatment of individual statements in the book. It is to be regretted that a work which in other respects is a valuable little manual has been marred by hasty and intemperate iconoclasm in various passages.

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OBSTRUCTION OR PROGRESS? By Rai Vihari Mitra Bahadur. (Calcutta: Gower and Co.)

In the course of five short and readable essays, a Bengali landholder here gives us his ideas as to the work which Indians have to accomplish before they will be able satisfactorily to work a democratic constitution. The sub-title of the pamphlet is "Plain Truths about India," and those of Mr. Mitra's readers who remember their Bacon will immediately recall that Pilate once asked, "What is truth?" and did not wait for an answer. It is clear that, wherever political parties exist, the conception of truth as applied to politics will differ between party and party; and Mr. Mitra should not be surprised if some, or a good many even, of his compatriots persist in thinking that his "truths" are only imitations of the genuine commodity. But leaving politics aside (this is more easily said than done), it will be found that the lessons which Mr. Mitra would set to his countrymen have the sanction of common sense behind them. The energy and the money that have been so extravagantly frittered away on the non-cooperation movement might certainly have produced, if wisely directed, some beneficial results for the country; and it is not difficult to imagine how greatly India would have benefited if the same enthusiasm had been available for schemes of village reconstruction or technical education which occupy so large a part in the programme of the political reformer. Mr. Mitra does not stop short with a condemnation of the "Wreck the Reforms" Movement in India; he argues that, before political fitness is proved or recognized, India has to equip herself with the necessary moral and economic strength to utilize properly the political reforms she is demanding. Village reconstruction, education, trade and industry—these are the lines he chalks out for the patriot who is anxious to ring in the new era in India; and all well-wishers of the country will agree that these are the proper approaches, not only to effective democracy, but also to a happier and more prosperous India.



DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU POLITY AND POLITICAL THEORIES. By N. C. Bandyopadhyaya. Part I. (Calcutta: *Cambray and Co.*)

Among the books published in India the present volume stands out for its excellent appearance and style of printing; in fact, it is a pleasure to the eye. Quite a number of books have been published recently upon Hindu Polity; amongst which the well-known one by Mr. Jayaswal. The subject is a vast one, and therefore we welcome this addition by the author, who is a lecturer at Calcutta University. This, the first, volume deals with the period down to the "Imperialistic Movement" (the term is perhaps somewhat odd). The author has, however, done his work with great care, and his frequent quotations from the classics will assist the scholar and the student in verifying the author's arguments. It is hoped that the appearance of the second volume will not be long delayed.

KANTILYA: A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY, OR AN EXPOSITION OF HIS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE. By N. C. Bandyopadhyaya. (Calcutta: *Cambray and Co.*)

Since the publication of "Kantilya," both in Sanskrit and its English translation, the interest in Kantilya has been exceptionally great. His work is one on government, and no writer on Indian history can afford to pass over a study of his theories. The volume under notice is the largest yet published, and therefore we welcome it. The writer reviews in detail the Arthashastra, and then proceeds to describe the various chapters dealing with the State, Kingship, and Administration.

## NEAR EAST

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS ET DES PUISSANCES DEVANT LE PROBLÈME ARMÉNIEN. (13, Rue Soufflot, Paris: *A. Pedone.*)  
(Reviewed by LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN.)

There are many of us who have a guilty feeling that civilization as understood by the Allies has done little enough to solve that perennial and emergent side-problem of the fall of the Eastern Empire, that of Armenia. The aftermath of the Tatar invasions of the West, the over-running of the decadent Roman Empire by the Seljuk and the Ottoman Turk, included the insoluble problem of the Armenian, the modern Hittite. In the opinion of M. André Mandelstam, formerly Professor of International Law at the University of Petrograd, the Powers, the League of Nations, and civilization have failed pitifully in their duty in this matter.

There is no literature which can touch that of the French in the study of the political and racial problems of the Middle East, and M. Mandelstam's latest work is no exception. The problem of the past which inflicted the Armenian problem on the world is clearly marshalled, as well as the situation which developed during the war and the conditions which produced the failure of the Powers to deal fairly with it. The first chapter describing the general character of the intervention of the Christian world with the racial problems in Turkey is in itself of extreme interest, and brings the problem in its intricacy before the reader. The résumé and aftermath of the agreement of Angora is most clearly treated, and the



writer, after the manner of the French authors of this class, concludes in a manner which we often wish could be adopted by English writers—viz., with a *résumé* both of *constatations* and *conclusions*. He does not, however, despair of the League of Nations as so many are apt to do, nor of its eventual success, as regards Armenia: "Et comme heureusement l'œuvre admirable déjà accomplie par la société malgré tous les obstacles semés sur la route, pèse de plus en plus dans la balance mondiale, on doit espérer que son action bienfaisante contribuera à la réparation de l'injustice dont le poids immense écrase la nation arménienne." *Ainsi soit-il!*

## FAR EAST

### RECENT BOOKS ON CHINA

(By BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

1. SIDELIGHTS ON PEKING LIFE. By R. W. Swallow. (Peking: *China Booksellers, Ltd.*) 18s. net.
2. DERRIÈRE LA MURAILLE CHINOISE, Roman Contemporain. By Ferdinand Antoni Ossendowski. Translation from the Russian by Robert Renard. (*Flammarion.*) 12 fr.
3. L'ESPRIT DU PEUPLE CHINOIS. By Kou Houn-ming. (*Stock.*)
4. SOUVENIRS D'UN VOYAGE DANS LA CHINE. By R. P. Huc, Prêtre Missionnaire de la Congrégation de Saint-Lazare. Nouvelle Edition publiée et Prefacée. Par H. D'Ardenne de Tizac. (*Plon.*) 15 fr.

1. Both to those whose memories reach back a quarter of a century as well as to travellers who are seeing modern Peking for the first time this book should be a source of pure delight.

Many books have been written upon that wonderful city since the days of the Great Khan. Some have been learned, others unlearned, books historical and political. The city has been discussed artistically both from Occidental and Oriental points of view. It has been condemned or praised according to the attitude of mind of the particular author. But no one before has produced quite such a gem in the way of a word-picture as the author of "Sidelights on Peking Life." "Peking in Miniature" would be an equally appropriate title.

A perfect miniature by the hand of a great artist may afford more lasting pleasure than a far larger canvas painted with a broader brush. It is in his intimate knowledge of his subjects as much as in the manner of treating them that much of Mr. Swallow's success lies. Another and equally important qualification he possesses is his power of observation and his ability to express things observed. Anyone who at any time has resided in one of the many Hutungs in Peking will recognize the wonderful fidelity of its portrayal. But how many visitors to Peking have the faculty of observation? How many lack the aptitude to receive impressions except such as the pocket camera may record? To those familiar with street life in China—not of the treaty ports—Mr. Swallow's thumb-nail sketches will recall many rare memories.

Life in China is in one sense homogeneous to a degree. "The pawn-



shops, the middlemen, and the moneylenders" are there in every big city, and in innumerable small ones throughout that vast empire. The street-vendors ply their precarious trades north, south, east, and west. "Meat-dumplings," "smoked fish," "crab apples," "steamed bread," as well as other local delicacies, are on sale in the far-distant provincial city of Lanchow in North-West China just as they are at Peking.

If it were necessary to select for special praise any particular sidelight from such a feast of good things, the reviewer would recommend the chapter on "Street Vendors" (Chapter III.). Upon other sidelights of Peking life, Mr. Swallow is possibly more effective in his descriptions, and to a newcomer perhaps more interesting. Yet the fact remains that nowhere is a Westerner brought more intimately in contact with the *real* China than through the life of the street-vendor in any city. These men's lives represent the lives of the vast majority of the four hundred million souls who compose that inscrutable race.

Many of the illustrations deserve as high praise as does the text. Their veracity and their power of interpretation to those familiar with the originals could hardly be surpassed.

2. As a novel this somewhat sketchy outline of the daily life of a few foreigners in China and Japan lacks, to some extent, both interest and appeal. Nor is the itinerary of the principal *jeune premier* of the piece anything more than an excuse for describing casually such well-known places as Pukou, Nanking, and a voyage up the Yangtze River to Hankow. Other cities are visited *en route* to Canton, and information such as any guide-book might provide is woven into the somewhat thin fabric which clothes the story.

Though there is in all probability no connection between the plot of this novel and certain occurrences well known to residents as having happened in the Legation quarter of Peking, the comparison is likely to arise. The descriptions of social life both at Shanghai and Peking are somewhat one-sided. If the side is one which appeals to the reader he may find both amusement and interest in M. Renard's translation.

3. The writer of this attempt to portray the spirit of a nation was well known as one of China's modern intellectuals

Like a countryman of his who has lately figured largely in the eye of the world, Mr. Eugene Chên, Kou Houng-ming was not born in China, but in Penang under the British flag.

Few men, even in Europe, had a wider acquaintance with philosophic, political, and social literature other than their own than this Chinese scholar. Kou Houng-ming was the author, among others, of such well-known books as "Translations of Discourses and Sayings of Confucius," "Papers from a Viceroy's Yamên," and, on a somewhat different plane, "The Story of a Chinese Oxford Movement" and "Vox Clamantis."

As confidential secretary for some sixteen years to His Excellency the late Viceroy, Chang Chi-tung, there can have been little left to learn about statecraft that Kou Houng-ming did not know, while the philosophic trend of his mind carried him far beyond the level of ordinary Chinese politicians. This French edition of "L'Esprit du Peuple Chinois" is published with



a preface by Guglielmo Ferrero, in which the existant imperfections and gaps in even the cleverest Oriental mind when writing upon Occidental affairs are early pointed out. M. Ferrero is right in drawing attention to this fact. Even to such an intellect as was that of Kou Houg-ming there would appear to be some difficulty in distinguishing clearly between cause and effect, between realities and the ideal. As the author of the preface remarks, Kou Houg-ming, in attempting to define what he meant by the spirit of the Chinese people, gave voice to many profound thoughts, and displayed at times extraordinary clarity of expression. Some of the phrases used in defining what Kou Houg-ming considered to be the causes of the Great War go straight to the point, if not to the heart of the reader. "L'Europe," wrote Kou Houg-ming, "a une religion qui satisfait son cœur et non sa tête, et une philosophie qui satisfait sa tête et non son cœur." Written as this book was in April, 1915, it cannot now, so far as there is any interest left as to the causes of the war, carry much weight. Had it been written in the fuller light of historical knowledge, some of the opinions expressed would no doubt have been qualified.

In discussing what, in this French edition (p. 29), is called "*La Religion du bon citoyen*," Kou Houg-ming lays repeated emphasis upon the fact that in "*Le Chinois, le vrai Chinois intact avec sa religion des Devoirs du Citoyen*" he finds the basis of civilization. He continues: "*La vrai Chinois est une inappreciable base de civilisation, car c'est un être qui observe l'ordre sans qu'il en coûte rien ou presque rien au monde*," which only serves to emphasize the difficulty a man may have in speaking disinterestedly of his own kith and kin. Without stopping to discuss this particular point it may be as well to recall the fact that this "basis of civilization" has become somewhat insecure since the above words flowed from the pen of Kou Houg-ming, for the estimated cost of keeping temporary order by means of a foreign defence force in Shanghai alone, a minute portion of China, is already something over three millions sterling.

But it is hardly possible today to take seriously a large proportion of this always interesting book. Having discussed (p. 46) the difference between Chinese and European civilization to the advantage of his own country, Kou Houg-ming reflects: "*Dans la civilisation chinoise, au moins depuis 2,400 ans, il n'y a nul conflit de cet ordre. Et c'est la une différence fondamentale entre les deux civilisation.*"

It never seems to have occurred to this brilliant scholar that the very things he deplored in European civilization, "*il y a guerre continuelle entre les intérêts de la science et de l'art, d'une part, de la religion et de la philosophie, de l'autre*" (p. 47) are the struggles for conscious expression in the attainment of a higher standard of life, the lack of which for 2,400 years in China has to a large extent helped to make his countrymen what they have become. Cut off from practically all communication with the rest of the world, from all real knowledge of progress—scientific, political, religious, or otherwise—for these many centuries, China has at last become a veritable danger to the peace of the world.

There are chapters upon "*La Femme Chinoise*," the Chinese Language, the English in China, Democracy, all of which are well worth perusal. But it is hardly possible to lay down this little book without feeling "the



pity of it." If only such men as Kou Houng-ming would have devoted themselves to the practical service of the State in China, would have stood forth and given a lead to the ignorant millions behind them blundering blindly along the almost uncharted road of modern progress, there would be some hope. At present there seems little of any immediate amelioration for the unhappy people who without leaders are today paying so dearly for their past centuries of isolation.

4. As a comparison between the China of a century ago and of today this well-known volume of travel is well worth rereading. It is close upon one hundred years since the two French priests, Huc and Gabet, landed in China. Huc, the writer and probably the leading spirit of the two, became at the age of twenty-four one of the congregation of the Lazarists at Paris. In 1829 he went out to China on mission work, being stationed for eighteen months at Macao. Here in a branch of his mission he was thoroughly prepared for his arduous duties. After going to Peking he was posted to inner Mongolia, just beyond the Great Wall, to bring light and civilization to a large but widely scattered settlement of native Christians.

Huc soon made clear his particular bent in mission work by informing himself intimately as to the manners and customs of the surrounding Tartar population. Inspired by higher authority Huc and Gabet made their famous journey to Thibet, eventually to Lhasa, which they reached in 1846. There some progress was made, but the jealousy of the Chinese authorities caused the ejection of the two fathers from Thibet, and they were escorted back eventually to Canton.

Three volumes contain the record of their extraordinary journeys between 1844 and 1846. They were published first under the title "*Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine pendant les Années 1844-1846*" (2 vols.; Paris, 1850; English translation by W. Hazlitt, 1851).

When it is recalled that the journeys were made by two men in the face of strenuous opposition; that they carried no friendly *visas* commending them to the care of the local officials; that their knowledge of the countries and routes they proposed to enter and follow was practically nil, and that they literally carried their lives in their hands, it is hard to restrain one's admiration.

Not the least interesting side of this tale of hardship and devotion lies in the character of the narrator. Of Père Huc, M. de Tizac writes:

"Un homme triste n'eût jamais surmonté les tribulations du Père Huc. En de tels cas il s'agit moins de vertu que d'invention. S'il eût été privé de ce sentiment puissant, celui du comique, si un certain goût du tour bien joué, de la farce bien réunie ne l'eût soutenu, le Père Huc aurait-il osé bousculer un président de tribunal et prendre sa place. . . . Sans la solide gaiété dont l'avait doué la nature, le Père Huc eût été dévoré par ses adversaires: la notion qu'il avait de leur ridicules établissait d'abord son ascendant sur eux."

But there was more than this in a man who could establish such wonderful ascendancy over Chinese officials, the common people, and all whom he met. What was this secret? Is it lost to us today?

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1928

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## THE ASIAN CIRCLE

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### A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

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It is understood that where articles are signed in this section they do not necessarily represent the views of members of the Circle other than the writer.

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## THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND THE STATUTORY COMMISSION

THE recent appointment of the Statutory Commission prescribed by the Government of India Act of 1919 suggests certain reflections on the existing social and political conditions of India as incidental to an attempt to



estimate the scope and gravity of the task with which the Commission is charged.

From the political aspect the present situation is due, in a special degree, to the fact that during the last seven years India has been the theatre of a unique political experiment—the partial introduction of the apparatus of representative government of the responsible type among a diverse congeries of Oriental peoples. Less directly, though perhaps more effectively, the situation is the product of a growing sense, among educated Indians, of collision between the respective ideals of Oriental and Western civilization; of a deepening aversion to the political and economic domination of the European alien. Since the closing years of the last century the emergence of a nascent Indian national consciousness, confined though it is to a narrow circle, has tended to replace the earlier attitude of unquestioning acceptance of Western models. The victory of Oriental Japan in its conflict with European Russia helped to foster the racial and political aspirations of the Indian intelligentsia; while the Great War, with the apparent moral collapse of Europe which accompanied it, was the final factor which stirred nationalistic enthusiasm to activity in that tenuous stratum of educated intelligence which overlies the complex depths of Indian illiteracy, political inexperience, and social inertia.

The effects of this process on British statesmanship, whether as the result of an exaggerated or of a reasonable estimate of the nature and extent of the Indian situation, was apparent even before the close of the war. In quick succession there came the Secretary of State's announcement of August, 1917, the Montague-Chelmsford Report of 1918, and the Government of India Act of 1919. It is not proposed to enter on any detailed examination of the provisions of that measure; but a reference to the general principles which underlie it, the aims which it embodies, and the political atmosphere in which it was launched and in which it has operated, is unavoidable.



The fundamental object of the reformed Indian constitution, inaugurated in 1921, was admittedly the introduction and development, under certain safeguards and restrictions, of democratic self-government of the representative and responsible type in India as a part of the British Empire. In their anxiety to secure some immediate and substantial progress along the course thus laid down the authors of the new constitution introduced a novel principle, now generally known as "dyarchy," in pursuance of which numerous branches of provincial administration were assigned to the sphere of control by elected representatives, while those of more cardinal importance were retained in the hands of the non-elective governments, central and provincial, though still subject to the general criticism of the elected legislatures, which also exercise a large measure of control in the matter of financial provision for such branches. Broadly, the new constitution may be characterized as in intention and in essence a political experiment which should also serve as a means of political education; as an experiment for testing the capacity of the Indian peoples for self-government of a democratic type, which if existent would be developed, fostered, and trained as the experiment justified itself by a reasonable and successful working of the new constitution. Section 84 (a) of the Government of India Act of 1919, the provision under which the Statutory Commission has been recently appointed, very definitely indicates the educative and experimental aspects of the scheme of Indian political reform.

Such briefly was the system of polity enacted in 1919 in response to the demands of Indian political leaders as voiced on the platform and in the press. It could not, and doubtless was not intended to, satisfy those demands in full. Of these the underlying motive was dislike and, in the more extreme circles, hatred of the galling ties of foreign domination. They were, and are, an intensive expression of the human instinct of self-assertion, fostered and spurred



to activity by contact with the alien culture of the West. Though confined to the comparatively narrow circle which that culture has reached, Indian political agitators, and the limited class whose attitude is more or less correctly reflected in their utterances and in the Indian press, perceive that their position in a political system still inspired and dominated, though in a more or less diluted form, by British influences is very different from the position which they would occupy in a system generally similar in nature, but with one change—of no trivial character, it is true—the elimination of those influences except for purposes of external defence and internal peace and order. In reality the Swarajist and his supporters envisage an abstraction: they postulate the continuance of the existing comparatively stable and efficient political and administrative organization, but with its essential basis, British authority and control, removed. In that abstraction, when endowed with actuality by constitutional enactment, they feel that they will enter into their own, and will exercise what they regard as their undoubted right, conferred by intellect and education, the right to rule their less fortunate fellow-countrymen; Britain standing by ready to keep the peace within India and to ward off external foreign invaders. In such a vision there is little that is democratic; and, in truth, the entire social complex of India, traditionally, racially, religiously, linguistically, is a patent negation of the principles of democracy as these have been elaborated, only partially even yet, in the West.

Such, then, was the environment in which the reformed Indian constitution, inaugurated in 1921, was required to function. It is not altogether surprising that its path has not been smooth, and that the expectations of enthusiastic idealists have not been entirely fulfilled. An India to be gradually trained for democracy, a liberation from alien control which is to be deferred until the Indian peoples have achieved some substantial progress towards ideals of social equality and fraternity as an indispensable prelude



to a democratic régime—such are emphatically not the objects which the more advanced exponents of Indian political thought have in view. The removal of foreign domination at the earliest possible date is the main, the immediate desideratum. When the ground has been cleared by that preliminary but all-important measure an emancipated India will be able at leisure to organize the future polity of one-sixth of the human race. In the meantime, and for an indefinite period, government, it would appear, is to be committed to the hands of an oligarchy of the intelligentsia; an oligarchy whose authority can be subject to no real practical democratic control until an adequately numerous, intelligent, and literate electorate, in some degree of organic connection with the legislatures, can come into existence in India. By universal admission a very long period must elapse before that stage can be reached.

To review in detail the working of the reformed constitution during the seven years which have passed since its introduction would require many pages. And to do so would be premature, since such a review is an essential portion of the task imposed on the Statutory Commission. A sufficient knowledge of the outline of Indian political history during the period in question must for present purposes be assumed. The authors of the constitution may fairly plead that their handiwork has not been allowed a fair chance of working in the manner intended by them; that the conditions of goodwill and sweet reasonableness postulated by them have not been fulfilled; and that inordinate friction and obstruction have been introduced into the operation of the new machine by those who have attempted to wreck it, first from without and subsequently from within. All this is no doubt true; but the trouble is that the difficulties which have ensued might have been, but were not, anticipated amid the glamour of the post-war political idealism which inspired the scheme of reform. Something will have been gained, however, if the experi-



ence of the last seven years has driven home the lesson that the demands of the more progressive and more vocal of Indian politicians and publicists will not be satisfied by any rate of progress towards democratic institutions in India, if such, indeed, be in the end possible, which any scheme of Indian constitutional reform, claiming to be rational, can, in view of India's past political history and her present social and racial constitution, contemplate or sanction with due regard to the British responsibilities involved. Their opposition appears destined to remain as an inevitable and a permanent factor; not because they are convinced democrats, or are eager for the rapid attainment of complete democracy, but because the principles of constitutional progress adopted in 1919 are in reality opposed to their more immediate aspirations. Such considerations seem to offer some explanation of the attitude of non-cooperation which the Central Indian Assembly has recently adopted towards the Statutory Commission. It is to be hoped that one result of the deliberations of that body will be to throw a clearer light on the real attitude of vocal political opinion in India towards democratic developments in themselves, and as they are foreshadowed in the reforms of 1919.

It is at this point, perhaps, that the Commission will come into direct contact with a question which must be fundamental in their investigations, if the result of these is to be in any sense profound and far-reaching in its utility, and not a mere endorsement, combined with minor incidental amendments, of what has already been done—the question whether, and how far, past and present Indian conditions—political, social, religious, and racial—afford real ground for anticipating ultimately successful democratic developments, in however distant a future; or whether those conditions do not indicate with considerable certainty that the future government of Indians by Indians for Indians must take some form other than democratic; and if so, what form. Prior to the enactment of the new



constitution in 1919, this fundamental question appears to have received little or no official ventilation, at all events in any shape which has been made public. The question was decided, as it were by default, in favour of democracy; while all efforts were directed to the improvisation of suitable machinery for securing the ends thus hastily adopted. The past and present Indian conditions to which allusion has just been made—profound diversities of race and religion; linguistic differences; the social segmentation caused by innumerable castes; the deep-seated, enduring, and not infrequently ebullient hostility between Hindu and Muhammadan; the wide divergence between the points of view, political and other, of the comparatively few urban educated and the vast illiterate rural masses; the absence throughout the Indian population as a whole of a sense of community as the expression of a common life, common aspirations and ideals; the non-existence of a notion of common good transcending limitations of caste, religion, and locality—all these, with others, have been frequently expounded in published works and papers in recent years. It is needless to dwell upon them afresh here. They cannot fail to press themselves on the recognition of the Statutory Commission in the course of its labours.

We have heard much during the past seven years of the more superficial aspects of the practical working of the constitution set up in 1919. As represented in the press of this country, and in official and semi-official publications, the Indian legislatures have shown no little aptitude for reproducing the forms, the procedure, even the terminology, if not the spirit, of the British House of Commons; and we have been assured from time to time that a sound parliamentary tradition is growing up. All this, so far as it goes—and it does not go very far—affords ground for satisfaction, though that satisfaction is seriously tempered by such recent incidents, among several, as the Legislative Assembly's refusal to co-operate with the Statutory Commission, and its treatment of the Bank Bill. But the



frequent kaleidoscopic changes which have taken place in political parties, or rather in the grouping of politicians, more especially in the Central Assembly, indicate that at present there is no organic connection between the legislatures and the existing electorates, limited as these are both in members and in qualifications; though it may be hoped, and is indeed possible, that the nascent stages of such a connection may be detected in some localities, such as Madras and the Punjab, where, owing to causes which need not be developed here, conditions are in some respects more favourable than elsewhere. The picture, which is sometimes suggested by a perusal of Indian news in the press of this country, of an Indian electorate eagerly following from day to day in its newspapers the proceedings of its representatives in the legislatures, is entirely mythical. The mass of illiterate electors at present has, and can have, no knowledge of or interest in the course of debates, or in the manœuvres of political leaders. The whole existing electoral machinery of India must of necessity come under the closest scrutiny of the Commission; for the electorate, and naught else, must form the indispensable basis of future Indian democracy. What have been the relations between electors and elected? What mutual influence, if any, have they exercised, and by what methods? What conception have the electors of their function in the State? What kinds of arguments have weighed with them? What have been the class and qualifications of candidates, and how far have members endeavoured to maintain intimate touch with their constituents? These questions and many others will doubtless receive the closest attention from the Statutory Commission.

The device of "dyarchy" has been subjected to a cross-fire of adverse criticism. On the one hand are those who regard it as an attempt to effect a partition of the essential functions and responsibilities of government which is intrinsically impossible; so much so that it is only its abandonment in practice which has enabled the reformed system to



function at all under the nominal guise of dyarchy. On the other hand, the politically minded Indian, in the legislatures, on the platform, and in the press, professes to find in dyarchy an impassable barrier to further political progress. He would forthwith substitute for it, in the provincial governments at any rate, full "provincial autonomy," by which is meant the complete transfer of all branches of administration to ministers selected from the legislatures and responsible to them, and through them to the electorates. The proposal amounts, in short, to the immediate and effective introduction of full self-government into the provinces of India. The Commission will doubtless consider whether in the absence of aught that can claim to be even an approach to a democratic electorate such a transformation is possible; whether it would not amount to the installation of an oligarchy of the educated untrammelled by any effective popular control of all-powerful ministers, or to the institution of bureaucracy uncontrolled by superior authority and subject only to the unhealthy influences of a press which is generally devoid of a sense of public responsibility.

It seems unlikely that the Commission will find in any quarter a confident support of dyarchy in its original shape, or any view of it as other than a temporary expedient, to be replaced as soon as possible by some system less liable to friction. It may be that, apprehensive of radical reconstruction, the Commission will content itself with minor adjustments which may or may not allay the more obvious and more frequently occurring difficulties. But something more thorough than this seems to be required. The issue would appear to lie between "provincial autonomy" of the kind already described and a reversion to unitary government, but unitary government which will include in adequate proportions both Indian and British elements, with legislative councils retaining their present function and powers as modified by the abolition of the distinction between reserved and transferred branches of administration. Such a system can no doubt be condemned summarily by the mere un-



reflective application of that generally much-dreaded word "reactionary"; but in reality reflection will show that a system of the kind indicated contains the possibility and indeed the promise of sure and sound, if slow, progress towards the goal of responsible popular representative government in India, provided that—and the proviso is all-important—the Indian peoples possess a capacity for democracy and its institutions, however long the period and however extensive and far-reaching the social reconstruction which will be needed for its full development.

There remains a fundamental consideration which it may not be impertinent to emphasize as meriting the closest attention of the Statutory Commission. In the last resort every scheme of political reconstruction must be judged by its effects on the daily life of the masses of rural India, on their economic welfare, their social and moral progress, their occupations, the needs and the difficulties which press on them from day to day. Relatively humble though these may be, and comparatively seldom though they find a place in the utterances of Indian politicians or in the programmes of political parties, they are none the less real. The extent to which demands such as the above are met forms the standard, and at present the only standard, by which the Indian peasant judges, or can judge, the efficiency of the political system in which he lives. In higher political aspirations of a nationalistic type he has neither part nor lot. Sufficient for him that the government which deals with him discharges its responsibilities with reasonable success, and above all with honesty and good faith. It may be that such an attitude tends under favourable conditions to a "placid, pathetic contentment" which invites disturbance at the hands of the political reformer; but it is at present a fact, and a fact, moreover, which can be neglected only at the cost of grievous peril to the political stability of India. No rapidity in the elaboration of the machinery of self-government, democratic or other, will in the limited vision of the Indian peasant compensate him for patent decline in



administrative efficiency. Has the reformed constitution contributed to such efficiency in the typical Indian district, and does it promise to do so for the future? Or, on the other hand, has it induced relaxation of effective attention to such matters as the prevention and detection of crime, speedy justice in the courts, improved communications, improved education, the checking of corruption among subordinate officials, and many others, which, though for the most part they lie outside the purview of the Indian politician and the Indian press, are of daily real and living concern to the residents of an Indian village? These are questions which the Statutory Commission can in no wise avoid if its review of India's political needs and its proposals for further constitutional change are to be truly comprehensive and fruitful. They merit the closest investigation, though that investigation, if carried out thoroughly, must form one of the most difficult parts of the arduous labours of the Commission.

In conclusion, it is perhaps not improper to suggest that it is very desirable that the Commission should obtain, at first hand so far as that may be possible, the views of those Indians who, following their traditions, abstain from all share in political agitation, but are nevertheless fitted by their education, mainly of an Oriental type, to express valuable opinions on public topics. There are many such, men of sound intelligence and shrewd practical judgment, who, while they would loathe the idea of standing for election to a legislature or appearing on a political platform, yet can, and do form definite views on political and social subjects—views which are ventilated in friendly private conversation rather than in public assemblies or in the columns of the Indian press.

Truly the Statutory Commission has before it a task of immense breadth and complexity if it is to be accomplished in all its magnitude; a task which is rendered not less difficult because it embraces questions which were faced only partially prior to the introduction of the reformed constitution.



## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST.

BY MARGARET SMITH.

THE years since the War have seen a widespread movement in the Near and Middle East for the emancipation of women and for the improvement of their status, both social and political. This movement has made greatest progress, as might be expected, in Turkey and Egypt, both of which countries are in close contact with European civilizations, and in both of which there is a strong spirit of Nationalism, tending to make Turks and Egyptians anxious to raise their countries, politically and socially, to the level of other Western peoples, by all possible means, and the first and most important step to be taken has been to seek to give to their women the status which they enjoy in other modern civilizations.

The Women's Movement in Turkey goes back to the Constitutional Revolution in 1908. The secret revolutionary society founded two years before, later called the Society of Union and Progress, contained one woman member, Eminé Semie Hanum, a well-known woman writer. When the revolution actually broke out, women took part in the demonstrations of enthusiasm equally with the men. The newspaper *Tanine*, which was the organ of the progressive party, and which included among its staff the ablest writers of the day, invited a woman Halidé Edib\* to write in its literary columns. This paper advocated the emancipation of woman and her claim to an equal share in education and equal social status with men, and thereby aroused bitter opposition.†

Halidé Edib was a busy journalist at this time, and very prominent as a leader of Turkish women ; she was also a

\* Her "Memoirs" (London, 1926) give an exceedingly interesting account of the New Turkey from 1908 onwards.

† "Memoirs of Halidé Edib," p. 267.



keen educationalist, in co-operation with Nakie Hanum, who had been trained at the American College in Constantinople, and who was made director of a normal school for training teachers on modern lines.

In 1911 was founded the first of the National Clubs, the Turk Ojak (= Turkish Hearth), founded to help the cultural development of the Turk, but not to be a political institution. The general congress of the Ojak elected Halidé Edib as the only woman member. Later, in 1918, women generally were made eligible as members.

In 1912 Halidé Edib wrote the "New Turan," while on a visit to England, of which she says: "No atmosphere is more restful and favourable to creative work than that of London for an unknown and young writer."\* This book depicted a kind of political and national Utopia, and looked forward to a New Turkey, whose women would have the vote and freedom to work with all their capacities, and to live a simple and austere life, instead of pursuing a luxurious and degenerate parasitic existence.

At this period was founded the first Women's Club, the "Taali-Nisvân," with the aim of attaining culture for its members, and with a feminist tendency. During the Balkan War of 1912, the club organized a small hospital, staffed by women nurses, who were nursing men for the first time in Turkey. This club also organized a meeting of women to help war refugees, and to send a protest to the Queens of Europe, with a view to checking the massacres of non-combatants in Macedonia.

In 1913 Nakie Hanum was made Minister of Evqâf (=pious foundations), to which ministry all the schools attached to mosques belonged, and at the same time Halidé Edib became inspector-general and adviser for girls' schools and the small mixed schools. At this time mixed audiences at the meetings of the Ojak began to be customary, and Halidé Edib frequently addressed large audiences of men.†

During the Great War Turkish women took up war-

\* "Memoirs," p. 331.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 351, 370.



work, such as the nursing of the sick and wounded, the carrying out of relief work, working for the Red Crescent Society, filling men's places in offices and shops, and even serving on the battlefield. After the War, the "Society for the Defence of the Rights of Women" was formed with these objects: "To transform the outdoor costume of Turkish women; to ameliorate the rules of marriage according to the exigencies of common sense; to fortify women in the home; to render mothers capable of bringing up their children according to the principles of modern pedagogy; to initiate Turkish women into life in Society; to encourage women to earn their own living, and to find them work in order to remedy the present evils; to open women's schools in order to give girls an education suited to the needs of their country, and to improve existing schools."\*

A writer in the *Tanine* of January 2, 1924, expressed the opinion that of the main causes which had kept the East from making progress, one of the foremost was the fact that women had been deprived of any position in social or civil life. They had not been given any share in social or political life, but had been kept secluded in their own houses. The first step in the true regeneration of the Turks, said this writer, would be to bring women into social life. In the place of a slave, they needed a woman who would be the mistress of her own civil and human rights, enlightened and fit in soul and spirit to be a companion to her husband. This, he felt, would be the chief help in enabling the East to shake off its old languor and create a new social organization.

In November, 1925, the Constantinople Women's Union came forward to the Director of Religious Institutions, with a bold request for permission to hold conferences and to preach in the mosques. The Director suggested that they might hold conferences elsewhere than in the mosques, and that if they wished to preach sermons they must get per-

\* "Modern Turkey," p. 143 ff. New York, 1924.



mission from the Mufti. The Women's Union replied that they wished to enlighten the minds of those women who had been misled by ignorant religious leaders. They wished to teach what modern Turkish womankind was and ought to be. The question was taken up and discussed in the Turkish Press, and the Director criticized for his action in refusing permission.\*

Mustafa Kemal, the ruler of Turkey since the War, has been foremost in working for the emancipation of women, aided at first by his wife, Latifa Hanum, who used to travel with her husband unveiled, and to live the life of a free European woman. When the Swiss Civil Code was adopted by Turkey as the model for her system of law under the Republic, a section important to women was that dealing with marriage rights. By Art. 112 it is declared that a marriage will be void if either husband or wife is already married at the time of the marriage ceremony, thus rendering polygamy illegal. By Art. 129 a wife is granted equal rights of divorce with the husband.

The veil, the sign of bygone bondage, has been largely discarded in Turkey, and has even been forbidden by the Vali of Trebizond within the last year, and Mustafa Kemal has expressed himself against it, as having been a concession to the jealousy and egotism of men. At the present time Turkish women have their own clubs and have secured social freedom. They hold mixed receptions and give dances for men and women. They are beginning to appear on the stage; they have established their position as writers and journalists, and are regular contributors to the Press.

At a Teachers' Association which met in 1924 in Angora, Constantinople supplied one thousand delegates and Angora two hundred.† Women are admitted to the University on the same terms as men and have entered as students in medicine and law as well as other subjects, and in education

\* Cf. *The Moslem World*, July, 1926, p. 243.

† Cf. "The Moslem World of Today," p. 212.



the Turkish women are certainly leading the way for the Islamic world. Hundreds of Muslim girls are working in the General Post Office and other Government Departments, while large numbers are earning a living in banks and business houses.

A woman, Mme. Safie Hussayn Bey, representing the Green Crescent Temperance Society, went as a delegate from Turkey to the recent Convention of the World League against Alcoholism, held at Winona Lake, Indiana. She is reported to have made a speech there, declaring that "the feminist movement [in Turkey] has been started and the men are quite willing that the women should have the vote. There is an election due now, and one in another four years. At the third election universal suffrage will be in effect all over Turkey, and there will be several women elected to office, as well as to Parliament."\* It will be interesting to see if the high hopes of the Turkish feminists will be realized so speedily.

The movement for the emancipation of women in Egypt goes back to the days of 'Arabi, when it was amongst the reforms advocated by Jamāl al-Dīn and Mansūr Fahmy. The aspirations of Egyptian women were voiced by the poetess 'A'sha al-Tamūr, whose writings really gave rise to the Feminist Movement in Egypt, as far back as 1896. Then Kassīm Bey Amīn took up the matter in his book, "The Emancipation of the Egyptian Woman," published in 1898, followed by "The New Woman," published in 1900, which he dedicated to the late Sa'd Zaghlūl Pasha, who was a warm supporter of the movement, no doubt in co-operation with his wife.

One of the earliest leaders in the movement was Malaka Nassīf; in 1911 she presented to the Legislative Assembly the demands of the women of Egypt for free access to the mosques, as in the earliest period of Islam† for compulsory

\* Quoted in *The Moslem World*, October, 1927, p. 413.

† It is interesting to note from the accounts of the Traditionists that in the time of Muhammad, and up to the reign of 'Alī women attended



education for both sexes, for facilities for training women doctors and for an increase in the number of free dispensaries,\* and hospitals, for protection by the police of women when walking abroad; for the development of educational training for girls in domestic and professional subjects, and for reforms in regard to polygamy and divorce. Though these demands were refused, Sitt Malaka continued to write on the subject and to hold conferences. This pioneer in the cause of women's freedom in Egypt died some six years ago. In 1914 Lady Byng founded an International Club for Women in Cairo, and the same year some Egyptian ladies of the upper classes founded the "Association of Egyptian Women for Social and Intellectual Improvement."

The Women's Movement received a great impetus from the movement for Egyptian Independence in 1919, when for the first time the girl students from the schools went on strike and the women organized demonstrations, went in procession through the streets, delivered speeches in public, wrote articles and began to co-operate with the men in the national cause.

This led to the formation of the first women's political society, the Ladies' Wafd, under the leadership of Sitt Labība Ahmed, the aims of which were at first purely political. Other societies were formed about this time, and began to issue magazines expressly for women.

In 1923 was founded "*La Union Féminine Égyptienne*," with an executive Committee of twelve, including one Christian. This was under the leadership of Mme. Huda Sharāwi, who had already made herself prominent as a

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the mosques freely in company with the men, but in 'Ali's time this privilege was withdrawn, and women, if they have attended at all, have been present in a gallery reserved for them, or behind the men, with a curtain between.

\* The Lady Cromer Dispensaries were opened in 1908, and a little later the 'Ayn al-Hayāt, founded by Egyptian ladies. Dispensaries staffed by women doctors and nurses (European) have provided the most acceptable form of relief for the women of the harims.



leader of Egyptian women in their claim for emancipation. She came of a Circassian family of high standing and was herself a very cultured woman. In this year the International Alliance for Woman Suffrage held a Congress in Rome, and Egypt was invited to send a delegation. Mme. Huda Sharāwi, her niece, and Nebawiyya Mūsa, the first Egyptian woman to become inspectress under the Egyptian Ministry of Education, were selected as representatives. Nine points were presented by the Egyptian delegation, in Rome and later on in Paris. These were as follows :

1. To raise the moral and intellectual level of woman in order to realize her political and social equality with men from the point of view of laws and manners.

2. To ask for free access to the higher schools for all girls desiring to study, and equal privileges to be given with the boys and young men.

3. To reform customs relating to the arranging of marriages so as to allow the two parties to know each other before betrothal.

4. To reform laws in regard to marriage so that the real spirit of the Qur'an might be interpreted and thus preserve women from the injustice caused by bigamy exercised without reason, and from repudiation taking place without a serious motive.

5. By law to raise the age of consent to marriage for girls to sixteen.

6. To engage in active propaganda for public hygiene, particularly with regard to child welfare.

7. To encourage virtue and to fight against immorality.

8. To fight against superstition and certain customs which do not accord with reason, even though mentioned in the Hadīth (*e.g.*, the Zār,\* charms, etc.).

\* Ceremony for the exorcising of an evil spirit from one who is "possessed." Cf. S. M. Zwemer, "Influence of Animism on Islām," Chapter XII.

9. To open propaganda in the Press on the aims of the Feminist Society.\*

On the return of the delegation, the Committee of the Union laid before Yahya Pasha, then Prime Minister, these points, as representing what the women of Egypt desired from the new Government. Within five months a law was passed making the minimum age of marriage for girls sixteen as desired, while the new constitution of Egypt of the same year included a clause requiring compulsory education for girls as well as boys.

The Egyptian Feminist Party now set before itself an ambitious programme of reforms, political, constitutional, social and feminist, the two first embodying the demands of the Nationalist Party, including absolute independence for Egypt. The social reforms include, in addition to increased facilities for education, universal religious and moral teaching in schools, the encouragement of local industries, the restriction of the use of opiates and liquors, and an effort to combat prostitution. Further, the feminists advocate the establishment of hospitals in all parts of the country, and provision for the aged poor and for waifs and strays, and the reform of the prison system. The definitely feminist aims of the party include, as mentioned in the nine points above, complete equality between the sexes in the matter of education, also the replacement of men teachers for girls by women, and equal franchise, with the protest that women should not be expected to submit to laws in the making of which they have had no share, though they represent half the population. In regard to marriage they demand a law prohibiting polygamy and limiting the right of divorce.

Considerable social changes have already taken place. The veil has been largely given up in the chief centres, such as Cairo and Alexandria; there is much less seclusion; Muslim women go out in public with their husbands; hundreds of girls and women earn their own living; and there are flourishing troops of Girl Guides.

\* Cf. "The Moslem World of Today," pp. 222, 223.



In regard to the education of girls in Egypt, schools for girls were first opened in 1873. Under the British Administration primary schools\* for girls were opened in the large centres, and in Cairo the Sania Training College has provided, not only a training course for teachers in the primary schools, but also a good secondary education. There are now two secondary schools for girls in Cairo; a University on modern lines was opened in Cairo in 1925, and women are eligible for entrance equally with men; the Government is anxious that women should enter the University, and Sarwat Pasha, late Prime Minister, has stated publicly that it was his ambition to see the Egyptian girl working side by side with the Egyptian man in the University, and that it was only a matter of time. A number of Egyptian women are now studying in Europe, chiefly in England; several old pupils of my own, from the Sania Training College, are now taking their degrees here in medicine and arts, and the Egyptian Government has sent women to study in addition art, physical culture, domestic science, Froebel work, the teaching of the blind, and law. These women, when they return, will take up responsible positions in schools and hospitals, and will be the pioneers of their professions in Egypt; and since literacy among Egyptian women still amounts to only about 1.5 per cent., they will find every scope for fruitful work.

In North Africa there is a distinct movement in the direction of the emancipation of the Kabyle women, though this is due as much to action on the part of the Government officials as to action by the Kabyle women themselves. This movement has arisen chiefly as a result of the war, when the mothers, wives, and widows of those serving received allowances and pensions direct, and thus realizing their own personality began to conceive of the possibility of an independent life, and to find intolerable the servile condition which had previously been theirs. The Kabyle men also,

\* These do not correspond to our elementary schools, which have also been available in most districts, but rather to junior high schools.

many of whom served in France during the War, began to have new ideas of the place in the family which should be occupied by a wife, and also of the duty which a husband should owe her. Since 1869 the Kabyle woman has had, in theory, the right to claim a divorce, and the Court of Appeal in 1922 confirmed this right when a case was brought before it. In February, 1925, a Government Commission was appointed to ameliorate the condition of women, which was felt to be necessary, because one of the effects of the War has been to produce a constant exodus from the outlying districts to the capital, and the Kabyles themselves have felt it desirable that new customs should be adopted, so that the women might be able to manage their affairs and defend their own interests in the absence of their menfolk. Another new feature, perhaps also due to the war, is the increasing tendency on the part of the women to address themselves directly to the French magistrates, either to seek assistance in regard to their matrimonial affairs, or to secure pensions to which they make a claim.

The Commission, at its meeting in January, 1926, recommended as a first step towards improving the position of the Kabyle women the establishment of girls' schools, or, until they could be set up, the establishment of classes for girls in boys' schools, as soon as possible, to teach the Kabyle girls reading, writing, and arithmetic, with something of child-welfare and domestic science. The Commission also decided that steps should be taken to prepare the minds of the Kabyles, by means of propaganda, for reform in regard to the position of the women. After much discussion, and the hearing of evidence on the subject, the Commission passed a Decree to the effect that :

(a) A declaration of betrothal of marriage must be made before a registrar.

(b) The minimum marriage age for a girl should be fifteen.

(c) The wife should be able to claim a divorce for certain



definite causes. The husband who divorced his wife could no longer claim a "ransom."<sup>\*</sup>

(a) Rights of inheritance were allowed to widows to the property left by their husbands, and to daughters and granddaughters to the property of both mother and father.

A Kabyle "qānūn" of 1738 had deprived women of their rights of inheritance, in spite of the Muslim law, which gives women the free enjoyment, in theory, of their own property and the right of inheritance, though not equal to that of men.<sup>†</sup>

This decree, with the force of Government authority behind it, should do much to further the cause of the emancipation of the Kabyle women. Their neighbours, the Tuaregs, have always been feminists, since the women have never accepted the yoke of Islām in so far as it interfered with their rights as human beings. They have always retained their freedom, have mixed socially with the men, have presided at mixed assemblies, have kept the archives, sat on the governing councils, and educated the children. Anything more they may require in the way of privileges they will doubtless take for themselves at their pleasure.

In other parts of North Africa some steps have been taken towards improving the low status of women, but by the Government rather than by the women themselves, and probably here too the new conditions imposed by the war are the chief contributory cause. In Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, well-organized schools for girls have been opened, for which there is obviously need, as the percentage of literacy among women is only 2 per cent. in Algeria, less in Tunisia, and almost nothing in Morocco.

In Persia, in spite of the spirit of nationalism which prevails there almost as strongly as in Turkey and Egypt, the women's movement has made much slower progress than in

<sup>\*</sup> This was a price set upon a divorced wife by her husband, who claimed the payment of it before she could marry again.

<sup>†</sup> M. Morand, "Le Statut de la Femme Kabyle," *Revue des Études Islamique*, 1927, I.



those countries, probably because there has been less direct contact with the West. In 1909 an article in a Tabriz paper on "The Emancipation of Women" produced such a storm of indignation that the writer was threatened with crucifixion and had to seek protection for his life from the Government. Since then a spirit of greater toleration towards innovations has arisen in Persia, but the emancipation of women is still far from being accomplished. The veil, or the black eye-shade which is its substitute in North Persia, is still generally worn. Attempts to discard it on the part of school-girls with modernist tendencies have been frustrated by male relatives, aided by the police. At the same time, there is a strong and growing feeling against it on the part of the Young Persians, and it seems probable that Persia, at present so anxious to imitate Turkey, will before long pass a law prohibiting it. Marriage conditions in Persia have not yet improved to any extent, and child-marriage is still frequent, twelve and thirteen being a very common age for marriage; but, thanks partly to foreign influence, doctors in Persia are beginning to recognize the evil resulting from the custom, and representations have been made to the Government on the subject. Also, a small society has been formed among Persian women, whose members are pledged not to give their own daughters in marriage till they are sixteen years of age. Polygamy is still the rule among the Muslim population, and the custom of "mut'a," or temporary marriage, is very common among the Shi-ite Muslims, who predominate in Persia. Industrial conditions, which affect the girls and women, have been very bad up to recent years. Children of both sexes, as young even as five years, used to be contracted out as carpet-weavers, and could be worked for twelve hours a day, sitting on a hanging-beam, in a cramped position which produced deformities of the limbs, and in unventilated factories which were deleterious to health. In the case of the girls the deformities produced had a disastrous effect upon their capacity for child-bearing. In 1922, through the help of the League



of Nations, new laws were introduced, requiring that the little weavers should work under healthy conditions, and in a posture that would make for comfort and ease, also that the minimum age for factory workers should be eight for boys and ten for girls, and that no child under fourteen should work more than eight hours a day. So far, women in Persia have had little chance to enter the professions, teaching being almost the only paid occupation open to them, and literacy among women does not amount to more than '03 per cent.

The Baha'i Movement, however, has done a good deal to emancipate women in Persia, since the adherents of this faith stand for complete equality between the sexes, and the women meet freely with the men among themselves. As there are many Baha'is among the Army and the Government classes, their influence on behalf of the emancipation of women must be having its effect. There is one women's paper, the *Zehan*, representing the feminist movement in Persia, edited by a Persian woman who has been to England and America. Twice during this year Persian women have made public demonstrations, in one case against conscription for their sons, and this fact points to an increasing consciousness of their own personality and influence among Persian women. The Persians are beginning to promote education for girls, and recently the Government has opened a number of girls' schools, including several in Isfahan alone. With the spread of education, the Women's Movement in Persia is likely to make more rapid progress.

In Irāq the Women's Movement is making itself felt. Since the war a women's club has been started, which includes many of the leading Muslim ladies of Baghdad among its members. The rules of the club were published in the local Press and caused much interest and not a little controversy. Some three years ago one of the Government girls' schools asked to be allowed to start a troop of Girl Guides, in imitation of the Boy Scouts Movement in Irāq. "The idea of young girls marching through the streets and

bazaars with arms swinging and banners flying sent a thrill of horror through the old conservative circles. 'The young civilization of the West (from our girls' schools),' bitterly complained the *Muftid*, the Baghdad Arabic daily, 'which is not in line with the tradition and good breeding of our women, is slowly poisoning the nation. The Girl Guide Movement is wholly alien to our ideas, and in a country which has been backward for five thousand years these innovations are inadvisable. The Minister of Education ought to draw up a curriculum of instruction for the girls' school which is in keeping with our beliefs and traditions and in consonance with the noble honour of the Arab people.'\* Yet there is an increasing demand for the education of girls. At present in the whole of Irāq there are about four thousand girls attending primary schools, and there are also secondary schools for girls in Baghdad, Mosul, Basra, and Amara. Outdoor games are being introduced, the training of women teachers is being taken in hand, and evening classes for the education of mothers have been started in Baghdad.† Here too, where there is a stable Government and a strong Western influence, it is probable that the position of women will show steady improvement and the movement for their emancipation be crowned with success.

From Syria there are reports of a strong Women's Movement, including Muslim, Druze, and Christian women, and for several years there has been a society of women, with a large membership, meeting in Beyrout to discuss matters of interest to women. The veil, however, has not yet disappeared, and though polygamy is not prevalent, divorces are very frequent. Syria, of course, has enjoyed the benefits of education for a longer period than most of her neighbours. The massacres of 1860 led to the foundation of schools for girls, and to the establishment of a

\* "The Moslem World of Today," p. 218.

† A. Conway, "Education in Irāq," *Journal of Central Asian Society*, Vol. XIV., 1927, p. 337.



training college for women teachers in Beyrout, and not only in Beyrout but in Damascus and the other large towns schools for girls have been in existence for a couple of generations. In Beyrout an association for women existed before the war, and held meetings for women who were earning their living. A considerable number of hospitals in Beyrout and Damascus have provided training for Syrian girls as nurses. Since the war Syrian girls have been earning a living in offices and similar employment. In addition to the prevalence of education, contact with Europe and America have no doubt contributed to raise the status of Syrian women—at least, in the towns—above that of their sisters in neighbouring countries, until recent years.

In Palestine the same conditions prevail in regard to facilities for the education of women and freedom to earn a living in the towns, but the women have hitherto shown themselves rather conservative and do not take a great interest in politics as a whole, though among the Jews there is a strong Universal Suffrage Movement.

In Muslim Russia-in-Asia there is a forward movement among the women. A writer, well qualified to judge, says that the Tatar women of Kazan are at the head of the movement for the emancipation of Muslim women. The statistics of 1920 showed that one in twelve Tatar women were students, as compared with one in fifty-five Russian (European) women. In Azerbaijan\* a national revival of the Turkish Muslims took place before the war, and in 1918 the chieftains founded a republic, Muslim, socialist, and revolutionary and anti-Bolshevist, with a parliament elected by universal suffrage, including women voters.†

At a recent congress of the Russian Turks in Baku, to discuss national aspirations, and especially reforms in regard to language and the alphabet to be adopted, there

\* The old region of Arran and Shirvan.

† L. Massignon, "Islam in the United Soviet Republics," *The Moslem World*, October, 1927. This republic was destroyed in 1920, and a Soviet republic set up.



were a few women delegates present, one being from Azerbaijan, Sultanova, who was present at the sessions, but without taking an active part. There was also the wife of one of the Kazan delegates, who was herself sent as correspondent. Among the delegates attending from the Turkish academies of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kazan were five women students. The writer who is reporting the Congress takes the small number of women who were present as a sign that the effect of the Islamic point of view regarding women has not yet been rejected by the Turks, but that Muslim women should be present at all at a public Congress, composed almost entirely of men, is a great step forward. One of the women delegates took part in debate and spoke more than once.\*

In Muslim Europe also there is a forward movement on behalf of the emancipation of women. A National Assembly held in Albania at Tirana three years ago declared that the fundamental principles of independence for their country included the prohibition of polygamy and the abolition of the veil for women. In other respects, too, the Albanians are shaking off the yoke of Islam, and in this there is hope for further improvement in the status of Albanian women.

The Women's Movement in the Near and Middle East, then, represents a remarkable phenomenon of the present time. In Turkey women have won privileges equal to those of most European women, and Egyptian women of the educated classes are not far behind. The Tatar women, with the privileges of equal education with men, appear to have gone farthest both as students and in the political sphere, since they are the only Muslim women who up to now have exercised the vote. In all the countries we have considered, the right of girls to education is now accepted, and in several, as we have seen, women have secured the right to secondary and University education. In Turkey, Egypt, and Syria, as well as in Russia-in-Asia and, of course, Muslim Europe, women are now free to earn their

\* "Turkologische Kongress in Baku," *Der Islam*, Bd. XVI., 1925, 1-2, pp. 22, 67; 3-4, p. 204.



own living in occupations and professions formerly open only to men. The social status of women is improving everywhere—at least, in the towns and among the more educated classes of the community—and even in such backward countries as those of North Africa the Government is recognizing the need for an improved status for the women. The abolition of the veil, of seclusion within the harīm, of polygamy, of child-marriage, and of easy divorce, has been accomplished in some cases already, and is likely to be secured in the near future in others. Full political rights, complete equality within the marriage relation, and economic independence, have still to be won; but in view of the very rapid progress of the Movement, by which rights have been won within a generation, which were hardly attained by European women by a century of effort, it is probable that the women of the Near and Middle East will not have to wait long for full emancipation and recognition of their rights.

## RUBBER IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

By DR. A. G. N. SWART,

President of the International Association for Rubber and other Cultures  
in the Netherlands Indies.

THE important position which the Netherlands Indies occupies as a rubber-producing country is obvious both from the extent of the area regularly under cultivation, and from the production figures for rubber.

The area under rubber in the Netherlands Indies at the end of 1926—apart from the native holdings, the area of which cannot be calculated with absolute certainty—totalled 1,101,340 acres, of which 808,221 acres were in production. The total rubber production of the Netherlands Indies, inclusive of native rubber (wet product) amounted to 243,285 metric tons. If one puts loss of water, allowing for 33 per cent. of water in the case of native rubber, the figure becomes 203,134 tons—*i.e.*, 122,831 tons of plantation rubber, and 90,303 tons of native rubber (dry product).

Of the total area under plantation rubber, 557,121 acres are in Sumatra, 480,958 acres in Java, and 63,261 acres in the other islands (Borneo, Riouw, Celebes, etc.).

The great development of rubber-growing in the Netherlands Indies is, in the first place, the result of two favourable natural factors—climate and rainfall. The climate in the Netherlands Indies is exceedingly uniform. On the coast the average temperature is 80° Fahrenheit, and the difference between the average temperature in the hottest and the coldest months is not more than 2° to 4° Fahrenheit.

The rainfall in the Netherlands Indies is abundant. In the whole of Sumatra and Borneo, and in the greater part of West Java and Celebes, the average rainfall amounts to more than 80 inches. Of the 700 stations in Java where the rainfall is measured, 132 recorded 120 to 160 inches, 61 recorded 160 to 200 inches, and 8 more than 200 inches annually. This abundant rainfall and continuous warm and constant temperature have a very favourable influence on the growth of rubber trees, of which several kinds are indigenous.

Another factor which has exercised a favourable influence on the development of the rubber culture is the abundance of cheap labour, at least in Java, which, according to the census of 1920, has a population of 35 millions, or 665 per acre. Sumatra is in this respect in a far less favourable



position, as it numbers only 32 per acre. As a result, however, of extensive importation of coolies from Java, who are engaged on a three years' contract, under guarantees of good treatment and hygienic conditions stipulated by the Government, the labour supply for rubber estates is also sufficient in those parts.

Finally, the policy steadily followed by the Netherlands Indian Government, of making no distinction whatever between plantation owners of Dutch and of foreign nationality, has also contributed towards promoting the development of the rubber culture with the aid of international capital. The capital invested in rubber plantations in the Netherlands Indies may be divided as follows, according to nationality :

British	...	...	...	...	£16,250,000
Netherlands	...	...	...	...	14,250,000
Belgian	...	...	...	...	2,500,000
French	...	...	...	...	2,000,000
American	...	...	...	...	2,250,000
Japanese	...	...	...	...	1,250,000
Chinese, German, Swiss, etc.	...	...	...	...	1,500,000
Total	...	...	...	...	<u>£40,000,000</u>

The Boards of Management of the vast majority of the rubber-growing companies in the Netherlands Indies are organized in the International Society for Rubber and other Cultures in the Netherlands Indies, which has its headquarters at The Hague, and the executive of which includes both foreigners and Netherlanders. In important questions this association always keeps in contact with the Netherlands Indies Committee of the British Rubber-Growers' Association in London. Further, the representatives of the Boards of Management of the Sumatra companies are organized in the General Rubber Growers' Association of the East Coast of Sumatra (A.V.R.O.S.), which deals more especially and successfully with questions relative to the recruiting of imported labour, whilst recently a new organization was created in the interests of the rubber culture in Java, which organization forms part of the extensive organization for the so-called mountain-cultures.

The methods of cultivation and of rubber preparation in the Netherlands Indies are naturally almost similar to those employed in other countries. Worthy of remark, however, is the fact that in the Netherlands Indies endeavours are being made in an increasing degree to develop rubber-growing on scientific lines. Nowadays, for example, young men sent out to the Netherlands Indies as assistants on

rubber plantations are preferably selected from those who have had special technical training, either at the Colonial Agricultural School at Deventer, or at the Agricultural University at Wageningen.

Experimental stations in the Netherlands Indies have also reached a high level of development. Excellent work is done in Java by the Central Rubber Stations at Buitenzorg, and the local stations at Malang and Djember, and also by the General Experimental Station of the A.V.R.O.S. at Medan.

In addition to the rubber plantations financed with European, American, Chinese, or Japanese capital, native rubber-growing has of late attracted considerable attention.

In certain districts of Sumatra, Djambi, Palembang, Borneo, etc., extensive Hevea rubber-planting has, with the assistance and encouragement of the Government, been made by the natives.

The product, most of which contains a considerable percentage of water, is sent to Singapore, there to be remitted into blanket crêpe. Recently such remitting of native rubber has also been done in the Netherlands Indies. Of these rubber factories, which are subject to the Rubber Preparation Ordinance, some twenty-four were working at the end of 1926, with an output of over 7,231 tons of dry rubber.

To give the reader an idea of the importance of native rubber-growing, we give below the export figures for the year 1921-1925 in metric tons (wet product) :

	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.
Djambi ... ..	2,915	9,666	17,400	22,997	30,511
Riouw and Dependencies	600	1,758	4,100	5,806	7,863
Palembang ... ..	83	893	4,600	9,238	17,073
Sumatra's East Coast	—	1,000	7,400	13,248	16,648
Sumatra's West Coast	—	—	—	—	1,921
West Borneo ... ..	1,800	4,500	8,500	14,413	21,133
South-East Borneo	600	7,500	13,400	16,866	26,299
Tapanoeli ... ..	—	200	1,000	1,963	3,528
Benkoelen ... ..	—	—	—	277	953
Banka and Billiton	—	—	1,000	1,200	2,303
Lampung Districts	—	—	—	—	193
Total ... ..	5,998	25,517	57,400	86,008	128,425

The fact should not be lost sight of, however, that the so-called native rubber not only contains a higher per-



centage of water, but is mostly mixed with sand, pebbles, etc., so that the export figure should be reduced by one-third. After examining a large number of samples of native rubber destined for export, the Central Rubber Station at Buitenzorg arrived at the above result.

The following table gives a comparison between the native product plantation rubber and the world production :

	WORLD RUBBER PRODUCTION IN METRIC TONS.	NETHERLANDS INDIES PRODUCTION IN METRIC TONS.		
		Plantation Rubber.	Native Rubber.	
			Wet.	Dry.
1919	285,225	66,101	+ 13,000	—
1920	304,816	67,802	+ 10,000	—
1921	271,333	60,456	5,998	—
1922	354,980	72,163	25,517	20,000
1923	381,771	81,512	57,400	35,700
1924	391,607	90,291	86,008	56,239
1925	481,826	106,047	128,425	85,245
1926	576,955	122,831	120,454	80,303

Although nothing can be said with certainty concerning the future of native rubber-growing, it may be safely assumed that this culture has gained a permanent place among the native cultures.

Whether the prediction, recently uttered, that native rubber production would reach the figure of 200,000 tons will be realized, is for the present open to doubt, especially as the labour necessary for tapping, if available at all, can only be had at high wages. This would force up the cost of production for the native rubber-planter to such a figure, that it is an open question whether he would be satisfied with the greatly reduced profits.

I fail to see where the great advantage for native rubber-planters lies in the new clause in the Recruiting Ordinance whereby labour from Java may immigrate in freely—as regards at least those districts which can only be reached at high cost. The Lampong Districts form an exception, however. Where the immigrant has no certainty of finding work—which is guaranteed him if he concludes a contract—he will think twice before spending a large amount in passage-money, whilst the native rubber-planter will not be over-anxious to advance such money.

In many circles there was disappointment and—especially amongst British rubber-planters—dissatisfaction that the



Dutch Government in 1922 declined to co-operate with the British Government in a restriction of rubber production in accordance with the so-called Stevenson Scheme, and that, with the exception of British enterprises, planters in the Dutch colonies refused to restrict voluntarily. As this question has frequently led to misapprehensions, I wish briefly to refer to it here.

When the steady drop in the rubber price, which had gone on for years, reduced rubber-growing in the British and Dutch colonies to such a condition that a great number of companies saw themselves confronted with disaster, while the considerable capital which the founders of the rubber culture had invested in it bade fair to become a total loss, the British Government asked the Dutch Government unofficially whether it would be prepared to join in the measures unfolded in the report laid by the Stevenson Commission before the British Secretary for the Colonies.

The Dutch Minister for the Colonies thereupon requested the International Rubber Growers' Association in the Netherlands Indies to express its opinion concerning the said report and generally concerning the desirability of legal measures to remove the difficulties in which the rubber culture found itself at the time.

At a meeting of the members of the Association on June 27, 1922, the latter question was answered in the affirmative by 122 companies, with an area under rubber of 357,655 acres, and in the negative by 39 companies, with a planted area of 176,402 acres. The Minister for the Colonies was requested to appoint a Commission to advise him concerning the best manner in which Government intervention could be established.

The considerable majority which pronounced itself in favour of Government intervention included all British, French, and Belgian members of the Association, besides a number of Dutch members. The minority was formed by the remaining Dutch members (greater part of this group) and the Americans. Towards the end of August the Minister informed the Association that he had consulted the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies on the question, and that the discussion had led to the conclusion that, apart from the question whether legal measures for the restriction of the rubber production would be practicable, there was for the time being, from the point of view of the interests of the Netherlands Indies, no sufficient reason to take steps in that direction.

There seems to be no doubt that this negative decision



of the Netherlands Indian Government, despite the advice of the vast majority of the rubber companies working in the Dutch colonies, was chiefly prompted by the existence of native rubber plantations, by the political consideration that it would be scarcely reasonable for the Government to compel the native population to reduce the production of plantations which they had laid out on the urgent advice of that same Government, and, above all, by the fear on the part of the Government officials that, with a view to the extensive acreage and the unique situation of the districts where native rubber plantations are found, it might be practically impossible to enforce restriction measures for the native product.

The British companies working in the Netherlands Indies thereupon voluntarily joined in the restriction of production. Most of the Dutch and other continental companies, however, including those who had voted in favour of uniform restriction of production according to Government regulation, refused to join, because by so doing they would be placed in an unfavourable position with respect to the majority of Dutch rubber producers, who were averse to all restriction measures. It has generally been averred that this attitude of Dutch rubber-planters was prompted by the wish to profit at the expense of their British colleagues, that by over-tapping they have, from pure lust of gain, forced their crops up to irrational figures. This representation, however, should be regarded as incorrect.

The opposition offered in this country to the idea of restriction is chiefly rooted in the excessive individualism inherent in the national character of the Dutch and in aversion to Government interference. Many rubber producers are of opinion that, should a restriction of exports such as now exists in Malacca and Ceylon be introduced in the Netherlands Indies, the enforcement of the restriction regulations by the Netherlands Indian Government would be considerably less elastic than has proved to be the case in the British Colonies.

In the second place, there are the objections of a more or less theoretical and economic nature. More than one rubber planter in this country is a confirmed free-trader, whose principles are rooted in considerations of a purely practical nature. Thus, certain rubber producers object to restriction of exports, because the artificial raising of the price would encourage the laying out of new plantations, whilst it is considered economically impossible that the selling price of an article like rubber, which is produced

over very extensive areas, could be kept far above the cost of production for any length of time.

On the whole, there is considerable criticism of the manner in which the Stevenson Scheme has been made to operate. The arguments against the Stevenson Scheme which have in the course of years been put forward—and not only from the Dutch side—are in the main well known. We might just mention the following: excessive standard production, excessive terms of validity for the export certificates, and laxity with regard to smuggling. Another serious difficulty is, that restriction of production raises the cost of production, whilst the possibility exists that it would be difficult to again recruit the labour which restriction had forced the plantations to dispense with.

From all the objections which have in Dutch rubber circles been raised to participation, in whatever form, in the Stevenson Scheme, one may conclude that the decision of Dutch planters not to co-operate with the British growers was based on very serious considerations indeed. It was not the selfish and narrow-minded desire to make a profit out of the sacrifices of others which years ago prompted the Hollanders to hold aloof, but above all the serious objection to Government interference.



## KOREA, JAPAN, AND FREEDOM

BY THOMAS BATY, D.C.L., LL.D.

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A RECENT book,\* the work of two very distinguished writers, whose opinions justly carry great weight with all thoughtful people, particularly those of liberal and enlightened sympathies, contains a chapter on Korea, on which a word or two of comment may not be out of place.

The chapter deals with the relations of Korea and Japan, and its tone is so conspicuously fair, and evinces so much anxiety to be not only just, but generous, towards Japan, in arriving at a true estimate of the character of the present position, that one cannot help fancying that perhaps even the authors themselves might be inclined to revise their conclusions if they were in full possession of the facts. It is one of the great disadvantages under which the student of Far-Eastern politics labours, that the amount of misinformation disseminated in the West concerning the Far East is so considerable in volume. We are so accustomed to think of the telegraph and the radio and the steamship as having abolished distance and brought all the nations of the world into close touch, that we forget how very imperfect and casual that approach really is. Real knowledge varies inversely as the fifth or sixth power of the distance.

Language is an enormous barrier. One may speak an Oriental language well enough for purposes of ordering breakfast—though not many can claim this distinction where Korean or Japanese is concerned—but few indeed are those who could cross-examine in Japanese, or write a Japanese State-paper, or understand what a Korean really means. Expense is another barrier. It is easy for a great newspaper to cable a few lengthy telegrams, but it is not easy for anybody else; and even a great newspaper will not cable a treatise or a long and uninteresting statement of evidence. Consequently, the truth about the Far East arrives in the West after passing through a very singular kind of filter, which strains off all but the baldly patent, the tendentious, and the interested. Nor are contradiction and correction readily possible. The untruths

\* "Oppressed Peoples and the League of Nations," by Noel Buxton and T. P. Conwil Evans.



and the half-truths and quarter-truths have been read and digested in Europe long before their dissemination is heard of in the East. Impressions as to practice and policy are created which it is almost impossible subsequently to displace.

For instance, it can scarcely be doubted that ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every hundred thousand Britons—and the proportion was higher in America—believed and continue to believe that during the Great War Japan went into military occupation of the entire province of Shantung. The facts are that, outside the small German peninsula of Kiao-tshao and the German railway-line running from the port of Kiao-tshao to the capital of the province, there was no Japanese occupation at all, and Chinese mandarins were ruling and judging and tax-gathering throughout Shantung in undisturbed peace. Yet who in the Occident realized it? Mr. J. O. P. Bland, that keen and fearless observer, wrote in 1921 that, "Thanks to the firm hand and clear head of the Civil Governor, Chueh Tajen, the capital of Shantung affords an excellent object-lesson of the benefits of benevolent autocracy in China, and of the progress to which the country might attain under good government." And he spoke of "the results which this youthful but determined official has achieved in the administration of local and provincial affairs." "He was satisfied to maintain law and order in Shantung and to sit tight."\* This does not look much like Japanese "seizure" of Shantung! But did we not all believe in it?

Facts come to the Occident from the Orient slowly and at haphazard. The Western student of world politics cannot be too careful in suspending judgment on Oriental happenings until the facts are proved to demonstration.

The dealings of Japan with Korea afford an example of this difficulty under which the West labours in estimating the true nature of events in the Far East. Let us for a moment glance at the undisputed heads of the history. Korea was an ancient kingdom, nominally in some kind of feudal relations with China, but practically independent alike of China and of Japan. Attempts at intercourse with Europeans were long resisted. A naval expedition sent by the United States to exact retribution for injuries sustained by American subjects was repulsed with loss. The French were no more fortunate, and on the whole Korea was for long severely let alone, though distracted

\* "China, Japan, and Korea," pp. 270, 271.



by internal palace factions. Invoked by one of these factions, China took steps, in 1894, to assert her suzerainty, and to turn it into an effective superiority. This move inevitably resulted in a violent revolt of the opposing faction, who called in Japanese aid, and insisted on the king's proclaiming his absolute independence of China. Japanese influence was now supreme in Korea. The defeated faction, however, continued their intrigues, and a violent and ill-conceived endeavour to put an end to them was made by their opponents, aided by the then Japanese Minister and other officials. This unfortunate occurrence was accompanied by the brutal assassination of the Queen of Korea and it was at once emphatically disavowed by the Japanese Government, which put its officers on trial for criminal misbehaviour, a trial which failed only for want of legal evidence. The event set back the progress of Japan in the peninsula for ten years. The King took the earliest opportunity of flying to the Russian Legation, and thenceforward Russian influence became paramount, though, as we shall see, it was not used in order to further reforms, as the Japanese had been, but simply to maintain the deplorable *status quo*. The consolidation of Russian influence in Korea was "a pistol pointed at the heart of Japan," as Napoleon's occupation of Antwerp was a pistol at the heart of Britain. The vital necessity of preventing it was the direct cause of the Japonico-Russian war of 1904-5.

On the successful termination of that war, glorious in achievement, but terribly costly in blood and treasure, the main concern of Japan was naturally the future of Korea. There was no equivalent of Holland, in which, like Antwerp, it could be incorporated. It was on all hands agreed that it could not stand alone; it had neither the unity, the honesty, nor the strength to be a Belgium. The inevitable consequence was that it became a Japanese protectorate, and the important thing to observe is that it became a Japanese protectorate with everybody's cordial consent.

Japan was a universal favourite. Her acceptance of Western culture, her achievements in battle, her efficiency, combined with her beauty and her exotic charm, just then being fully popularized among the Western nations, to put her in the position of a princess with fairy godmothers. As far as I remember, there was not one dissentient voice throughout the world from the chorus which acclaimed Korea as exceeding lucky to be the protégée of Japan.



Theodore Roosevelt was then the President of the United States ; he raised no objection. France, Germany, Britain, Europe raised no objection. Everybody seemed to consider it a happy solution. No one dreamt of commiserating the Koreans.

Five years later, "protection" was converted into annexation. The King (now styled "Emperor") abdicated : became a Japanese Prince : was handsomely provided for : and ceased to reign. Again, Europe and America attached no particular importance to this change. It was a change only in name. Like the Austrian annexation of Bosnia, it was, if anything, a benefit to the local population, since it conferred on them the status of native subjects of the state which in practice governed them.

There are protectorates and protectorates. The word has suffered a great change of meaning since it was first coined. Originally it denoted a thing which can hardly exist now : a real "protection" promised to a weak state by a strong for a *quid pro quo*. This involved no control or pretence of control of the one by the other : it was a pure bargain—so much protection for so much cash or advantage. Of this kind were the protectorates of Genoa by Charles of France, of Ragusa by Venice and Hungary, of Danzig by Poland five hundred years ago.

Gradually, however, it became patent that if the protecting state were to be responsible for the conduct of its protégée, it must be able more or less to control it. It became usual to stipulate that the protecting state should have control of the foreign relations of the other. Sometimes the stipulation went so far as to exclude the protected state from entertaining any relation with third powers. In these circumstances, the protected state resigned a real fragment of its sovereignty and became the anomalous thing called a *mi-souverain* state. Or it might indeed lose its international existence altogether, its claims to such autonomy as it enjoyed becoming a mere matter of constitutional law. Of this nature was the status of Finland prior to the break-up of Russia. As far as other countries are concerned, Finland was a geographical expression. The revocation of Finnish autonomy by the Czar was a Russian domestic matter : immoral, perhaps, and impolitic, but not internationally illegal. Real *mi-souveraineté*, where the vassal state remains a true state, known to the rest of the family of nations, but shorn of some of the attributes of sovereignty, finds examples in the states of San Marino, of Monaco, of Andorra. It is not strictly necessary, in order to remain a



true international state, to retain the right of communicating with foreign Powers, though it is very difficult to preserve an international existence when that is given up. That was, nevertheless, the commonest sovereign right to be resigned by the protected state, though there were others, such as the right to exclude garrisons of the protecting troops.

This constitutes, then, the second stage in the history of protectorates. "The 'protected' state is no longer fully independent: the sovereignty within its borders is divided, and partly assigned to the protector, who acquires complete control of its foreign relations. The third step is for the 'protector' to acquire control of its domestic affairs as well. *Mi-souveraineté* now tends to disappear, all independence is lost and a 'protectorate' becomes a mere name for a subject colony. 'Protection' means 'annexation.'" This third stage is a comparatively new thing. The British protectorate of the Ionian Islands was the last specimen of the old *mi-souveraineté*. British rule in the Islands was nearly supreme, especially in the executive sphere: but not quite. This Ionian precedent acted as a link between true *mi-souveraineté* and the modern "protectorates," which are nothing but particularly abject colonies. Their origin may probably be found in the Pérak War of 1874, at the close of which the Governor of Singapore (Jervoise) refrained from calling his annexation of Pérak "annexation," and preferred to govern the country, through a dummy Sultan, with all the powers of an Oriental despot. The British Resident became the absolute dictator, in fact, whilst the population acquired none of the constitutional rights of British subjects.

This newly invented type of "protectorate" proved extremely popular. As a means of annexing a country without according any rights to the inhabitants, it was a stroke of genius. The French imitated it in Tunis, in Madagascar: everybody began to imitate in it Africa. It was well understood that a "protectorate" or a "protected state" now generally meant a colony whose people enjoyed no constitutional rights: who had none of the international rights of the alien, and none of the constitutional rights of the subject. And it was in these circumstances that Japan, with universal approval, assumed the protectorate of Korea. It was a kind of protectorate that France had in Madagascar, Britain in Pérak, Selángor and Negri Sembilan, Russia in Khiva: the sort of protectorate which was by this time bluntly referred to as a protectorate "over" a country. It was virtual annexation.



In 1910 this was converted into avowed annexation. This change again was accomplished with universal approval. It only converted the Koreans into recognized Japanese subjects. They were no longer stepchildren of the Empire, the nominal subjects of a subject ruler. If Europe and America objected to the annexation of Korea, the assumption of the protectorate was the time to have declared their objections. And so matters stand at the present day.

Mr. Buxton and Mr. Evans, in kindly and modest closing words, express a hope that Japan will see her way to confer upon the Koreans the blessing of freedom. It is no paradox to say that this is precisely what Japan has done. If freedom means the power to possess and enjoy in peace and security the fruits of one's labour, the Koreans did not have it before, and they have it now.

I make no apology for quoting extensively from Mrs. Bishop's "Korea and her Neighbours." Mrs. Bishop was a singularly keen and impartial observer. She never hesitated to detect and blame the faults of Japan or of England any more than she hesitated to detect and blame those of China or Russia. A Malay Sultan was to her exactly as much and as little an object of study or of reverence as a British Resident or a Korean noble. She may be accepted with the utmost confidence as a safe and shrewd guide. She knew and liked the Korean King and Queen. She was many months in the country. She was under obligations to nobody. And what is her deliberate judgment?

She found a country where the mass of people were in hopeless, helpless subjection to a few idle, tyrannical, and normally dissolute *yang-bans*; where dirt, cruelty, and brutality were rampant; where the stick was the penalty alike for prosperity and crime; where justice did not exist, and politics meant palace intrigues, agriculture was stifled, superstition reigned supreme, and honest independence was an inconceivable virtue. This was the "Land of Morning Calm." The Hermit Kingdom, which the average Westerner loved to picture as a land of dreaming quietude, where white-robed figures moved gently about in an atmosphere of lotus-eating peace, free from the care and bustle of the common world, was in reality a scene of dirt, oppression, ignorance, cruelty, and blood.

I give a few quotations. Let Mrs. Bishop introduce us to a typical Korean town:

"Korean is the official *yamen* at the top of the hill, and



Korean [are] its methods of punishment, its brutal flagellations by *yamen* runners, its beating of criminals to death, their howls of anguish penetrating the rooms of the adjoining English mission, and Korean too are the bribery and corruption which make it and nearly every *yamen* sinks of iniquity" (p. 29).

"The country," she says, "was eaten up by officialism. It is not only that abuses without number prevailed, but the whole system of government was an abuse, a sea of corruption without a bottom or shore, an engine of villainy, crushing the life out of all industry. Offices and position were bought and sold like other commodities, and government was fast decaying, the one principle which survived being its right to prey on the governed" (ii., 189).

"With a splendid climate, an abundant rainfall, a fertile soil, a measure of freedom from civil war and robber bands, the Koreans ought to be a happy and fairly prosperous people. If 'squeezing' *yamen* runners and their exactions and certain malign practices of officials can be put down with a strong hand, and the land tax is fairly levied and collected, and law becomes an agent for protection rather than an instrument of injustice, I see no reason why the Korean peasant should not be as happy and industrious as the Japanese peasant. But these are great 'ifs'! *Security for the gains of industry*, from whatever quarter it comes, will, I believe, transform the limp, apathetic native . . ." (ii., 144).

"I thought them lazy, but . . . They live under a régime under which they have no security for the gains of labour, and for a man to be reported to be 'making money,' or attaining even the luxury of a brass dinner service, would be simply to lay himself open to the rapacious attentions of the nearest mandarin and his myrmidons, or to a demand for a loan from an adjacent *yang-ban* (noble)" (p. 86).

". . . In Northern Korea, where the winters are fairly severe, the peasants, when the harvest has left them with a few thousand *cash*, put them in a hole in the ground and pour water into it, the frozen mass which results being then earthed over, when it is fairly safe from both officials and thieves" (ii., p. 146).

So much for the official. Now for the "noble":

"Among the curses of Korea is the existence of this privileged class of *yang-bans*, who must not work for their



own living, though it is no disgrace to be supported by their relations, and who often live on the clandestine industry of their wives in sewing and laundry work. A *yang-ban* carries nothing for himself—not even his pipe. *Yang-ban* students do not even carry their books from their study to the class-room. Custom insists that when a member of this class travels he shall take with him as many attendants as he can muster. He is supported on his led horse, and supreme helplessness is the conventional requirement. His servants browbeat and bully the people and take their fowls and eggs without payment . . .” (p. 114).

“It is a very common thing for a noble, when he buys a house or field, to dispense with paying for it, and no mandarin will enforce payment. . . . Class privileges have been abolished, on paper at least, but their tradition carries weight” (p. 114).

It is not surprising to hear that “[Rebellions on a small scale] are annual spring events in the peninsula, when in one or other of the provinces the peasantry, driven to desperation by official extortions, rise, and with more or less violence (occasionally fatal), drive out the offending mandarin. Punishment rarely ensues. The King sends a new official, who squeezes and extorts in his turn with more or less vigour until, if he also pass bearable limits, he is forcibly expelled, and things settle down once more. This Tong-hek (‘Oriental’ or ‘National’) movement was of greater moment, as being organized on a broader basis, so as to include a great number of adherents in Seoul and the other cities, and with such definite and reasonable objects that at first I was inclined to call its leaders ‘armed reformers’ rather than ‘rebels.’ . . . Their proclamation began by declaring loyal allegiance to the King, and went on to state their grievances in very moderate terms. The Tong-heks asserted, and with undoubted truth, that officials in Korea, for their own purposes, closed the eyes and ears of the King to all news and reports of the wrongs inflicted on his people; that Ministers of State, Governors, and Magistrates were all indifferent to the welfare of their country, and were bent only on enriching themselves, and that there were no checks on their rapacity . . .” (p. 209).

“Korean imagination and ingenuity are chiefly fertile in devising tricks and devices for getting hold of public money, and anything more hydra-headed than the dis-



honesty of Korean official life cannot be found . . . " (ii., 24).

"The official class saw that reform meant the end of ill-gotten gains, and they, with the whole army of parasites and hangers-on of the *yamens*, were all pledged by the strongest personal interest to oppose it by active opposition or passive resistance. Though corruption has its stronghold in Seoul, every provincial government repeats on a smaller scale the iniquities of the capital, and has its own army of dishonest and lazy officials fattening on the earnings of the industrious classes. The cleansing of the Augean stable of the Korean official system, which the Japanese had undertaken, was indeed a Herculean labour. Traditions of honour and honesty, if they ever existed, had been forgotten for centuries. Standards of official rectitude were unknown. In Korea, when the Japanese undertook the work of reform, there were but two classes, the robbers and the robbed, and the robbers included the vast army which constituted officialdom. Squeezing and peculation were the rule from the highest to the lowest, and every position was bought and sold" (ii., 52).

After the short period in 1895 during which the Japanese tried to improve matters, the ill-judged violence of their agents ended the endeavour, and the old corruption, intrigue and incapacity returned in full force.

"Many of the attempts made by the Japanese during their ascendancy to reform abuses were allowed to lapse. The Minister of the Household and other Royal favourites resumed the practices of selling provincial and other posts in a most unblushing manner . . . and the sovereign himself, whose Civil list is ample, appropriated public money for his own purposes, while, finding himself personally safe, and free from Japanese or other control, he reverted in many ways to the traditions of his dynasty, and in spite of attempted checks upon his authority, reigned as an absolute monarch—his edicts, his will absolute" (ii., 186).

"[The Russian Minister's] guidance might have prevented the King from making infamous appointments and arbitrary arrests, from causelessly removing officials who were working well . . . and a foolish increase of the army and police force. But he remained passive, allowing the Koreans to 'stew in their own juice' . . . a proceeding which might at length find Russia a legitimate excuse for interference" (ii., 260).



Justice was no better than administration. Even after the period of Japanese ascendancy had been succeeded by a lull of independent Korean government under Russian countenance, after the *coup* of 1894, Mrs. Bishop observes :

"On the whole, the Seoul Law Court does little more than administer injustice and receive bribes. . . . The outrageous decisions, the gross bribery, and the actual atrocities of the Seoul Court are likely to bring about its abolition" (ii., 373); although—

"Brutal exposures of severed hands and trunks, and beating and slicing to death were made an end of during the ascendancy of Japan" (ii., 275).

Nor was the military element more satisfactory.

"The average Korean is usually a docile and harmless man; but European clothes and arms transform him into a truculent, insubordinate, and oft-times brutal person. . . . Detachments of soldiers scattered through the country were a terror to the people from their brutality and marauding propensities early in 1897" (ii., 265).

No one would assert that every subordinate Japanese constable or clerk is a model of perfection. No one would assert that things were never done in the course of suppressing the rebellion which had better not have been done. No nation is so fortunate as to have uniformly perfect agents, and the history of Ireland shows that even rebels can be stern in repressing rebellion. Insurrections are not made nor suppressed with rose-water. And the Korean revolt was by no means an affair of passive resistance.

Enough has been said to show that Japan has, in fact, "given Korea freedom." If by that phrase is meant giving the ordinary Korean freedom to live his life as a free man, then he owes his freedom to Japan, and to Japan alone.

But we are told that "self-government is better than good government." Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman may have been right when he proclaimed this gospel; but who can call the state of Korea as depicted by Mrs. Bishop "self-government"? Can it be for a moment doubted that, should the Japanese withdraw, the last state of Korea would be worse than the first? The choice would be between the renewed tyranny of *yang-bans* and the tyranny



of adventurers. Self-government is not a thing that can be handed out in twopenny packets. Universal suffrage has been described as "the most simple known means of stifling the popular will." Modern machine politics simply mean the subjection of the common people to the people who have their hands on the machine lever. The masses are crushed by their own weight. Freedom is a thing which depends on a universally diffused sentiment. No one, not even Japan, can "give" this sentiment to Korea. Korea must grow it for herself.

Japan can easily give Korea anarchy. She can easily give Korea a tyrant. She can, and does, give Korea a more than reasonably good government. But she cannot give Korea self-government, because Korea has no "self" capable of governing.

Mrs. Bishop could see no hope for Koreans and their country from within.

"After nearly a year spent in the country, during which I made its people my chief study, I am by no means hopeless of their future. . . . Two things, however, are essential :

"1. As Korea is incapable of reforming herself from within, she must be reformed from without.

"2. The power of the sovereign must be placed under stringent and permanent constitutional checks" (ii., 286).

"Korea is incapable of standing alone, and unless so difficult a matter as a joint protectorate could be arranged, she must be under the tutelage of either Japan or Russia.

"The administration is in a state of constant chaos, and the oft-times well-meaning but always vacillating sovereign, absolute without an idea of how to rule, the sport of favourites, usually unworthy, who work upon his amiability, the prey of greedy parasites, and occasionally the tool of foreign adventurers, paralyzes all good government by destroying the elements of permanence, and renders economy and financial reform difficult and spasmodic by consenting to schemes of reckless extravagance urged upon him by interested schemers. Never has the King made such havoc of reigning since he regained his freedom under the influence of the Russian Legation" (ii., 262).

"I regret to have to write anything to the King's disadvantage. Personally, I have found him truly courteous and kind, as he is to all foreigners. He has amiable



characteristics, and, I believe, a certain amount of patriotic feeling."

How is this to be changed, as by the wave of an enchanter's wand, by some constitutional device called self-government? Is it to be supposed that in a purely Korean government the governing elements would be much different in the future from what they have been in the past?

The present writer would be the last to say that a physically weak kingdom can justly be suppressed by one strong kingdom lest it should be absorbed by another. But there is a difference between weakness and rottenness. An honest, enlightened, and sensible Government—like that of Denmark—need not be afraid of its weakness. But disease in the brain of the body politic, incurable locomotor ataxy in the executive, make a state a danger to the world. Such a state is in the position of an international person who is feeble-minded, and who must be taken care of lest she should set fire to the town or make over her property to a designing usurer. Such international abnormality has been little discussed by theorists. The old publicists were content to dismiss non-Christian lands as *capita lupina*; countries with no rights at all. Modern theory has tended to regard them all as normal international persons, a theory sadly derogated from in practice. The status and rights of countries which are afflicted with governments so incapable that they cannot steer the ship of state have never been considered. Mere selfish extravagance, such as Ismail's in Egypt; mere savage cruelty, such as Lopez's in Patagonia, do not render a state abnormal, any more than they show an individual to be a lunatic. It is when the administration is incapable of fixity of purpose or independence in action, and when it falls helplessly or venally under the control of one foreign influence after another, wallowing in the trough of world-politics, rudderless and pounded by the seas, that an honest salvor may step in.

There is no doubt that the Koreans will obtain political rights in time, and may be before very long. All the best elements in Japanese politics concur in condemning the policy of Japonicizing, which was the first inspiration of Japan in Korea. Events have shown them that the way to hold an empire together is to humour local predilections and ideas. But so long as there is a possibility that Korean autonomy would be turned into a lever for Korean independence Japan can never feel safe in making the con-



cession of autonomy. A contented and Korean Korea within the Japanese Empire is the ideal of most reflective Japanese. But the possibility of being again confronted with a Korea, independent in name alone, and the prey of unscrupulous imperialists and adventurers in reality, is more than she can be asked to tolerate.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## BURMA: AN UNOFFICIAL VIEW

By J. J. NOLAN, F.J.I.

(Director of Publicity to the Government of Burma, 1920-25).

EVERYBODY knows, or everybody who attends the meetings of the East India Association should know, that Burma is in area the largest of India's nine major provinces, and in population the smallest; that its population of over 13,000,000 includes more than 10,000,000 Burmese Buddhists; that its recognized forests are more in area than the forests of all the rest of India put together, and that its political, racial, ethnological and religious history differs from that of India.

These and many other facts might be cited from census and other reports, but they are not what I wish to put before you today, although some of them have a bearing on the views which during a continuous residence of nearly ten years in Rangoon, during and after the War, I came to acquire. I would rather dwell upon the aspects of provincial development which are not directly set forth in official papers, although the material for them therein exists.

Burma has suffered, in my opinion, from lopsided development, due, perhaps, to the fact that Rangoon, now her capital, came under British control thirty-five years before Upper Burma, the intervening period being one of great activity. This has led to exceptional development of the capital, which now can claim (I speak somewhat from memory) to have on an average 95 per cent. of the total imports of the province and nearly 90 per cent. of the exports. The other ports of the province have naturally been affected by the virtual monopoly which Rangoon



enjoys ; and Moulmein in particular, which eighty years ago seemed likely to be an important port of the Indian Empire, has been obliged to see its trade diminish, although it has occasionally had upward fluctuations. The only port which has, I believe, shown perceptible improvement is Akyab. Mandalay too has lost much of its importance.

The pre-eminence of Rangoon in business has accentuated its development in other directions, notably education, hospital treatment and law. The General Hospital is one of the finest buildings in Asia, but its very existence there tends to dwarf local activities in preventive medicine and surgery, for everybody who can afford to come to Rangoon for treatment will do so. It is true that the concentration of law in Rangoon has not yet been effected, and that a branch of the High Court continues to sit at Mandalay and will, no doubt, so continue as long as the Mandalay Bar maintains its activities in defence of its practice. The Rangoon University, which is less than eight years old, represents in itself not merely the ever-present desire for greater educational facilities, but also an answer to the imperative demand that higher education in Burma should not continue to be an appanage of Calcutta University, as used to be the case.

Some of you may remember that the institution of the University was marked by an educational strike, the effects of which have not altogether disappeared. Arising out of a dispute over a religious holiday, the strike developed into a political movement, with which was said to be linked up the whole future of the province. Looking back upon the events of those days, I find it difficult to accept that view. There was at once a demand for more education (or rather, for more opportunity of gaining degrees), and a simultaneous demand that the education should be made easier, so far as the student's knowledge of English was concerned ; and it was largely because a reasonably high standard of English was required from the undergraduates—a standard which was needed if they were to benefit by



the lectures, but could not be easily met by them because of the conditions in the schools from which they came—that the opposition appeared to have some justification.

As usual in India, finance played its part in these troubled days. If money was spent on the University, it could not at the same time be spent on the schools from which the undergraduates had come, and there arose the usual suggestion, with which all students of public affairs in India are familiar, that money could be found for both the University and the schools if highly paid British officials were done away with. The opposing system of national schools and the national university which were set up could not hope to become permanent on the casual subscriptions of those who might be fervent for a month or two, but who disliked the prospect of paying a monthly subscription for ever, in a cause about which they could not remain enthusiastic. The national university, therefore, died after a short existence; but the national schools were more fortunate in that, in the desire, shall we say, to save each other's face, the Government and those supporting the national schools came to some kind of agreement by which each side could claim a partial victory. And so the strike was ended, although I gather that there are still some unfortunate victims who were deprived by it of the educational opportunities which would have enabled them to make their way in life. Various loopholes were given to the students of the defunct national university to come under the Rangoon University, and I seem to remember that, although the educational standard in English was lowered to what might be called a point of danger, only 40 per cent. of the examinees at one particular examination passed in that essential subject.

The need for a full knowledge of English is partly due to the fact that the Burmese language is not suitable for modern developments. It is well known that there is no equivalent in Indian dialects for Home Rule or responsible government or democracy; nor is there in Burmese. But its



complexity may be gathered when I tell you that to translate the Duke of Connaught into Burmese involved thirteen words, which, when translated back again, meant "the uncle of the King-Emperor, who draws his revenues from the province of Connaught"—which is not exactly true, but the only way in which the idea of the Duke's position could be conveyed to those who knew no English.

Here we have evidence of a difficulty which arises out of long existing conditions. Village education of the elementary sort had, for centuries, been carried out in Burma by the *hpoongyis*, who taught the children of both sexes how to read and write their own language, and also gave certain elementary instruction in other subjects and in Buddhism. It is thanks to this monastic education, excellent so far as it went, but not going far enough for present-day conditions, that the province is able to claim a far higher standard of literacy for both sexes than any other province in India. It is, of course, a limited literacy, but it does set the whole population of Burma on a distinctly higher standard than that of India.

For many years there has been a demand, not limited to any one class of the population, that the position of the province, *vis-à-vis* the rest of India, should be seriously considered. It is common knowledge that India receives from Burma in income tax, Customs duties, the export cess on rice and other sources of revenue, a far larger amount than it spends in the province. The export cess on rice, by the way, like the export cess on tea, goes directly into the Imperial Central Exchequer, although there is a tradition that it was originally intended to benefit the province which produced it. It is, of course, only levied on rice which is sent out of the Indian Empire, and not on what goes from Burma to Indian ports.

Apart altogether from what is sometimes called the tribute paid by Burma to India, there are considerations which would seem to justify the demand for separation. Burma is less than three days from Calcutta by sea, but it

is immeasurably further from Simla or Delhi; and it is at Simla and Delhi that matters are decided, in the settlement of which Burma has very little say. For example, up to a few years ago, Burma possessed only 1,600 miles of railway. The Railway Board, speaking broadly, has paid no more attention to the very urgent needs of Burma for increased railway mileage than it has given to the ordinary claims of the provinces in the Peninsula; and yet there are no lines linking up Burma with India, which might complicate the issue.

When that railway connection will come, nobody dare prophesy. I remember being told before I went out that Burma was sure to get the coastline connection by rail before long, but we are as far from it now as before the War. It has, I believe, many disadvantages from a physical and engineering point of view, and the alternative route going north of Mandalay to the Chino-Tibetan frontier and coming back through Assam presents no attractions. Who is likely to spend three or four days in a railway train, climbing to the border of Tibet and returning through Assam to Calcutta, when a little over Rs. 100 will take him by British India steamer in the same time, under conditions which, except in the heavy months of the monsoon, would be preferable for the ordinary traveller? I have often heard the scheme for a land-line between Burma and India spoken of as an excellent big stick with which to threaten the B.I. should they prove too difficult; and I have also heard it said that such a railway as that to the frontier through Burma and through Assam might be regarded as of strategic value, and that, if built, its cost should be charged, not on the Railway Board or on the provinces, but on the Military Department.

The main difficulty with regard to separation has always been the alleged impossibility of ascertaining the financial relations between the Indian Empire and Burma. It has often been suggested by India that, if such a separation did take place, Burma should assume responsibility for a portion



of the Indian debt to an amount to include the cost of the military operations in 1824, 1852 and 1886-87; in other words, to put it bluntly, that Burma should bear the cost of being conquered. Such a proposal seems to me impossible for acceptance and has, I imagine, never been seriously urged in any other part of the British Empire. It certainly cannot be regarded as a sufficient answer to the claim that the special conditions of the province have never received fair consideration at Simla. It will be remembered that only fourteen months ago Sir Basil Blackett, replying to suggestions of the Burma Chamber of Commerce on the question of cable communication, as a much-needed alternative to the land-lines which now are often blocked by weather eccentricities, frankly said that Burma would have to pay for such luxuries for itself—an instance of official obscurantism difficult to reconcile with the rest of Sir Basil Blackett's notable career as a progressive Finance Member.

The demand for separation has come as much from the British traders, of whom the Burma Chamber of Commerce is the well-equipped and progressive exponent, as from the Burmans themselves; but it has always been objected to by the Indian residents in the province, many of whom are as "transient" as the British officials and business men are said to be. We have, then, the curious combination of the Government of India agreeing with the not always loyal element of Indians resident in Burma in opposing any suggestion of separation. The Government of India naturally enough dislikes losing the large revenue it at present receives. The Indians resident in Burma feel that, if separation came, they would be at the mercy of a people whom they do not regard as of equal standing with themselves. A small section of the politically minded Burmans has also found objection to separation because of a certain consciousness that, if they were cut off from close contact with the Indian politicians, they would not be able to stand by themselves. As a rule, it may be said without

offence that the Burman is not lacking in pride or a consciousness of his own value, but I think I am right in saying that some of these politicians who object to separation have a subconscious feeling that the task which would be theirs in the event of separation would be somewhat beyond their powers.

These varying considerations have made it impossible for the separation movement to become very strong. Officials at the headquarters of Government have been affected in their attitude towards it, some by long previous residence in India, others by too-long residence in Burma! There have been a few enthusiasts, but separation still remains only a pious hope.

I have spoken just now of the Burman's belief in himself. This must not be taken as in any way depreciatory, but there is another side to it, which the Burman shares with Indians as a whole. I mean the desire not to take responsibility. An outstanding example of this occurred when a former head of the province wished to take counsel with men of experience as to how the political future of the province should be directed. He arranged appointments with various non-officials, officials, and ex-officials, both British and Burman. One of the latter, so the story goes, came to the Secretariat the day before his appointment and interviewed the Chief Secretary, who, after a few courteous preliminaries, asked him the object of his visit. "I have come," he was told, "to ask you what I shall tell H.H. tomorrow."

This story, if it be true, indicates that even a lifetime spent in Government service had not developed that sense of responsibility and of knowing his own mind which would have made his advice really valuable to the head of the province.

Another example of the unwillingness to take responsibility was afforded when the trouble arose over the visits of Europeans to pagodas. A notice prohibiting "foot wearing" was put up at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda,



Rangoon, which was said to be only a revival of a prohibition that always existed but had fallen into disuse. There was trouble over it, and the Local Government made an offer to the trustees of that and every other pagoda in the province that if they came to a decision either to forbid or to permit non-Buddhists to visit there without wearing their shoes, they would be protected in the carrying out of their purpose. All they had to do was to come to a decision and inform the Local Government, when they would be assured of support. I think I am right in saying that out of the trustees of the numerous pagodas in the province, only one came to a decision. The others evaded the issue and left matters as they were. They were unwilling to offend either the Local Government or the enthusiasts among their own people: so they did nothing!

On the other hand, there have been some in recent years who have not hesitated to offer advice on any and every subject to the Government, not always based on extensive knowledge; for it has to be admitted with regret that the Burman, while a great reader and a ready absorber of what seem to him to be attractive ideas in other countries, is not himself a great traveller. Very few of the men prominent in public life have had anything like the experience of other lands at first hand which members of legislative councils in India proper have enjoyed. So far, the political movement in Burma has not thrown up any outstanding figure, for the famous *hpoongyi* U. Ottama has rather stood outside politics in the ordinary acceptance of the term.

Leaving these, perhaps controversial, topics, I would like to dwell upon the pleasant recollections which everybody who has lived in Burma takes away when he leaves. I am unable to make that personal comparison with India and conditions there which would be of interest, but everybody who has come from India to Burma has spoken with enthusiasm of the far pleasanter atmosphere that exists. Some of this is due to the temperament of the people,

whose religion tends to make them cheerful, although philosophers do not know why; some of it is due to the absence of caste; and some of it to the absence of *pardah*. The latter condition certainly makes for less change from what one is accustomed to in Europe and the West than is the case when one visits an Indian city; and here I should say what is, of course, familiar to everybody, that Rangoon itself has ceased to be anything but an Indian city.

The centre of it is occupied almost exclusively by British merchants and Indian traders, and one has to go either to the extreme east or the extreme west to see the Burmans in any numbers. The same is occurring, I believe, though to a less degree, elsewhere, and yet this continual influx of an Indian population, many of whom become prosperous and make their home in Burma, is not regarded as a serious peril by the Burmans themselves; either because they are not conscious that it is a peril, or because they rely on their own capacity, mentioned in the 1921 Census Report, for absorbing much of this immigrant stock. It is well known that there is in Burma a steadily increasing number of Zerbadis, who are the children of immigrant Muhammadan fathers and Burmese mothers. Many of these Zerbadis retain their Muhammadan faith, but adopt Burmese habits of life. There is also the continuing habit of marriages between Chinese men and Burmese women, the sons of these alliances retaining Chinese characteristics, and the daughters the characteristics of their mothers.

In both cases the crossing of race produces an excellent result, notably so in the case of the Sino-Burmese marriages, due, no doubt, to what is well known, that the Burmese woman possesses many admirable characteristics which fit her for the battle of life, so that it is often said that the Burmese woman is the better man of the two. She is industrious, astute, careful, ambitious for her children, and not so hot-tempered as her Burmese mate, whose deficiency in this respect is notorious. Indeed, I think I am



right in saying that, when a comparison is being made of the various provinces of India in the matter of criminality as evidenced by offences against the Penal Code, Burma is judged, not by the number of murders which take place there, but by the number of armed dacoities and similar offences which have been recorded. It is notorious that the number of murders in Burma is far out of proportion, due largely to the hot-headed and short-tempered male, usually very jealous, and unable to restrain his anger when its cause is within reach. Chicago alone, I believe, can offer something like similar figures to those of Burma for murders.

This is one of the racial difficulties which have to be considered in discussing the province. There is also the difficulty, arising out of the religious views of the people, of getting evidence in criminal cases, because the witnesses do not desire to interfere with another person's *karma*. This may be said, in the opinion of certain officials, to make them bad citizens, for what is said in the first information report the witnesses very often do not wish to swear to in court.

The prevalence of crime in Burma has been the subject of many inquiries. Some observers attribute it to a double dose of original sin in the people; others to economic causes and to the somewhat sudden rise, since 1914, in the cost of living; others to political influences, the breakdown of authority, and the world unrest due to the war; others to the effect of Indian agitation; others to the desire to live without working; and others to a light-heartedness that makes crime a kind of sport for the adolescent Burman. No one of these suggested causes is in itself sufficient explanation; possibly all of them may play a part in the creation of the tendency to crime that appears to exist. It is to the blame of the political leaders that they have never seriously attacked this question except to make the Government responsible for it.

Then as to the charge of excessive gambling which

is often made against the Burman, I wonder whether he really is more of a gambler than any other. He has in his blood a tradition of gambling with the elements, just as Finance Members gamble in monsoons; he has, as a cultivator, long spells of enforced inactivity while the seed is growing and after the crop has been marketed; and he has no resource for this spare time. He loves excitement, which racing supplies; but what about the recent outburst of greyhound-racing here? Old officials have been heard to regret the legislation that made boat-racing, one of Burma's traditional amusements, a thing subject to the Deputy Commissioner. We feel that too much of this kind of restriction has been thought of, with the result that crime became akin to sport. Certainly the Burman enjoys the chance of an exciting gamble, and legislation will not easily eliminate this tendency.

The customary law of Burmese Buddhists to which effect is given in the courts contains some interesting points, especially as regards family life. There is no power of making a will, so property is divided among the widow and children according to well-established custom. But a child which has not shown a sense of filial duty by visiting the parents at least once a year (absence at a great distance, of course, not counting) is liable to be disinherited if the other children or the widow can prove the case. The result is, of course, that the estate is divided into fewer portions. The adoption of children is recognized, under strict conditions of proof, by Buddhist law; and it has even happened that an adopted child has been able to get the other children disinherited as being "unfilial." Such a condition of family life could hardly prevail here, but in Burma it is the law, and it has its effect on the family relationships. Demands have often been made that Burmans should have the right to dispose of their property by will, but the feeling in favour of the traditional disposal has prevailed on each occasion that the subject has been investigated.



In coming to conclusions on the subject of this paper, I would recall what happened in a debate of the French Chamber of Deputies. A deputy, criticizing the previous speaker, said: "Monsieur X has generalized too freely. I contend that all generalizations are wrong"—and here he paused, and his Gallic wit saved him, when he added—"Yes, all generalizations are wrong, even this one." Therefore, I am not inclined to generalize unduly about the future of a province whose prosperity is still only in its beginning, whose people, although they have a great deal to learn, especially in public life, are yet genuinely desirous of playing the game, and whose interests have been extremely well served by various generations of officials. It has to be remembered, too, that the Burman differs from the Indian in that he laughs, and laughs readily. He has a keen sense of humour, and can enjoy a joke at his own expense as well as at other people's. But he resents, and justly, any suggestion of being sneered at by superior persons, and "leg-pulling" has to be done in a way that does not offend. Is not the Burman, in fact, very human, like the best of the rest of us?

If I may point out one aspect of public life in which Burman politicians are still notably backward, I would mention finance, upon which, in the long run, all public policy must depend. I would bring particularly to notice the discussion which, for some years past, has been going on about the capitation tax in Lower Burma and *thathameda* in Upper Burma. The abolition of these sources of revenue has been persistently demanded; and when it has been pointed out that if they were abolished (and there may be good reason for their abolition), some other source of revenue would have to be found to supply the deficiency, any suggestion as to what this alternative taxation would be has met with a blank opposition. It has been contended that you can abolish a source of revenue without replacing it by some other means, and the only argument is that economy should be effected, so that the Budget may be balanced.

But it is impossible in what is, after all, a backward pro-



vince to effect economies. What is needed is not economy, but judicious spending on almost every aspect of life : spending on communications, both main-line railways, feeder railways and roads ; spending on education, if agreement can be achieved as to what kind of education should be enforced ; spending on public health, hospitals, dispensaries and the like ; spending on speeding up the course of justice in both criminal and civil cases ; and, above all, spending on that most difficult and intangible subject, the creation of public opinion. It is a commonplace that public opinion does not exist in India, except when the politically minded claim to speak in the name of themselves and all others, and yet we know that the dumb millions of whom the late Mr. Montagu spoke in his Report do not, either in India or Burma, give complete support to the views of the politically minded.

Litigation plays its sad part in making the Burman unprosperous. His desire to fight a case to the bitter end is as great as that of any Indian, and the story is often told that subordinate judges take bribes from both sides, returning the bribe to the loser. What truth there is in this, I do not venture to say. The new generation of university-trained entrants to the subordinate and provincial services should have a higher standard of conduct. The wife of a young official is usually blamed if her husband becomes suspect. She likes fine silks and jewellery, and, like women in all countries and in all ages, will have what she likes.

Buddhism is not only the traditional religion of the people ; it is a social nexus, so that non-Buddhists in a village feel out of it. And more than that—Buddhism is so deeply engrained in the people that it has to be reckoned with in legislative and social doings. If a man believe firmly that the present life is but one of a long chain of lives, his attitude is different from that of one who thinks that the present life is the only one by which he will be judged. The effect of Buddhism cuts both ways, but it must not be



disregarded or treated as a negligible influence on thought and conduct, merely because it is new to a newcomer.

Burma, so far as I have been able to observe it, is in some respects ahead of India, thanks largely to the social conditions to which I have referred. In other respects it is behind India. It asked for different treatment under the Reforms from that to be given to India; this was the very definite demand of a joint deputation that saw Mr. Montagu at the end of 1917. That deputation may not have been representative, but I think it tried to be so. Afterwards, when it was seen what India was going to get, and that the case of Burma would have to be deferred, there arose a demand that Burma should get the same as India had got (which was not what the 1917 deputation had asked), and something more in addition.

Burma has on the whole done better than India; it got a lower franchise; it got the opportunity of admitting women to the Legislative Council, of which it has not yet availed itself; and Forests were made a transferred subject instead of being a reserved subject; so that it will be seen that although the different treatment which the 1917 deputation asked for was not granted (it would, apparently, have been unpopular, thanks to the lapse of years), Burma has no occasion to complain of opportunities for political development. It has had every encouragement from Sir Harcourt Butler, who came to Burma with experience of the workings of reform in the United Provinces. It has had the advantage that the Legislative Council has been presided over by three men of wide experience and generous sympathy—the late Sir Frank McCarthy, Sir Robert Giles and Mr. Oscar de Glanville—so that the new legislative body had the best possible guidance in this respect. And, so far, there has not been that conflict between the agricultural and the industrial interests, between country and town, which I often regard as likely to be the dividing line of Indian political development. The outbreaks of active disloyalty, which occasionally occur in the province, are insignificant by com-



parison with those of India. The agricultural population has yet to make full use of the knowledge and experience which are at its disposal in the Agricultural Department, experience and knowledge which are badly needed if the fullest advantage is to be taken of the extraordinarily fertile soil in which Burma rejoices. The fact that there has been no serious famine or food-shortage for more than a generation is welcome. The cultivator is now getting a far higher price for his crop than before the War, and, but for the bad habit of extravagant standards of life, involving expensive borrowing, should be much better off. The co-operative department has been of great service in improving the lot of the people, but, so far as I can gather, is not yet able to dispense with close supervision from Government. The educational problem, although not entirely settled, is likely to be so before long, although it is clear that there is danger in too low a standard all through from primary school to university.

Here is a story that will indicate what is known as the happy-go-lucky side of the Burmese character. An official arrived in a village one day and wanted to hire a cart or two for his next journey. The man who supplied carts was visited and asked if he could meet the demand. He was seated in front of his house, and without replying to the question he called out to his wife: "How much rice have we?" A voice answered from inside: "Two days." He then turned to the official messenger and said: "No carts today." This is, I believe, not only true but typical of the jungle Burman.

If drink is a danger in any country, it is especially a danger to the Burman, who is excitable enough without it; but prohibition, which some Burmese leaders profess to favour, is impossible in a land where toddy trees are in every village. The effect of drink on crime has been so often discussed that I will do no more than quote an opinion given me by one with long experience of the people, that when a Burman (or two or three) had decided on a



crime, they drank to stiffen their determination; they did not originate the idea of a crime as the result of drink. The effect of losing all their money by gambling at a *pwe* or in a funeral house has led to crime more often than drink.

The British commercial community, which has often been unfairly attacked, has been characterized by enterprise and a spirit of fair dealing, although it is often suggested that the province would develop better were there more scope for small firms and for planters, the latter class never having had the same footing in Burma as they have had in southern and eastern India. The province is regaining the good name which had been affected by unscrupulous company-promoting in the past. The extraordinarily rich silver lead mine at Namtu in the Shan States has rather overshadowed the important tin developments in Tenasserim, and the development of rubber-growing affords great ground for optimism, even at the present prices. But the main prospect of the province depends on its paddy-fields and its forests. The former can be greatly improved; thanks to a long-continued policy of regenerative fellings, the forests are in no danger of extinction.

Political development in Burma has come very rapidly, too rapidly for easy assimilation; in fact, the new wine has threatened to burst the old bottles. Less than twelve years ago there were only two elected members on the small Legislative Council, and these two were elected by British commercial constituencies. Now we have a Council of 103, of whom nearly 80 are elected. And twelve years ago most of the Burmans who were consulted were against extending the elective system. Is it not a good sign that such rapid development as has taken place, a telescoping of centuries of experience into a decade, should have had so little discontent arising from it? We owe this result to the wise guidance of our Chairman, Sir Reginald Craddock, and Sir Harcourt Butler.

I have called this an unofficial view because although I

had the privilege of acting as Director of Publicity under Sir Reginald Craddock and Sir Harcourt Butler—that is, before and after the setting up of reforms in Burma—I fear I never acquired the official habit of mind. Indeed, I always have a feeling of compunction for the pain I caused to an office superintendent who could not understand why I did not at once make myself perfect in the office code and in the right use of the coloured paper tabs. But it is not by codes and colours that one gets to know what people are thinking.

I have put these somewhat disjointed views before you in the hope that you will agree with me that Burma deserves very special consideration, whether it remains a province of India or not, and that there exists in it the hope of a prosperous future. In this the very pleasant and courteous Burmese man and woman will share with the enterprising British community, who have contributed so largely, by the introduction of capital and expert knowledge, to bring the country along to its present position. After all, it is only a little over a century since the British set foot in Burma, seventy-five years since Rangoon and Pegu were occupied, and forty years since Upper Burma came under our control. Enormous strides have been made since then, and with goodwill further development, beyond the possibilities of prophecy, is, I believe, in store for this fair province, the prosperity of which is very dear to everyone who has lived there.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, February 13, 1928, at which Mr. J. J. Nolan read a paper entitled "Burma : An Unofficial View."

Sir Reginald H. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Frank Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Lady Kensington, Lady Tighe, Sir Mark and Lady Hunter, Mrs. Lewis, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. W. A. Hertz, C.S.I., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Mr. T. Emerson, C.I.E., Mrs. Eckstein, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Miss Corfield, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Miss E. Verstone, Mr. San Shwa Bu, Mr. Arthur Davies, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mrs. Watson, the Misses Playfair, Mr. A. T. Penman, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Martley, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Rev. O. Younghusband, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. Khin Mg. Pyu, Miss Stewart, Mrs. Herron, Mr. John Reddie, Miss Campbell, Mrs. O'Connor, Mr. L. Glazer, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : I have much pleasure in introducing the lecturer, Mr. James Nolan, who is going to read to us a paper on "Burma : An Unofficial View." When I first went out to Rangoon, Mr. Nolan was Editor of the *Rangoon Times*. When the term of his agreement with that newspaper finished, the time happened to synchronize with the period in which there was great pressure from all sides, both in India and Burma, that the Government should take a greater share in publicity. Fortunately we found in Mr. Nolan a person ready to hand to take up the superintendence of that work. He brought to us all the qualifications and experience of a journalist. Of course, journalists differ from everybody else, but there are certain kinds of work for which the journalist is the man you want, and Mr. Nolan was one of them. In addition to being Director of Publicity, he also edited a Government paper called *Burma's Progress*, which we started at the same time. As you know, the Government is often at a great disadvantage in India and Burma, having no suitable method of explaining its policy except by resolutions in the *Government Gazette*, which as you also know are dull affairs. They can seldom do more than put forward the bare statements of a case, and cannot properly place the view of Government and its reasons before the public in the same way as can be done by a newspaper. I cannot tell you personally what happened



to this newspaper after I left Burma, but with the new reforms the money necessary for it was no longer voted, and the newspaper came to an end. Mr. Nolan remained on for some time as Director of Publicity.

Now Mr. Nolan is a man who has a simple honesty, and it was very hard luck upon him that when his telegraphic address "Publicity" was fixed upon, ribald persons should have turned that word "Publicity" into "Duplicity." It was really a great calumny on Mr. Nolan. (Hear, hear.) However, he took it all in an excellent spirit. Although as "Duplicity" he was known, I will not introduce him in that character, but as a journalist who is going to tell us about what he observed during ten years in Burma. (Applause.)

The Lecturer then read his paper.

Sir FRANK GATES, in opening the discussion, said that it was over fifteen years since he left Burma, and he felt that he must make an effort to get up to London to hear an account of what had been happening there since he left. He had enjoyed Mr. Nolan's address very much, and he was glad to hear about the many pleasant aspects of Burma which had struck Mr. Nolan during his stay there. What had struck Sir F. Gates was that in spite of the considerable changes which had taken place politically and administratively, the burning questions in Burma seemed to be much the same as they were fifteen years ago: the prevalence of crime, the unfairness of financial relations with India, and, dimly, the hope of separation from India. Those were the matters which used to be agitated in his time.

As to the question of financial relations, he had gone into that at some considerable length, and with as much depth as he could manage. He never had much confidence that Burma would obtain what he considered was fair treatment from the Central Government. The fact was that Burma was unlucky. Formerly all the provinces used to scramble for the money, and naturally those provinces which were closest to the Viceroy got their hands in the bag more often and took a bigger handful. Then came the Provincial Settlement sometime in the 'seventies, and the Settlement with the provinces was reasonably fair; but the older provinces like Bengal, and what is now the United Provinces, already had a great part of the equipment which they needed, whereas Burma had not, so that Burma started badly, and was never given such exceptional and preferential treatment as was needed to make up for the bad start. If Burma had not received fair treatment in the past when the matter was considered in the clear light of administration, it was not likely to get fair treatment now when the question was coloured by politics. There was scarcely need for him to say that politically the provinces on the Indian Peninsula exerted a far greater political influence at the headquarters of the Central Government than Burma could ever hope to do. He did not consider that Burma had a claim to all the balance of the money which was raised over that which was spent in the country. There were many other legitimate claims upon the money of Burma. Burma had to meet its share of the expenses of the Central Government, of the Army, of the Foreign Office, the Post Office, and other Central departments; also a share of the remittances to



England for the pensions and leave allowances of past and present servants. But as he saw the facts, he could not think that Burma had a fair share.

He had been interested to hear what Mr. Nolan said about the unwillingness of Burmans to take responsibility. For his own part he would hardly have said it in the same words. He would have thought—speaking of the Burman officials as he used to know them—that many of them were ready to take responsibility, and were good at taking it in many cases; but he did not think that the unofficial Burman was willing to be mixed up with administration, whether of justice or of any other sort. The Burmans had a proverb something similar to our proverb about the rich man, the camel, and the needle's eye. The Burman proverb ran on the lines that it was unlikely that an official would be born again in a higher position in the scale of creation than he at present occupied. (Laughter.) The Burman considered that the opportunities for wrongdoing by an official were immense and the possibilities of error constant, and that no amount of good faith and good intention could make up for convicting an innocent man. Therefore, they were unwilling to take part as jurors or assessors in criminal trials. The official was paid for it; he ran the risk of convicting an innocent man, but after all he had a certain amount of the good things of this life. Why should he expect the non-official to come in and take part of the responsibility? He must confess he had a certain amount of sympathy for that view. Up to the time when he left Burma the sessions trials in Upper Burma were carried on without the aid of assessors.

There was one other matter he would like to deal with; that was the prevalence of crime. In 1884, when he first went to Burma, there had been the usual to-do with regard to the prevalence of crime. There had been a special Committee of Inquiry with long Government resolutions, and everybody gave his opinion on the subject. All the old people thought that it was due to the decay of respect for age, and all the young people, as far as their views could be ascertained (which was not so easy as to obtain the views of the old), thought that it was because pleasure was made too difficult. (Laughter.) Various measures were taken, and there was an improvement. Then came the annexation, and that was an opportunity for all the more or less criminally disposed people. When he was in charge of a subdivision in Lower Burma in the early part of 1886 there was for a period of about six months nearly one dacoity per day. It was hopeless trying to catch all the criminals, and things were really allowed to slide for a time. Gradually the situation was got in hand again. If the moderate amount of new wine which had been put into old bottles at that time was supposed to unsettle the Burman, how much greater must the disturbance be at present, when the political reforms had compressed into a decade changes which might have occupied two centuries, as Mr. Nolan had pointed out. Whether that was so or not he had come there that day to find out, and he hoped there might be some speaker who could tell him. He felt sure that those who had listened to the paper would have acquired from it a very clear-sighted view, although, as the author no doubt recognized, not a deep view, of Burma.



The lecturer had seized the outstanding characteristics of the Burmese people, and he had endeavoured to persuade them what he felt himself—namely, that they were an attractive and lovable race. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Sir MARK HUNTER said that as one who had served mostly in India and came to Burma late, he would like to endorse what Mr. Nolan had said about the charm of the country and the people of Burma. When he first went to Burma, he was surprised at the cordial and affectionate relations existing between the Burmese and the Europeans both officially and non-officially, but he soon ceased to wonder, because undoubtedly the Burman's sense of humour, his pleasant manner, and his friendly character, and also the fact that there was no caste in Burma, were responsible for it. The Burmese were able to get on astonishingly well with people from this country. He looked back on his four and a half years in Burma as the happiest time of his life. He liked the Burmese very much, and was only sorry that by the politically-minded his love was not always returned. If they had any passion for him it was not one of the most tender affection. With regard to educational troubles, he had had some experience. A leader of the politically-minded in Burma who was presiding at a mass meeting to denounce the wicked Government, wrote to him informing him that they were going to hold a meeting at which a resolution was to be moved for a vote of censure on himself and demanding his deportation, but they asked if he would supply the movers of the resolution with the papers in his office which would enable them to substantiate their charges. (Laughter.) He gave that as an instance of the mentality of some of them.

Then there was the temperament of those not politically-minded, but for whose sakes presumably Burma was being made safe for democracy. All over Burma the politically-minded were telling the people what a terrible state of affairs was going on. This is how they were understood: Two dragons, it was believed, had got loose somehow—fearful monsters who were scouring the country seeking whom they might devour. One of the dragons was named Sir Reginald Craddock, and the name of the other dragon was Mark Hunter. To pass into mythology during one's lifetime was somewhat of a distinction. It was one of Sir Reginald Craddock's distinctions, which he certainly had not merited. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. B. WARD PERKINS said he had reversed the order of the lecturer. He had started as an official. As a non-official he had an opportunity two years ago to revisit Burma, and go on from there to Malaya and Siam. There was one thing that struck him on that trip, and on which he would have liked to hear the lecturer's opinion, and that was the future of the one railway line which would open communication outside Burma, which was likely to come into being in the near future; it was true we were not going to get a railway to India, but we were going to get a railway to Singapore, and that very soon. This was going to link up the province with Malaya and Siam, and later on with China. To his mind the significant thing about it was that at the present moment Burma looked



towards India, but Burma was not India, and had nothing to do with India except by an accident of recent history. Burma was really very much more akin to China, and Burma was becoming very much more closely connected with China. The opening of the railway down to Singapore was going to be the most significant matter for the province in the next few years.

Another thing which he was very struck with on his travels was that people in Malaya said: "How do we compare with Burma?" He was afraid he had made himself somewhat unpopular there when he said: "You are not in it with Burma; potentially." That was perfectly true. Malaya was a go-ahead country, but it was not in it with Burma in its possibilities. Siam had developed in a way that Burma should have developed and would probably develop when she became separated from India.

He desired to cross swords with the lecturer on one subject—that was with regard to the Burmese language. He wondered, *e.g.*, how many words it would take to give the full official British title to His Majesty the King; it would take a good many more than fourteen words. The Burmese language was very expressive, and had words in it which had shades of meaning one could not translate; shades of meaning which could only perhaps be brought out by an Oriental, and yet which could be of use to Western thought. To his mind the way in which Burma would be useful would be this: In ten, fifteen, or twenty years' time the centre of gravity of the world would be shifted a little bit nearer to China and the Pacific; Burma being, so to speak, half-way between Europe and China, in a good many ways would be a very useful bridge for the Westerner on which to meet the Mongol.

Mr. SAN SHWE BU said that he had not much to say about the paper, because it raised too many points with which he was not quite in agreement, but there was one thing he desired to say as regards the inheritance of Burmese Buddhists. The lecturer had said that a Burmese Buddhist child which showed no love for its parents, or did not visit the parents, would be disinherited. Such was not the case. According to Burmese Buddhist law, no child could be disinherited on any account and he must receive his legitimate share. The only exception was in the case of adopted children. When a child was adopted, if it could be substantially shown that he had disregarded his adoptive father, then he could be, on proof, disinherited.

The increase of crime in the province was rather a big subject to talk about, but there was one aspect of it he would like to mention. In his travels in Burma, especially in the remoter areas from the district headquarters, he had often spoken to the villagers about crime—of course, unofficially—and old men had told him this: "We see So-and-so do some wrong or commit some crime. A few days after the police people come around to our village and arrest the man, and take him away. He disappears for about six months or a year. When he left us he was very thin and hungry, but when he returns after his absence, he comes back physically a fitter and better man, and he subsequently develops into the village bully; he is deified more or less." (Applause.)



Mr. SILBERRAD said that his knowledge of Burma was mainly based on an extremely pleasant piece of work he had to perform some sixteen or seventeen years ago as a member of the Burma Allowances Committee, which was appointed to compare the amenities of life and expenses of living in Burma with those in India, and the consequent advisability or not of continuing the extra allowances paid to many Government servants in Burma. In this connection he visited almost half the districts in Burma, and although he concluded that many of the amenities of life available in India were lacking or obtainable with greater difficulty in Burma, he placed high among compensating factors the character of the Burman, and the easier and pleasanter social relations between him and the European. As regards expense of living, there was no doubt that this was much greater in Burma than in India, and as a result of the Committee's inquiries the allowances were left untouched.

He added another story illustrative of the casualness of the Burman: On one occasion a deputy Inspector-General of Police paid an unexpected visit to a country police station, and was surprised to find a total absence of any police. There were several prisoners in the lock-up, and in place of a constable on guard a nondescript individual obviously not belonging to the police force. Inquiry showed that a *pwè* (theatrical entertainment) was in progress in the neighbouring village, and that the whole staff had gone to see it. The sub-inspector, thinking it hard to prevent any of his subordinates from seeing the *pwè*, had replaced the constable on guard over the prisoners by one of their number released for this purpose!

He added that he had thoroughly enjoyed all his time in Burma, both on this and on another occasion later.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will agree with me that Mr. Nolan has given us a very interesting lecture—(Hear, hear)—and that he has travelled over an enormous amount of ground. He has, of course, dealt very lightly with controversial matters, and I think rightly so, because in this Association we are not anxious to arouse any acute controversy. We desire to hear what various people can tell us about all that interests India and Burma, which is included for the present in British India.

I could, of course, with my five years' experience in Burma, say a good deal on many of these subjects to which Mr. Nolan has referred. There are one or two matters upon which I might be allowed to touch; for instance, there is the question of finances. I have never been disposed to accuse the Government of India of deliberately starving the finances of Burma. I do not think they ever set out to do that. But the fact is that we could never get Finance Ministers in the Government of India to realize how different the conditions were in Burma from those prevailing in India.

In the first place, they never could understand that Burma had not been able to make up leeway to the point to which so many other provinces had at that time reached. In the second place, they appeared to be in complete and blissful ignorance of the enormously greater cost in carrying out public improvements in Burma than in India. For instance, a mile of metalled road in the Delta would probably cost ten or fifteen times as much as a mile would cost in India, where stone and road-metal are ready to hand.



Again, salaries in Burma are on a much higher scale. You could with difficulty get Burmans to take subordinate positions in the Post Office, or the Accounts Offices. They did not like that kind of work. If you got Indians, as you had to do in the first place after the annexation, naturally they wanted much higher pay than they would have required in their own country. The Government of India were disposed to say: "You have thirty lakhs for some head or other, and there is a province in India which has double the population and has only thirty-five lakhs; therefore you are much better off, and we cannot give you another penny."

It was very difficult to get the facts into the heads of the Government of India, and now and again when Members went to Rangoon, they did not seem to be able to learn from their visit what they might have learned. However, all that has more or less passed, in the sense that the present arrangements, and distribution of revenue between the Central and provincial Governments, are on a scale which applies to all provinces alike. But the fact remains that Burma, if you take it per head of its population, is still contributing more to the Central revenues per head than the whole of the rest of India per head. All these matters were investigated during my time. Customs duties per head were much greater. On the other hand, the amount of Central revenue spent in Burma directly is necessarily much less because the military garrison is very small and has been reduced. It is certain, however, that India derives more net revenue per head from Burma than she would from any other single province in India. In spite of all that has been done, the scope for further development is enormous. There are wooden buildings put up after the annexation, and now in a state of decay and disrepair, and the erection of masonry buildings in their place is naturally a most expensive matter. It is the same way with roads and many other things which are very costly. At all events, as the lecturer has said, there has been and continues to be a rapid advance in all these matters.

As regards the Indo-Burma railway connection, I agree with what he said. There is nothing very much to be gained by it at present. I do not believe there are many people in India who are particularly anxious to take a trip to the Hukong Valley, even although they are now not likely to become human sacrifices. It is quite certain that, if they wanted to visit Rangoon from India, and they could do it in fifty hours in the British India steamer, they would not want to travel four or five days to the back of beyond of Assam, to the back of beyond of Burma, and then toil down to Rangoon. With regard to the other line which is to connect Chittagong with Arakan, that has many more attractive features; but then, again, you have to get to Chittagong before you can start on your journey. You have a country to cross which is intersected with creeks and arms of the sea, and there are all sorts of difficulties, and when you get to Arakan and Akyab, you are still not in real Burma. There is a pass called the Sawbwa's Pass. Several people have been looking for that pass, and they have never been able to find it. If they did, I fancy it would be so expensive that it would be years before any communication could be expected between Arakan and Burma proper.



Mr. Perkins said that there was distinct scope for communication between Mergui and the Siam frontier. That is a line which does loom up more in the public eye at present. Mr. Perkins also raised the issue that the Burmese, being a Mongolian race, should lean more towards China and Siam than she does towards India. That is a very big question, and I am certainly not going to dabble into that matter today. But I will say that there is no future for Burma at all as a province of a self-governing India. (Hear, hear.) If India should ever become a self-governing Dominion, then Burma will certainly have to separate from her, because the position would be such that Burma would have no real voice in the management of her affairs. Anybody who enters the Legislative Assembly (or the Legislative Council, as it used to be) could see at once there is no particular sympathy towards Burma. It was an entirely different atmosphere, and you could not get any interest taken in the special affairs of Burma. There was nobody there who understood them at all, and Burma would not have a chance. You would get 10,000,000 Burmese Buddhists in Burma, and you would get 310,000,000 people in India. It is quite impossible that the former could form a part of the latter. If the whole of India was really being governed by Indians, then it would be entirely impossible for Burma, as an entirely different race, to remain within that particular political entity. Nor could an independent Burma stand by herself. Supposing Great Britain were to abandon her task, Burma would be in immense danger from her neighbours on both sides. She would be a small race of 13,000,000 people, liable to invasion, and not only liable to invasion, but to peaceful penetration, which is perhaps even more dangerous to her. Her safety would be threatened by 300,000,000 people on the west, and between 300,000,000 and 400,000,000 people on the east, and as a race she would suffer great danger of extinction if she were left solitary. That this did not happen before was partly due to her natural boundaries. She was never entered from the sea, and there were greater difficulties in those days of communication either in the direction of India or in the direction of China. But now an isolated position like that could not be maintained. Therefore, as it seems to me, Burma has a very particular bond with, and reason for remaining in, the British Empire ; indeed, a stronger reason than India.

Sir Frank Gates has discussed the question of crime in Burma. That question has always been a recurring one. Mr. Nolan has rapidly surveyed to us all the causes which are supposed to be at the bottom of this prevalence of crime. I quite agree with what Mr. Nolan says—namely, that it would be absurd to suppose that any one of these causes would account for it. But all of these causes which he has mentioned have had an influence in that direction. Burma is a country in which the tendencies towards crime of that kind, and the causes for the tendency in that direction, seem to be more numerous than in certain other countries that one might mention, and when you get a combination of causes of that sort, it is not surprising that you get a good deal of crime. But apart from all that, I think if anybody reads the history of Burma (and I have studied it a little more only the other day) it is not surprising if in that race there are



inborn instincts of adventure, because the history of Burma is a most remarkable one of continuous unrest, expeditions, inroads, raids, invasions, and so forth. The "Pax Britannica" has produced an immense change in the outward surroundings without producing a similar change in all those instincts, hereditary and historical, which have come down to her from at least ten centuries. The earliest authentic history of Burma began about the time of William the Conqueror. Ever since then, one might say that raids and counter-raids, and expeditions and so forth, were the lot of the Burman. It seems to me a most remarkable fact that, after centuries of these troubles and oppressions and raids and depredations, the Burmese people should have emerged from them as the most cheerful and the most happy people one has ever been able to encounter. But I do think that they are fond of gambling, as Mr. Nolan has said, and I would say that while individuals among the English or the Indians or any other race gamble because they happen to be fond of gambling and were born gamblers, so the Burman gambles because he was born a Burman, and that is the only reason I can find for it. It makes them a very cheerful and sporting people, and I can fully echo all that Mr. Nolan has said on that point. Indeed, anybody who has been in Burma for any time, long or short, will always take the keenest interest in the welfare of the country and of its people.

Mr. NOLAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—First of all, I would like to thank Sir Reginald Craddock for his very kind words, and, secondly, I would like to explain one or two points which have arisen during the discussion. With regard to the question of disinheritance raised by Mr. San Shwe Bu, I would like to say that my authority for that statement was the late U Ray Oung, a lawyer who was, I believe, very well acquainted with Buddhist law. If I have misinterpreted what he told me, I apologize. Then Mr. Perkins said that Burma in the future would look more to China than to India. In that regard I should like to point out that at one time China did exercise a certain amount of authority over Burma. Indeed, there are maps which show Burma as part of the Chinese Empire. And further, there are one or two schools for Chinese boys and girls in Rangoon, which do not come under the control of the Director of Public Instruction. They are inspected at regular intervals by people who come from Peking. Mr. Perkins also pointed out that Burmese is an extraordinarily expressive language. It is. For example, the word spelt "kyoung" or "kyaung" can mean either a cat, a road, a monastery, or the bed of a river, according to the way in which the vowels are stressed.

Sir Reginald Craddock pointed out how difficult it was to get India to understand the Burmese point of view. When Sir Reginald came to Burma as Lieutenant-Governor he took a bit of persuading, but it is to his credit that within a year, thanks to the force of the argument, Burma had converted Sir Reginald from being a thorough Simla bureaucrat into an enthusiastic pro-Burman! Then with regard to the question of the amenities of Burma, India is extraordinarily ignorant about it. I remember being shown a telegram which was received by a hotel-keeper,

asking whether it was necessary for anybody going to Rangoon to bring their bedding with them. (Laughter.)

I feel I should have to agree at once with what Sir Frank Gates said. I did not pretend to go very deep, and I merely took the outstanding points on each matter, and put them before you in some hope that my efforts would succeed. There is one thing he did not tell you with regard to Government officials, and that is that amongst the Burmans there are considered to be five plagues, and the third of the five plagues is the Government official! There is a point of view of the Burmans which is not illogical—their so-called ingratitude for the work of the Government in providing roads, hospitals, water supplies, and the like. The Buddhist considers that he is going to progress through life "gaining merit" by doing good things. The Burmans say: "You come here from the West with your belief that you ought to do these things. By what you have done for us, you English people are gaining merit, while we are merely the objects upon which you exercise yourselves; so that, instead of asking us to be grateful to you, it is you who should be grateful to us for affording you the opportunity of 'gaining merit.'" That may seem ridiculous at first, but it is not; it is perfectly sound logic from the point of view of Burmese Buddhists.

I thank Sir Reginald Craddock for the very pleasant way in which he has acted as Chairman.

On the motion of General Sir EDMUND BARROW, votes of thanks were passed to the lecturer and the Chairman.



## AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN,

K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

I PROPOSE this afternoon to talk on the general age-long connection that has existed between Afghanistan and India.

We today in India are apt to look at the great frowning frontier hills of the Khaiber and the Suleiman Mountains, and behind them the white wall of the Sufed Koh, and look upon the country as something quite apart from the great plains of India, which so many of us know so well. That, of course, is partly the result of the disastrous ending to our policy of 1838-1841, which for the time being cut off Europeans from going freely into Afghanistan, though, curiously enough, the whole of India was open to every Afghan who cared to come down and behave himself. But, as a matter of fact, through the ages Afghanistan and even Central Asia have been as open to come and go as India itself, and to get our perspective right we must look right back into ancient times.

We have perhaps forgotten that in the days of the old Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian Empires travel and law and order were very highly organized, and that you went as safely down the Silk Way or Royal Way through the Caspian Gates to Hammadan, and down through the Zagros Gates into Mesopotamia, and away into Anatolia. There were just the same *thanadars* and the same rest-houses *en route* as we know in India. Babylon drew bills on Ecbatana and on Balkh, the same as trading-houses do today ; and it was not till Persia and the surrounding countries were destroyed and ruined by the ruthless waves of Turks, Tartars, and Mongols flowing out of North-Eastern Asia that the old civilization was destroyed.

When Alexander came into Central Asia and Afghanistan, he came to a country in which Greeks had long been

trading and probably serving in the civil services, and he came up a civilized way ; and when he came to Balkh and to Kabul he found there an Aryan civilization, and the same Aryan people that we find in India today. Being Aryan himself—and Eastern Aryans and Western Aryans must have been much more akin 2,300 years ago than now—he found himself bringing a better system and a better law among a comparatively sympathetic race. I imagine that for a great many of his troops, and certainly those of the Greco-Bactrians who ruled in Northern India for several centuries, it was merely a case of young Western Aryans leading Eastern Aryans, very much, if I may say so, in the same way as British Aryans have slowly rebuilt Aryan India on the ruins of a Turkish Empire of Delhi ; and I should rather like to put this thought before our Aryan friends today—that they are much more likely to be led and helped to a still further development by the Aryan British than by harking back to a thousand years of Turkish dominion and of Afghan control.

#### AFGHANISTAN IN THE TIMES OF ALEXANDER

Now the people of Afghanistan, when Alexander of Macedon came, must have been the ordinary Aryans as we know them today. You must remember that some of the biggest Buddhist remains in India are at Bamian, on the Oxus side of the Hindu Kush, and there are innumerable ruined Buddhist monasteries still to be explored. Ariana was just then slipping back perhaps from Buddhism to Brahmanism, and Northern India was just a mixture of Aryans, with a small directing clique of Greeks and a small hammer-head of European-recruited or European-descended Macedonian soldiery.

I make no doubt—and some of the highest authorities, I think, support me—that many of our so-called Pathan and Afghan tribes are Aryans—Afridis, Wazirs, Orakzais, and many more, are nothing more than hill Rajputs con-



verted to Islam, and hardened by generations of the hard climate of the frontier. Some of you, no doubt, know the real Dogra, the hill Dogra—not the gentleman who lives low on the fringe of the plains—red-haired, blue-eyed, pink-cheeked. Put him into a Pathan puggaree and you have a Jowaki Afridi.

Now, some time before the rise of Islam came a Semitic tribe to the vicinity of Kandahar and Kabul, who called themselves Afghans, claiming descent from one Afghana, a reputed son of Saul; and, as you know, the Afghans to this day style themselves Ben i Israel. But though, no doubt, they conquered the rest of the Aryan tribes of Afghanistan, who must gradually have been converted to Islam, they themselves did not overrun the whole country, and it was not much earlier than this that the Tartar tribes were beginning to infiltrate into the valley of the Oxus.

The point that I would deduce from this outline is that the Afghanistan of Alexander's time was merely part of Ariana, and that the same peoples largely inhabit the same part of the world to this day under a different name, under a different guise. The Pathan genealogy of the Pakhtunwali, which the Afghan heralds have made out for all the Pathan tribes, is largely bogus. I know the Ghilzai believes in a Turkish descent, but no one could call him akin to a Tartar race, and I imagine myself that he is either Aryan or Jat. In short, Afghanistan and the North-West of India were and are, except for their Tartars, largely of the same people as Northern India.

#### THE MUHAMMADAN INVASIONS OF INDIA

Before the Muhammadan invasions of India you constantly hear of Hindu and Rajput expeditions up into Kandahar and Ghor, and then, when Mahmud of Ghuzni inaugurated the Muhammadan invasions of India from the North-West, he and his successors brought down with him all the leaders of horse—Turks, Persians, Afghans, Pathans—who cared to

carve out a new fortune for themselves ; and from this time onwards we see that, in one form or another, Northern India was an appanage of Kabul or Kandahar or Ghuzni, or in due course those provinces were an appanage of Delhi. Then for several hundred years there were both a Tartar colonization and an Afghan colonization of India.

With two short exceptions, the dynasties of Delhi were Turkish, but Afghan (and in the word Afghan I now count Pathan) nobles and soldiers surrounded the Delhi throne. Not only that. They had penetrated far south, carving out for themselves separate independent Muslim kingdoms, far down into the Deccan and into Bengal, while the province of Rohilkund, lying between Delhi and the Himalaya, was almost entirely a country of Afghan landowners and colonists, the word Rohilla meaning, as you know, "men from the hills."

When Babar, the Jagatai Turk, misnamed the Mogul, conquered India, he was in the first place King of Kabul, and Kabul was generally an outlying province of the Mogul Empire. The point to be realised here is that, right through India, princes, nobles, landowners, and cultivators in many parts of the world are of Afghan origin ; and not only are they of Afghan origin, but they keep some touch with the old memories up till, perhaps, 100 years ago. Just as today Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in Canada send for their relatives from Scotland, so Afghans settled in India sent for their wild cousins to join them. Not long ago I was chatting with the men of the Nizam's Artillery in the old fortress of Daulatabad, and I found all the men were Pathan in origin, and knew exactly what tribe of Pathan they belonged to.

#### THE RISE OF MODERN AFGHANISTAN

Now, Afghanistan as we know it today practically dates from the time of Nadir Shah, the Persian Turk, who, coming up from Persia, first conquered the somewhat



derelict Mogul provinces of Afghanistan, and then, as you will remember, in 1737 invaded India, received the submission of the feeble Mogul Emperor, and left him on his throne, having, after an unfortunate incident, massacred half Delhi, and relieved Northern India of the peacock throne and any spare millions he could lay hands on.

But, with the untimely death of Nadir Shah shortly afterwards, the Afghan provinces went derelict again, and fell into the hands of one of his generals, Ahmed Shah, a true Afghan descendant of the mythical Afghana, who then founded the Durani Empire, having assumed that name for the Afghan people; but this Durani Empire, or this first Afghanistan independent of Delhi, came down to the Sutlej. It included Sind, Multan, Peshawur, Kashmir, and the great Mogul fortress and city of Lahore, and to a great extent this Durani Emperor was assuming the rôle of the Protector of Islam.

#### THE AFGHANS AND THE MAHRATAS

Not many years later, when the Mahrata policy of dominating and even assuming the place of the Mogul first arose, Ahmed Shah was summoned to assist Islam in India, and he marched down to fight the last battle of Paniput, which was fought against the Mahratas in 1761, and "by the black mango tree," as the historians relate. It resulted in that crushing defeat of the Hindu forces of which the wail went through India like the wail after the battle of Flodden, by means of a banker's cryptogram through the bankers' channel: "Three pearls of great price have been destroyed, sixteen gold mohurs have been lost, and the total of the silver and the copper cannot be cast up."

After restoring the Muslim predominance at Delhi, Ahmed Shah withdrew. Thirty years later Tippoo appealed to Timur Shah, son of Ahmed Shah, to come and help him once again, as the champion of Islam, against the British. That is the old story of the eighteenth century, of Afghanis-

tan the Protector of Islam in India, and it is a story that is worth remembering.

Now, in 1799 Afghanistan still nominally reached the Sutlej, and in that year young Ranjit Singh tore Lahore from them and laid the foundations of the Sikh kingdom he was consolidating. But in 1803, you will remember, the British under Lord Lake rescued the blind Mogul Emperor from the Mahratas once again, administered the provinces around the north of Delhi, and practically came in touch for the first time with the Afghan problem; though at that time the Sikhs were holding Lahore, nominally as a vassal of Kabul.

#### THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH POLICY

This brings us to the origin of the British policy towards Afghanistan, which has never changed, has never relaxed, and has always been straightforward and right in its conception. The Governor-General, then the Marquis Wellesley, and his advisers, were much perturbed at the persistent attempts of Napoleon and Tsar to stir up Central Asia against us, and to prepare for the invasion of India, a much simpler affair than we are apt to think it at that time; so the British policy was for a strong Sikh power lying between British India and Afghanistan, and also for a cessation of the constant wars going on between the Sikhs and the Afghans. The East India Company was a trading company; the British are a trading people. What we wanted was to trade straight up the Indus, and straight into Afghanistan and Central Asia, free, protected, and unrestricted.

During the earlier years of the nineteenth century the Sikhs were slowly breaking pieces off the empire of Ahmed Shah. Multan was taken in 1819, Kashmir in 1820, Peshawur in 1837. Sind only remained a vassal of Afghanistan in name, but constant Afghan invasions of the Punjab to recover their lost provinces and internecine wars were in progress. The successors of Ahmed Shah had not his iron



hand. Afghanistan itself was torn with dissensions. The Shah, Zeman Shah, had been blinded; a younger brother, Shah Shuja, held the throne, but had been driven out and been a refugee with Ranjit Singh (who took the Koh-i-nor from him). More than once he had raised troops in the Punjab, had reinvaded India, and had been expelled.

Under such conditions satisfactory trading in the Punjab, or in Afghanistan, or even up the Indus, was problematical. In 1811 Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone had taken a successful embassy to Peshawur, where he had seen the Shah, and discussed anti-French and anti-Russian measures, and had reported on the capacities of the country for trading. Captain Alexander Burnes in the thirties had been travelling also in Afghanistan and Central Asia. By this time Shah Shuja had again been driven from his throne and was a refugee at Ludhiana. Dost Mohamed, of the great Barakzai clan, had been placed on the throne by his supporters, and had been receiving a Russian embassy, for by this time the absorption of the Central Asia Khanates by Russia was commencing.

The clever gentlemen in the Secretariat of the Government of India had hit on a great plan to secure peace in Afghanistan, peace with the Punjab, and generally institute a friendly and independent Afghanistan between Russia and India. They conceived the plan of a treaty between the British, the Sikhs, and Shah Shuja, to restore him the throne of his fathers, helping him once again to raise troops in India, but this time with British officers to lead them. A British force was to put him back on his throne and then leave him there with his own troops. It was undoubtedly a magnificent conception. The only thing necessary was to be sure that the premises were correct—namely, that the Shah was of sufficient character and had sufficient supporters to stay on the throne without further assistance once we had put him there.

Now, I feel very strongly that the Victorian historian has not done justice to the British in this matter. It was a



Victorian practice to penalize very severely non-success that cost a great deal of money, but from what I have said, I think I may assert that, with perfect right, a British-led India as heirs-at-law to the Mogul, to whom Kabul had from time immemorial belonged, and who had been mercilessly invaded, could enter Afghanistan when and where it pleased ; and certainly it was not for the Afghans to talk of an injustice, or to complain. The only question was that of wisdom. (There is no time this afternoon to enter into the great controversies of whether the officers who were in India, who were working out a policy and persuading the Indian Government and the Cabinet and Board of Directors in England, were hypnotized, or deliberately pursued the policy after a note of alarm had been sounded.) The fact remains that, with no difficulty except our own inefficient military transport, the Shah was restored to the throne of his fathers with practically no fighting except the storming of Ghuzni, and a British force, with officers' and soldiers' families and pianos, remained in Kabul for a long period.

The greatest friendship and intimacy existed between the British and the Afghans. Officers, alone and in pairs, rode wherever they liked, and all apparently was peace. The Dost Mohamed himself eventually surrendered to the British and became a guest in India. Apparently our policy of establishing a strong and friendly Afghanistan was going to mature. Then came the inherent rottenness of the situation. It gradually became apparent that not only were the Afghans not going to have the Shah back at any price, but that he was not man enough to stay of his own prestige and exertions where we had put him. Bribes in the form of heavy allowances were required, and the British troops found themselves in the false position of having to remain to keep on the throne a hated and incompetent ruler.

Even then, however, the situation could to some extent have been retrieved had it not been for the extraordinary military incompetency of the aged gout-ridden General and some of the senior officers at Kabul, which resulted, added



to the effects of General January and General February, in destroying the Kabul force. Then you will remember how Generals Pollock from Peshawur and Nott from Kandahar advanced to Kabul, rescued the prisoners, found that Shah Shuja had been murdered, tried to place his son on the throne and then withdrew, and the Dost, universally acclaimed ruler, was allowed by us to return.

In fact, we had to return to the *status quo ante*, with the Dost still on the throne of Kabul, but we with millions of sterling spent, with thousands of lives lost, and with our prestige in India very severely jarred; yet at the same time confident that, properly led, not only the British soldier, but even the Bengal sepoy of Hindustan, in his shako and his read coatee, was an absolute match even on the hillside for the Afghan soldier and the Afghan tribesman.

Nevertheless the result of our failure was that we did have a strong, independent, friendly Afghanistan. The Dost, whom we had not treated badly, remained more than loyal to his engagements, resisted the temptations the Mutiny gave to harass or recover his mourned Peshawur. Until his death in 1863, Afghanistan was what we wanted; while during the Mutiny a military mission at Kandahar watched the threat which Persia had been making, and to relieve which we had invaded Persia just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. The only lapse on the part of Afghanistan was when Akbar Khan and 5,000 Afghan horse came down to the Chenab to fight with the Sikhs in the second Sikh War. They were hustled and scuttled back through the Khaiber by Sir John Gilbert for their pains.

#### AFGHANISTAN IN RECENT TIMES

The death of the Dost once again, after the manner of the East, produced disturbed times, for there was no strong ruler to take his place. Finally, in 1878, the necessity for a strong and friendly Afghanistan, and for generally preventing an undue extension of Russian influence, once more



took us into Afghanistan. The history and the vicissitudes of the two campaigns of 1878-1880, with the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Agent whom we had established at Kabul, is too familiar for me to dwell on. Indeed, there are some of us here today who took part in those stirring events, but, whether we were right or whether we were wrong in going to Afghanistan, it was in pursuance of the same policy : a strong, friendly, independent Afghanistan on this side of the Oxus.

The result of our policy was eventually the placing of the nonchalant Abdur Rahman on the throne, the throne which he held so well in many ways for so many years. Russia closed on his frontiers, and many difficult incidents occurred, whilst the Government of India spent millions of money in preparing to defend Afghanistan against Russia. When Abdur Rahman died, his son Habibullah carried on the same policy with great loyalty during the difficult days of the Great War. During these years various missions to Kabul, or visits of the Amir to India, cleared up from time to time many difficult questions that arose, concerning which there are people here far more competent to speak than I am ; but the Great War saw Afghanistan loyal and resisting the Turkish and German intrigues.

In 1919, as you know, for reasons which are not yet even historic, the young King Amanullah, who arrives in this country tomorrow, launched his army into British territory, just after the rising in the Punjab. The best troops were all far away from India ; the army in India was demobilizing ; yet we were able to prevent him debouching into the plains of India. Since then, as you know, we have wiped that off the slate as a bad dream. A very able British Minister, Sir Francis Humphrys, is in Kabul. We have abrogated any dependence of Afghanistan on India, and the young King is doing his level best now to open up the country and introduce as many Western ways as the psychology of his people will suit and require.

I do not propose to try and enter on the conditions of



Afghanistan today, except to say that obviously trade is improving and increasing, and must do so still more with the opening up of the country by roads and motor transport. Nor do I propose to touch, on this occasion, on the very difficult question of the intense anti-British propaganda which Bolshevik Russia is trying to spread in Afghanistan. All I would do is to point out that the old policy still remains, of a friendly, independent, powerful Afghanistan, and the more it prospers, the better India and Great Britain will be pleased; but you must remember that, whether we have a treaty, or whether we have not, the independence of Afghanistan *must* be a leading feature in our policy. For that reason it is not possible for the Government of India to make those reductions in their military expenditure which they would naturally desire to make for the sake of spending their money on internal development.

The young King will no doubt receive a very hearty welcome to this country. We hope that he will go back still further resolved to develop on Western lines, and keep his own country independent, and that he will realize that prosperity and independence are what the British wish him. It is obvious that, so far as the country on the Indian side of the Hindu Kush is concerned, trade must come to India, and therefore, the more the come and go of all races and all classes can be promoted, the quicker and surer will progress and civilisation advance.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, March 12, 1928, at which a lecture was given by Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., entitled "India and Afghanistan." The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the chair; and those present included:

The Maharaja dhiraj of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Amptill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir William and Lady Ovens Clark, Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Peter Clutterbuck, C.I.E., C.B.E., and Lady Clutterbuck, Sir Hamilton Grant, K.C.S.I., and Lady Grant, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Captain Walker, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir William H. Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Thomas and Lady Strangman, Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Mrs. Alec Tweedie, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Brigadier-General Alexander Purvis, Major E. Noel, Mr. Arthur Davies, Miss K. Wood, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss Brandt, Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel G. V. Holmes, C.I.E., Major G. E. Bruce, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. A. Ezra, Mr. D. H. Lees, C.S.I., Colonel P. H. H. Massey, Captain Moore, Captain Fearfield, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. T. Emerson, C.I.E., Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. H. M. Gibbon, Miss Bacon, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Pandit Shyam Shankar, Miss Vanda H. Jones, Madam Henry, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. S. A. Claridge, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. Martley, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel S. B. A. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. T. G. Sykes, Dr. Shah, Mr. R. K. Sorabjee, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Rev. Dr. H. W. Stanton, Rev. O. Young-husband, Mr. Henry Harcourt, C.B.E., Miss Morton, Miss M. Thour, Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Mr. L. Sabboo, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you would wish, before we proceed with the business on our agenda paper, that I should give expression to the grievous sense of loss which all of us experienced when we received news of the death in India of Lord Sinha. Not only will he be mourned by a wide circle of personal friends, both Indian and European, but his loss will be regarded as a real one, both to India and to Great Britain, by all those who are interested in the relations between the two countries. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Sinha, with all his patriotic love for his own country, was a man who approached all the serious and controversial questions between the two countries with a sound judgment, a broad outlook, and a grasp of actualities which are only too rare in public controversy at the present day.



Of course, that is not to say that Lord Sinha did not hold strong and independent views of his own upon the many questions which came before him in the course of a busy public life. Indeed, I recall an occasion when he was a Member of the Government of Bengal, when he found himself in profound disagreement with his colleagues. The meeting at which the subject under discussion was considered came to a close without agreement being reached. Lord Sinha took time to consider his position. He then wrote me a courteous letter in which he set forth with an almost judicial impartiality the arguments for and against the course proposed to be followed, and the reasons why he found himself unable to agree with his colleagues in their views. Thanks, fortunately, to an appreciation on the part of all those concerned of the sincerity and honesty of purpose by which those who were in disagreement were actuated, a compromise was found possible, and Lord Sinha, therefore, continued to devote his great abilities to the service of his country as a Member of the Government. He was, indeed, at one and the same time a most conscientious, a most loyal, and a most charming man. To his widow and to the members of his family we offer our profound and our most sincere sympathy. (Hear, hear.)

I now turn to the business on the agenda paper. My first task is to introduce to you the lecturer, General Sir George MacMunn. The task may well seem to be one of supererogation. General Sir George MacMunn requires no introduction to an audience of the East India Association. He has served long and with great distinction in the East, notably as Quartermaster-General in India and as Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia. In earlier days he saw active service in that part of the world to which he proposes to direct our attention this afternoon. He was engaged in the Tirah Campaign of 1897, when the explosive material which is always lying so thickly strewn along the Indian Frontier blazed up in violent conflagration. But Sir George MacMunn does not propose to speak of Afghanistan only in the present day; he is going to give us pictures of it from the times of Alexander of Macedon onwards, and I am sure you will listen with rapt attention as he unfolds his romantic story. (Applause.)

The lecture was then given.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—As I anticipated, General MacMunn has given us a very interesting account of Afghanistan through the ages. It is quite true that it has been a story of violence and destruction, but I am afraid that that is inevitable, and it will be found, I think, that violence and destruction are leading features in the story of any prolonged period of human progress in whatever part of the world you look for it. Unfortunately, we human beings are the victims of natural law, particularly the natural law which decrees that the fittest shall survive. And in the process of surviving, the fittest generally succeed in doing a good deal of violence and destruction to the less fit.

When General MacMunn came to deal with more recent times (and after all it is more recent times which make the most direct appeal to us), he pointed out that British policy towards Afghanistan, for all its vicissi-



tudes and its apparent inconsistencies, had nevertheless rested throughout upon one cardinal article of belief—namely, a belief in the necessity of maintaining between their powerful northern neighbours and the frontiers of India itself a strong, prosperous, and friendly Afghanistan. It is true that in the past there have been times—gone, we may hope, now, never to return—when the Government of Afghanistan has shown signs of doubting the sincerity of purpose of the British and Indian Governments, and when they have viewed with ill-concealed suspicion the proposals which have been disclosed to them by the Government of India for bringing about closer relations between the two countries. Surely such suspicions can no longer linger in the mind of the present King of Afghanistan, who is about to pay a visit to the shores of this country. He is the King of a country the independence of which we have formally recognized, and the future prosperity of which must so obviously be bound up in increasing intercourse and in ever closer friendship between the people of Afghanistan and the people of the Indian Empire (Hear, hear), and we cannot but hope and believe that with experience derived from personal contact with the people and the Government of this country King Amanullah will realize to the full the good wishes which both Government and people of this country have for him and for his people. (Applause.)

There is another aspect of the question which is before us this afternoon upon which General MacMunn, designedly, I rather suspect, has scarcely touched. If it is true that the policy of Great Britain has been to preserve Afghanistan as an independent buffer State between powerful northern neighbours and the frontiers of the Indian Empire, we must also remember that between the frontier of Afghanistan and the administrative frontier of the Indian Empire we have for long past tolerated another sort of buffer State. Between the Gomal River in the south and the Swat River in the north there lies a long, sinuous stretch of rugged mountainous country, inhabited by semi-barbarous and independent tribes, who have only too often abused the political and municipal independence which we have felt ourselves constrained to leave to them. In other words, for all this time we have tolerated between our own administrative frontier in India and the frontier proper of Afghanistan a sort of rulerless Alsatia. It is hardly necessary for me to remind you that there always have been two schools of thought as to the policy which Great Britain ought to adopt in face of this state of affairs. There is a school which is known as the close border school, which has always urged, and still urges, that we should pin down our frontier on the edge of the Indian plain, and leave the tribes alone. That policy would have been very much easier to pursue if the tribes had been content to leave us alone, but, unfortunately, they have done nothing of the sort. Let me give you a single example: in such recent times as the year 1919-20 no fewer than 611 raids were made by the tribesmen into Indian territory, involving the killing of 298, the wounding of 392, and the kidnapping of 363 British subjects, and in the looting of property to the estimated value of Rs. 30 lakhs. It is no wonder that the Viceroy of that day, Lord Chelmsford (whom I had hoped might have been present



here this afternoon, but who has been unfortunately prevented from attending), declared in a speech to the Indian Legislative Assembly that such "continual and gratuitous provocations" could no longer be suffered, and that steps (and steps, surely, which must have rejoiced the hearts of the adherents of the other school of thought) would now be taken to deal with it.

It has always been my view that sooner or later, for the reason most admirably expressed by Prince Gortchakoff in his famous circular to the Powers in 1864, where barbarism and civilization come into contact, it is barbarism which sooner or later must give way. For that reason it has always been my view that sooner or later we shall be driven to occupy tribal territory up to the frontier of Afghanistan. It is not, in my opinion, so much a question whether this *will* happen, as *when* it will happen. It is quite impossible for me in the time at my disposal this afternoon to enter into that supremely important question. It depends upon so many factors which are uncertain. Let me indicate in the fewest possible words the most important factors of the case. On the side of the tribes themselves the main factor is this—their power and their will to resist a British occupation of tribal territory. Now their power to resist such an occupation has undoubtedly grown in recent years with their acquisition of an ever-increasing number of arms of precision, and with a growing knowledge on their part, largely taught to them by ourselves, of minor tactics and fire discipline. With regard to their will to resist, it seems to me to be quite possible that with such things as the construction and the opening of the Khyber railway and the British occupation of Waziristan, the tribes themselves may begin to realize that there are advantages not previously suspected by them in a more orderly mode of existence. Then, on the side of the Government of India, what are the factors? The main factor, of course, is the tremendous cost which the occupation of tribal territory right up to the frontier of Afghanistan would involve; and another factor of importance at the present day is the unwillingness of Indian public men to agree to any large expenditure upon military operations. You may say that I have not carried you very far towards a decision upon this question. I do not pretend to have done so, but I have at least put before you some of the main factors which you will do well to bear in mind when you watch any future developments in that extremely interesting part of the world.

There are one or two people present here this afternoon who not only desire, but are highly competent, to take part in this discussion. First of all, there is your President, Lord Lamington, and I will ask him to be good enough to address you. (Applause.)

LORD LAMINGTON said that he thought that afternoon's proceedings would stand out as a very notable occasion in the annals of the Association: first of all, because they had met under the chairmanship of Lord Ronaldshay—a distinguished geographer, traveller, sportsman, and administrator, and also renowned in the literary world, in which spheres his reputation had been enhanced in the last few days by the appearance of the first



volume of his "Life of Lord Curzon," which had been most favourably received by every press critic whose reviews he had read. Another reason why this meeting would stand out as a notable one was that they had chosen General Sir George MacMunn to address them on Afghanistan. A third reason for this meeting being notable was because this address was a prelude to the arrival next day of their Majesties the King and Queen of Afghanistan. Lord Ronaldshay said that there were many present who were competent to speak upon Afghanistan. For his part he was not at all competent to speak on that subject. For instance, there was the point, amongst many others, with regard to the debatable land between the Indian frontier and Afghanistan. That was too intricate a subject for him to enter upon. However, there was a very interesting fact which the lecturer had pointed out, of which he was not aware, and that was that at some remote period in the history of Afghanistan and India the former was not a country from which merely tribesmen came down and devastated India, but there were great routes of commerce which were safe and secure between India, Persia, and other parts of Western Asia. Another interesting point was when General Sir George MacMunn alluded to the fact that in the first Afghanistan war we had backed the wrong horse. He was afraid that was rather a characteristic of ours. We often had the best intentions and acted with perfect honesty, but we were so enamoured of our good intentions that we would not always see the practical facts. In conclusion, he wished to thank General Sir George MacMunn for his remarkable address, and also to thank Lord Ronaldshay for presiding over the meeting.

Sir LOUIS DANE referred to the fact that he had the honour of concluding the Treaty in Kabul with the late Amir Habibullah Khan on March 21, 1905. Although he had no intention of going into the question of politics, and how far he had been able to follow in the steps of his distinguished predecessors who had been in Kabul before him, he was very glad indeed to hear General MacMunn speak so highly of the late Amir Habibullah Khan. They had difficulty in coming to an agreement, but they discussed their difficulties in a determined but friendly fashion, and the late Amir always treated him and his staff exceedingly well. However, the position was rather like the triangular fight in "Midshipman Easy": the Government of India fired into the Home Government, the Home Government fired into the Government of India, and the Amir fired into both Governments; but all three of them fired into him. The results were good. Two years after the Treaty was concluded the late Amir came down into India, and was very much interested in everything he saw. He carried away a very good impression of the British people and of the power of the British Government, and things went on well until the Great War broke out. There was no doubt that the late Amir refused to attack India in the face of the greatest temptation. He had no hesitation in saying that the vision was held out to the late Amir of rivalling and even exceeding the feats of Alexander so



far as India was concerned. Very few men would have resisted that temptation; he also ran a great risk of losing his life by withstanding it, but he did withstand it. Germans and Turks went up to Afghanistan, but the late Amir managed, as Orientals could, to put them off from time to time, and to keep the Treaty with us until he died. We owed a great debt of gratitude to the father of the present Amir. His mother also was a woman of character and strength of will; probably, if she had not been, the succession might have been very different. He hoped everybody in this country would give King Amanullah as fine a reception as his father, King Habibullah Khan, had given to the Mission who went up to Kabul to conclude the Treaty of 1905.

He did not propose to follow General MacMunn in his review of Afghanistan through the centuries, but he was in agreement with his view that the Afghans proper were and are Semitic. In fact, it was not at all impossible that some of the lost tribes of Israel might be found in Afghanistan. King Sargon sent the Israelites into the mountains of the Medes, and the mountains of the Medes were the southern portion of Persia adjoining Baluchistan; it was not difficult to suppose that they wandered on from the mountains of the Medes into the southern portion of Afghanistan, as southern Persia was much more settled and cultivated in those times. At any rate, the people were extraordinarily like the Jews, and they constantly asserted they were the lost tribes of Israel. One argument urged against that being so was the fact that the modern language was held by persons learned in such matters to be a pure Aryan language. Even so, we had now found out that the language test did not prove descent. It constantly happened that persons of one descent would go into a country where they were outnumbered by the original inhabitants of the country using a particular language, but while they adopted the language of the inhabitants of the country, they still retained their ethnical characteristics.

As regards what had been said about the freedom of dealing between the two countries, Syria and India, that, of course, had gone on for many centuries. An extraordinary amount of traffic went that way, and the routes were fairly good; there was also no doubt that a good many Buddhist ideas had been carried across to Syria by the travellers who passed freely to and fro. He happened to have a copy of a very celebrated, and probably the oldest, relic of Buddha, which was deposited in a stupa at Peshawar by the Emperor Kanishka in about 50 A.D. On the lid of the casket there was a representation of Buddha seated holding his right hand in the attitude of blessing and with a halo round his head. He would leave them to consider whether it was not exceedingly likely, having regard to the fact that Buddha died five hundred years before Christ, that our ideas of the attitude of blessing and halos and so on did not descend from those Buddhists. (Applause.)

Sir HAMILTON GRANT said that it was with diffidence he consented to join in the discussion, as his knowledge of Afghanistan and the frontier



was now somewhat obsolete and out of date, considering that he left India more than seven years ago. However, he had heard with very great pleasure the tributes from Sir George MacMunn and Sir Louis Dane to the late Amir Habibullah Khan. With them he held strongly that the Afghans could be true to their word. He happened to be Foreign Secretary throughout the period of the war, and his whole attention was concentrated on the task of keeping Afghanistan neutral. Had Afghanistan broken, few of them there would fully realize the devastating effect it would have had upon our fortunes in the war. It would have been a diversion of a shattering nature; therefore those in Simla who had to do with the direction of the Afghan affairs had to concentrate upon the task of helping the Amir, were he willing to do so, to maintain neutrality. When the late Amir was first informed that Turkey had entered the war, he sent down a formal letter saying that he intended to maintain neutrality. Sir Hamilton hoped he was not divulging secrets that he should not divulge when he stated that shortly after that the Amir, in the dead of night, summoned our Muhammadan Agent in Kabul to an absolutely private interview. The Amir said: "I mean to keep faith with the British Government so long as they keep faith with me, but they must not judge me by anything I say or do; they must believe that I am going to play straight, and that I have a difficult task before me which may force me to do things which will be open to misconstruction." That message came down and was accepted in a very varied way by the different members of the Government of India. One of them, who happened to be a well-read man, quoted the words from a story of Kipling: "Trust a snake before a harlot, and a harlot before an Afghan." Personally, Sir Hamilton regarded that saying as a gross libel, and as adviser to the Government of India he took the opposite view. He told Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy, that he believed the Amir meant every word that he said, and that they would be wise to trust him. He was pleased to say that was Lord Hardinge's view entirely. The result of this policy was that Afghanistan came through the war neutral, and Amir Habibullah Khan died a martyr to his own good faith to us. (Hear, hear.)

The Chairman had raised the question of the forward and close border policies. He was Chief Commissioner on the North-West Frontier Province during that cheerful year to which the Chairman had referred, when they had that appalling number of raids. That year was exceptional. They had then the aftermath of the third Afghan war with them, and it must be realized that one of the great assets of the Amir of Afghanistan as against India is the fact that he has only to raise his hand to cause unrest and disturbance among the tribes, whether his own or ours, on the North-Western Frontier. At that time we had actually been at war with Afghanistan, and it was little wonder that a terrible state of disorder should inevitably have ensued. It would take him too long to say all he had to say, but he would like to assure Lord Ronaldshay that he sympathized in theory with every word he had said; but the practice was a very different matter. If, without perfectly prohibitive expense, with certain assurance of military success, without unduly disturbing the terrains



beyond, and without the permanent locking-up of large garrisons, we could move forward to the Durand line, and occupy the territory between the Durand line and our own administrative border, and establish there the *Pax Britannica*, so as to have no further raiding from the tribes along that robber-haunted no-man's-land, he would be the first to subscribe to the policy. But he had heard the resolution made time after time that such and such a tribe had been so offensive that its territory must really be annexed and taken over; and then an expedition had been prepared, troops had gone in, money had been spent, accidents had happened, and in the end we had come out *re infecta*. (Applause.) The Chairman had alluded to our occupation of Waziristan. This had never been properly effected. We had had to withdraw, and all we had done was to hold an advanced post at Razmak, within a stone's throw of our existing posts in the Tochi.

Sir EDMUND BARROW said he fully agreed with the last speaker's view that there was really no time left to discuss this very wide subject. It was now something like fifty years since he first became acquainted with the frontier and the regions beyond, and certainly as regards its recent Treaty aspects he could not speak with authority. His connection with the frontier had been chiefly geographical and exploratory. He had spent two years in Hindu Kush explorations with the Lockhart Mission, and later elsewhere, and it would take him a great deal more than the five minutes allowed to tell them about those journeys which were then kept rigidly secret, on political and military grounds.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER dealt with the question of the mastery of Afghanistan and the occupation of the passes leading into India through the centuries; he pointed out what an important bearing it had on the security of India. No invasion of India from Afghanistan had ever failed until the rise of British power closed the passes. The great Mogul dynasty gave peace to India for 200 years because it held Afghanistan and the passes; when at the end of Aurangzeb's reign they lost control of Afghanistan, the way was opened for the repeated and devastating invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah, the Turk and the Afghan. That was the point of view from which he would like them to examine the question and realize its vital importance to India. Another consideration was the value of India to Afghanistan as a market and a support against invaders from beyond the Oxus. Twice within the last century the rulers of Afghanistan had lost their thrones, because they looked to the Oxus, not to the Indus, and the British Government was compelled to take measures for the defence of India. At this time when His Majesty the King of Afghanistan was making his first visit to this country, it was a matter of supreme consequence that we should help him to realize that it was as important for him and his kingdom to have a good understanding with us as it was important for us for the defence of India to have a good understanding with him.

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN, in concluding the discussion, said that Sir Louis Dane had pointed out to them that the Afghans might be one of



the lost tribes of Israel. That might be so; if it were so, he was afraid he had evidently forgotten that the next lost tribe of Israel was England, for having backed the wrong horse every time. It was lucky to win the race, but he trusted that it might go on winning races in keeping India peaceful and tranquil and Afghans their friends. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the Afghans themselves, he certainly would like to hail them as brothers from the other side of the river, but not to embrace them, because they had no more Koh-i-noors to offer them today. What, however, was most important at the present juncture, was what Sir Michael O'Dwyer had pointed out—namely, that it was to our mutual advantage to have the State of Afghanistan as our ally, and for Afghanistan to realize that we could be a powerful friend to them. As to the position of the frontier, he was inclined to agree theoretically with what the Earl of Ronaldshay had said. Sir Hamilton Grant had spoken with greater intimacy, and with perhaps greater authority, as having had to deal with the question in the Foreign Office, but what Sir Michael O'Dwyer had said was perfectly true: when the Moguls lost Kabul the successors to the Moguls in India had no other alternative than to make Kabul a buffer State between the rest of the Western world and India. At the present moment what they had to concentrate upon was to convince the ruler of Afghanistan, who would be arriving in London the next day, that not only was the British Empire a mighty one, but it was an ally worth having. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER in reply said: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have nothing very much to add to what the various speakers have said. As the Chairman suggested, I did not touch on the frontier within our own political border because this involves so many controversies of its own, and I thought I hardly dare impinge on that question in the time at my disposal.

So far as principle goes, as apart from the immediate practical economics, I entirely agree with the Chairman, and well remember how a distinguished officer on whose staff I served on the frontier, who was famous for his effective and incisive, if somewhat uncanonical, language, said: "I can understand the principle of a buffer State between you and another great Power, but I cannot understand the advantage of having a buffer b——t between you and the buffer State." That seems to define the principle exactly.

Lord Ronaldshay has spoken of the demand for the administration of the frontier territories in the interest of civilization. The following items will perhaps interest you.

As you know, we have lately made good motor roads up at Tochi and through Waziristan. The North-West Frontier is where all the old cars in India spend their last days, and a Punjabi or Pathan chauffeur knows the last word in getting full value out of these derelicts by methods entirely his own. These old cars bump about these frontier roads carrying not four or five tribesmen, but eight or ten and even more, perched on every part of the car. But you cannot travel ten in a Ford car if you carry a rifle and bandoleer and an assortment of knives, and therefore these are



left at home for almost the first time in history, and perhaps only one gentleman carries a rifle and bandoleer for protective purposes. That alone is the wedge of softer ways.

Similarly the joy of raiding a convoy, massacring the escort, and escaping before the avenging party could arrive from the nearest post, is vanishing. To capture a pack convoy merely involved, once the escort was covered, the seizing of the animals by the halter and leading them away into your mountain fastness, but half a dozen Ford vans cannot be so treated, and unless you can have a string of your own transport handy, and spare the time to tranship and load the animals, the avengers will be on your heels; and therefore the gilt is disappearing from the convoy-raiding gingerbread.

Lord AMPHILL proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer, and the proceedings terminated.

## THE INNER EAST

[Little information has been available in Western Europe on the important subject of the prolonged struggle of the Muhammadan peoples of the former Russian Empire against the power of the Soviet Union. The *Revue du Monde Mussulman* published a volume entitled "Bolchevisme et l'Islam," which gave a competent and well-documented general summary of the Muhammadan movements against the Soviet Union down to 1923. One of the objects of this section will be from time to time to publish materials giving the history and following the development of the Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union in more detail. In the January number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, under the heading of the Inner East section, we published Mr. J. F. Baddeley's authoritative article on "The Ruin of Daghestan," in which he described the armed movement in the Eastern Caucasus of 1920-21, from official Bolshevik sources. In the present number we have been fortunate in securing from the pen of Mr. Chokaev an account of the Basmaji movement in Turkestan. Mr. Chokaev was President of the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan which was elected by the Extraordinary Congress of Turkestan Mussulmans in November, 1917, and which was suppressed as a result of the bombardment of Kokand by troops of the Tashkent Sovnarkom on January 31, 1918. Mr. Chokaev is in a position, therefore, to write with peculiar knowledge and authority, and at the same time his review of events in Turkestan during the last ten years is both reasoned and objective. Supplementary details of this movement can be found in "Les Basmatchis," by J. Castagné.]

## III

## THE BASMAJI MOVEMENT IN TURKESTAN

BY MUSTAFA CHOKAEV

## I. ORIGINS OF THE BASMAJI MOVEMENT

EVEN words have their history. And this is all the more true with regard to the word "Basmaji." Etymologically "Basmaji" is derived from the Turkish verb "Basmak," meaning "to press," "oppress," "violate." Hence, in the Uzbek tongue "Basmaji" means a "bandit," "robber," "violator." And this word, which does not correspond either in idea or meaning to the conception it has come to imply, now designates a wide anti-Soviet movement in Turkestan. However strange it may seem, this word "Basmaji" has lost, even in Turkestan itself (of course in a non-Soviet camp), its original offensive meaning, and has become a synonym of the nationalist rebel—the active participant in the armed anti-Soviet struggle. It has come to have the same meaning as the Arabic word *mujahid* so extensively used in the Muslim world, and thus the October revolution has raised the low word "Basmaji" (a bandit) to mean "Mujahid"—the holy warrior.



Of all the forms of the anti-Soviet struggle on the territory of the Soviet Union, the Basmaji movement in Turkestan has proved to have the strongest life. Born in the bloody days of the overthrow by Soviet troops of the seat in the town of Kokand of the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan (February, 1918), the Basmaji movement has maintained itself as a popular movement for many years. From time to time, here and there in various places of Central Asia, there appear small separate groups of rebels. As recently as the eve of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the October revolution, the Soviet power in Central Asia was extremely alarmed by the appearance of the bands of Junaid-Khan, the old leader of the Khivan Turkmans, the man who deposed from the throne Said-Asfendiar, the last Khan of Khiva. After long years of conflict with Junaid-Khan, the Soviet Government had concluded an agreement with him, but the persecution of the former followers of Junaid-Khan, and the execution of some of them, had compelled him to again raise the standard of revolt against the Soviets. The whole of Soviet Turkestan was mobilized; the railway-lines were declared to be in extreme danger; the Military Revolutionary Committee was convened as in former years, and an extraordinary commission to suppress anti-Bolshevik and carry on anti-Basmaji agitation was formed. The Soviet press of Turkestan does not state the result of the struggle against Junaid, but there is no doubt that the liquidation of his movement has again failed.

Junaid, or any other of the "Kurbashis" (Atamans) has now, of course, no opportunity of embarking upon new revolts against the Soviet troops. The Bolsheviks have—as the result of relentless repressions involving an enormous loss of life among the Muslim population—established their position, in the military sense, sufficiently well in Central Asia. It should be noted that this second conquest of Central Asia by the Russian troops has cost both sides far more than its first conquest in the second half of the last century: and this notwithstanding the fact that during the half-century of Russian rule the Muslim population of Turkestan had lost all potentiality for organizing resistance, and that the Russians had succeeded within the same period in instilling into us the fear of their might. This power of resistance of the amorphous mass of the Muslim population, so unexpectedly revealed, can be explained by two causes: firstly, by the relative growth of national consciousness since the period of the



independent Khanats; and secondly, and more particularly, by the strength of the instinct of self-preservation. For the Soviet Power appeared at first in Turkestan as a Power whose "colonial" severity was exceptional, and, in fact, unprecedented in history. If I described the Bolshevik policy in Turkestan during the so-called "heroic period of October revolution" on the basis only of Bolshevik sources we would have before us a picture more gruesome, almost, than we could find in the whole history of "colonial" wars. It is a fact, indeed, that none of the so-called "Imperialistic conquests" of other nations have been so rich in victims at the expense of the conquered colony as the first two years of the Soviet dictatorship in Turkestan, when the theory that "the bearer of the dictatorship of the proletariat here can only be Russian" (see the *Moscow Pravda*, June 20, 1920) was openly practised.

In this exceptional and unprecedented *anti-national and non-class* severity of the Soviet régime in Central Asia is hidden the only and undisputed cause of the birth of the Basmaji movement among the Muslims.

The Soviet literature is not rich in special researches on the Basmaji movement. A few pamphlets and newspaper articles—that is all. On the other hand, there is not a single note on Turkestan that can be claimed as serious in which the problem of the Basmaji movement is not commented upon. But all these pamphlets and newspaper articles and notes have one and the same defect—namely, that the Bolsheviks look for the cause of the Basmaji movement, and find it, outside the direct application of the Soviet "national" policy in Turkestan, outside the activity of the agents of the Soviet centre. In the investigation of the causes of "the appearance" of the Basmaji movement the Soviet publicists of recent times make a long excursion into the sphere of "Imperialistic exploitation of the Muslim population of Turkestan under the old régime." They emphasize on the one hand the expropriation of the small landowner, "for the sake of the destructive exploitation by trading capital," which led to the concentration of large land areas in the hands of a small "class of native landowning and trading bourgeoisie," and on the other hand the deplorable results for the local population of the colonization policy of the Tsarist Government. There is no doubt that this alienation of the land from the small landowners, and the deplorable colonial policy of the Imperial régime, reacted in a definite manner upon the masses of the population. It would seem that, if these undisputed facts could



have served as a direct incentive to the Basmaji movement, there should have been no risings under the Soviet and against the Soviet régime. For it is not the Soviet power that is guilty of the above enumerated forms of exploitation. On the contrary, if popular risings took place before the advent of the Bolsheviks to power, from the moment of the publication by them of their decrees and appeals "to the Muslims of Turkestan," in which they gave solemn promises immediately to liquidate all the injustices of the Tsarist régime, and to grant full freedom to Turkestan to the extent, according to their declaration, of "self-determination according to your own model," these risings should have immediately ceased. However, the risings began under and against the Soviet régime.

Under the old régime, of course, there had been risings. The last of these took place in the summer of 1916 in connection with the famous Decree of June 25, whereby the Muslim population of Turkestan—who had never before been compelled to serve in the army—were then called upon to enlist. The time chosen for the mobilization was in the full season of field work. All classes between the ages of nineteen and forty-three were called up simultaneously, without any provision being allowed for formally ascertaining the exact age of the recruit (in Turkestan there was as yet no birth registry kept); and, finally, mobilization affected only the Muslim population and excluded Russians in Turkestan who also had never before served. All these circumstances in themselves could not but evoke the deepest indignation among the populace. And the wave of revolt soon spread over the whole of Muslim Turkestan. The Imperial Government, endeavouring to save its prestige, attempted to transfer the guilt of popular unrest on to Turkish agents. But as soon as the Russian Government did, in consequence of the serious discontent, ease the conditions of mobilization by adopting the scheme of sending the entire Muslim working class to do military work, the risings commenced to wane, while with the beginning of February, 1917, the revolt, in the shape it had begun, ceased completely. Only in the Semirechinsk district, where the revolt of the Kirghiz-Kaizaks turned, thanks to the Government policy, into a national struggle against the Russian settlers, did the revolt continue with greater intensity than before February, until it finally developed into a slaughter of the Kirghiz-Kaizaks by the Russian settlers, to whose assistance now came "the revolutionary" soldiers of the Russian army deserting from



the front. The very district where the Basmaji movement began—Ferghana—which was absolutely quiet at the moment of the February Revolution, and the occasion—the destruction of the so-called “Kokand autonomy”—indicate that the Basmaji movement was a reaction against the activity of the new Soviet power, and not a result of the policy of the old régime. Even the Soviet sources of information for the early period sometimes recognize the causes of the Basmaji movement correctly enough. Soviet writers, though approaching the events in Turkestan from different points of view, have arrived almost unanimously at the opinion that the Basmaji movement originated as an unavoidable and even necessary reaction of self-defence of the Muslim population against the anti-Muslim policy adopted as a whole and without distinction of classes by the Turkestan Soviet power.

I shall not tire the reader by quoting all the Soviet sources known to me. I shall dwell only on some of them.

Skalov, the author of an article on “The Social Nature of the Basmaji Movement in Turkestan,” writes that “the destruction of ‘Kokand autonomy’—the robberies and violations of the ‘Soviet’ partizan detachments and of the ‘dashnaks,’\* the relentless requisitions and confiscations of the last loaf from the ‘dekhans’ (Moslem peasants) for the provisioning of towns, railways, workers, armies, etc.—had convinced the ‘dekhans’ of the unavoidable necessity of the struggle.”† Another Soviet author, George Safarov, author of the book “Colonial Revolution (Experiment of Turkestan),” writes that “the Basmaji movement grew up, on the one hand, on the ground of the struggle for national self-determination which resulted from the destruction of ‘Kokand autonomy’ and the subsequent ‘colonial’ misdeeds, and, on the other hand, on the ground of economic crisis—the economic famine which destroyed the cotton industry in Ferghana and deprived both the Uzbek-Sart bourgeoisie of their former prosperity and the native agricultural labouring masses of their usual livelihood.”

It is evident that the two Bolshevik writers—separated from each other by sufficient length of time (two years)—interpret in the same way the causes of the origin of the Basmaji movement—“the destruction of ‘Kokand autonomy’ as a national centre of Turkestan Muslims and

\* Bands of Armenian settlers in Turkestan who were affiliated to the Dashnaktsutsiun, the Social Revolutionary Party of the Armenians, the headquarters of which were in Russian Armenia.

† *Zhizn Narodnostoni*, Kn. 3-4, 1923, p. 56.



the 'misdeeds' (according to Safarov, it is 'the colonizing misdeeds') of the Soviet power."

There are other Soviet writers who endeavour to prove that the Basmaji movement originated as a result of the delay of agrarian reforms in Central Asia. This argument is advanced as a confirmation of Lenin's thesis that revolutions in the industrially undeveloped and primitive agricultural countries of the East could only be agrarian. The faultiness of Lenin's theory is proved by the example of Turkey and by that of Soviet Central Asia itself. These countries had evidently to pass through a sufficiently long stage of internal national revolution before an agrarian one could be successfully carried out. But as it is, the experiment of Soviet Central Asia shows that a strong dictatorial power can carry out an "agrarian revolution" by "land reform." A noteworthy event is that in the carrying out of the "agrarian revolution" in Central Asia the Bolsheviks took recourse to the Fetva (sanction) of the Muslim priesthood, and, further, in order to carry through this "revolution" the Soviet Government of Uzbekistan was compelled to adopt severe measures against the "Uzbek revolutionary peasants" who actually began to return the land given them to the former owners (see *Pravda Vostoka* of Tashkent, January 11, 1928). It should therefore be clear that the agrarian problem had nothing to do with the origin of the Basmaji movement.

## 2. COLLAPSE OF "KOKAND AUTONOMY," FEBRUARY, 1918

All the Soviet sources of information synchronize the beginning of the Basmaji movement with the occasion of the destruction of "Kokand autonomy" (February, 1918), and regard the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan (Kokand Government), particularly the author of this article, who was the head of that Government, as the organizer of the Basmaji movement. This is not true; neither the Kokand Government in general, nor I as its President, had anything to do with the organization of the Basmaji movement, which could originate, only naturally, in the form it assumed.

The Kokand Government was elected at the end of November, 1917, at an Extraordinary Congress of Turkestan Muslims, in which the Russian population also participated. The formation of the government as a national centre became necessarily unavoidable after the Third Congress of Turkestan Soviets at Tashkent (November, 1917) which



deprived the Muslims of the right of participating in the organization of the government of the country. The Government had neither money nor arms. We, the organizers of "Kokand autonomy," were moved more by the faith we put in the Russian Revolution, in the sincerity of the revolutionary motives in regard to national "self-determination," than by faith in the possibility of organizing a struggle against the Russian central power, which in our eyes at the time was in the hands of the Soviet Government in Petrograd. More than once did we direct the attention of the Soviet centre to the abnormal situation brought about by the decision of the Third Congress of Turkestan Soviets with regard to the non-admittance of the Muslims as a whole into participation in the organization of regional power. We received an answer from Stalin, the provocatory character of which was evident to every one. Here is its main purport: "The native proletarians of Turkestan should not apply to the Central Soviet power with a request to dissolve the Turkestan 'Sovnarkom' (Council of People's Commissaries) which, in their opinion, lean upon the military section foreign to Turkestan, but dissolve it by force if such is at the disposal of the native proletariat and peasantry."\*

To recommend to the unarmed Muslim population, who had placed its faith in Soviet national "self-determination," to dissolve by force the Turkestan "Sovnarkom" which relied for its support on the Russian soldiers and workers, armed to the teeth, and not recognizing the most elementary civil rights of the Muslim, meant, in other words, to provoke a rebellion. A few days after the receipt of this answer the defenders of the "Kokand autonomy" came into conflict with the Soviet troops in Kokand. We had no hope whatever of success. On January 30 (old style) the Bolsheviks opened fire on the Muslim quarter of Kokand, demanding at the same time the immediate surrender of arms (inclusive of hunting guns), and of the leaders of the Autonomy movement. On January 31 Kokand was surrounded by the Soviet troops, who shelled it. The Government of Autonomous Turkestan ceased to exist.

The spontaneous revolt of the Muslim population began, and the first leader of the rebels happened to be a certain Ergash, an ex-Siberian exile, who had not long before been

\* This answer of Stalin is quoted in the book, "The Execution of Twenty-six Baku Commissars," by Vadim Tchaikin. Moscow: published by Grjebin, 1922.



chosen by the Kokand Municipality to direct the defence of the Muslim quarter of Kokand.\*

The revolting population of Kokand was soon joined by the population of the adjacent villages. Thither hurried also hastily-formed volunteer detachments from various towns. Armed with hunting guns, and only in rare cases with rifles of an old pattern, and in most cases with rakes, axes, etc., even sticks, the Muslims went to fight against those who denied them the equal rights with Russians to earn their daily bread. †

The Soviet troops finally occupied Kokand on February 19, 1918 (old style). Below is quoted an extract from *Chronicles of Events* for 1918.

"20th February, Ferghana district. The Autonomous Government of Kokand has been finally liquidated. The troops supporting the Kokand Autonomous Government have been partly disarmed. The fugitive elements are preparing a campaign of political banditism ('basmachestvo')."

### 3. THE BASMAJI MOVEMENT IN FERGHANA.—1918-19

Between the liquidation of the Autonomous Government and the origin of the Basmaji movement, there is here only a coincidence of time. The connection between the "autonomism" of a group of certain definite political trend and the Basmaji movement disappears. Autonomism simply ceased to exist and to be the banner of the struggle, while the Basmaji movement, having begun with the motive of the defence of autonomy, found itself deprived of a definite political meaning with the transference of the struggle from the streets of Kokand to the surrounding countryside. The movement became a sheer spontaneous struggle of the masses against the "Soviet colonizers." ‡ This was the weak point of the movement. Each of the leaders of the detachments, whose numbers constantly increased, the so-called "Kurbashi" set before himself his own aim and programme. Formerly, when the battles were fought under the walls of Kokand, all "Kurbashis" recog-

\* Contrary to the Bolshevik statements, Ergash was never in the service of the Kokand Government.

† How long this inequality of Muslims continued is seen from the fact that yet in 1919 (June 29) the Central Committee of the Communist Party was compelled to suggest to the Turkestan Government that they should put the Muslims and Russians on an equal footing with regard to rationing (see the Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party).

‡ The expression "Soviet colonizers" in regard to Turkestan Soviet power was first used in the pages of the Muslim *Pravda*.



nized the authority and power of Ergash, as of him who first happened to be at the head of the rebel people; but after Kokand was lost and the Autonomous Government liquidated, there appeared rivals to Ergash—for example, Mad-Emin, one of the Kurbashi of the town of Margillan. Neither Ergash nor Mad-Emin, nor any other one of the Basmaji leaders, was in a position to work or carry out a definite political programme. They were only brave fighters for whom the whole meaning of the struggle was defined by the success they attained in the battles of the day. Ergash and Mad-Emin, the most conspicuous leaders of the Basmaji movement in the initial period, represent the most striking examples of complete confusion (for which the adjective "political" is not suitable at all) so characteristic of Basmaji leaders. These two, after a series of successful battles against the Soviet detachments, went over to the Soviet Government in as sudden a manner as they had first taken up arms against them. As the leaders of the "Basmajis" they demanded from the Soviet Government the restoration of the Shariat, and freedom of trade for the Muslims, but when going over to the Bolsheviks they demanded the recognition of their title "Kurbashi" and the right to have their own bodyguard recruited from their faithful "Djigits" (fighters). And as soon as these demands were satisfied Ergash and Mad-Emin took their positions without a moment's hesitation under the Soviet banner, and went against their own former followers as their pacifiers. Thus Mad-Emin met his death in the service of the Soviet, when on a certain occasion he set out as a Soviet agent to persuade another influential "Kurbashi"—Shir-Muhamed (called also Kër-Muhamed)—to go over to the Bolsheviks. Shir-Muhamed proved to be an irreconcilable anti-Bolshevik, and he is almost the only one of all the noteworthy Basmaji leaders who remains up to the present an irreconcilable opponent of the Soviet régime, and a loyal adherent of "Muslim Government" for Turkestan.

It is only in course of time, when certain elements among the native "intellectuals" began to gather round the Basmaji leaders, that the contours of a political programme begin to appear. I am not, to my regret, in a position, owing to lack of time, to obtain all the necessary material for the complete presentation of the case, but, judging from the Bolshevik concessions in Turkestan, one can form an idea of this political programme of the internally transformed Basmaji movement. Almost simultaneously with the introduction in Russia of the so-called "Nep," *i.e.* in 1922,



the Soviet power in Turkestan was obliged to make very serious political concessions. I shall only enumerate these concessions just as they are reproduced in an article entitled "The Class Levelling Experiment under Turkestan Conditions" by Skalov.\* They are "Reintroduction of Shariat courts; the restoration to the Muslim priesthood of the Vakufs and the withdrawal of the introduction of land reforms." It is evident that these conditions are so serious, the retreat from the "October ideology" so extensive, that one need hardly speak of the victory of "October revolution" in Turkestan.

If this Soviet power continued to exist in Turkestan, it was because the leaders of the Basmaji movement recognized it themselves as a state power with, however, an unsuitable programme for the Muslims; and the Basmaji leaders, in fact, did not at the time demand the expulsion of the Soviet Government, but negotiated with the very same Government, demanding the change of its "programme" into one more acceptable to the Muslims; that was all. It was sufficient for the Bolsheviks to promise the introduction of Shariat courts and to proclaim freedom of trade for the Muslims, for some of the Basmaji leaders to think that the aim of their struggle had been attained, and, if they did not finally lay down their arms, they at least stopped fighting for the time being. Had they had a clearly expressed national ideology and a precisely drawn-up programme for their Turkestan national state, the defeat of the Bolsheviks, who have already retreated from their Leninite ideology, might not have been very difficult. All the more so, because the Basmaji movement was representative of all classes. Its ranks were swelled by all the unemployed agricultural workers, and those of the town dwellers who had been deprived of a livelihood through the prohibition of private trade.

The Basmaji movement was supported, and very actively too, by the trading bourgeoisie and Muslim priesthood. In the presence of so wide a national front the overthrow of the Soviet power should not have been difficult; but it only appears so. The fact was quite different. The front was not a national or a national-political one. The highest political summit to which we Turkestanians could attain in 1917, and that also "with a bag of oxygen," was autonomism. But there we could not hold on during its two months' existence. The Autonomist movement succeeded in em-

\* In the journal *Zhizn Nacionalnostiei* ("Life of the Nationalities"), No. 2, 1923.



bracing only Kokand and a few towns such as Namangan, Margillan, and Skobelev (now called Ferghana town). The rest of the country, although sympathetic to the Autonomous Government, maintained no connection whatever with it. All the communication lines, railway, telegraph, post, telephone, were in the hands of the Soviet power. That is why the loss of the visible aim of the struggle (the fall of the Autonomous Government) discouraged politically the heroic defenders of Kokand, and turned the latter into blind weapons in the hands of extremely crude and adventurously disposed Kurbashis of the type of Ergash and Mad-Emin. They not only postponed the general aim of the struggle and failed to establish the unity of front, but they were instrumental in dividing the country; for instance, the Ferghana province was cut up into "independent" commands and "spheres of influence," in each of which a different Kurbashi ruled in his own way, refusing to recognize any other authority except his own will.

To defeat the Basmaji movement under these conditions should not have been particularly difficult. If, however, this could not be brought about, the main cause was the fact that the plundering character of the then Soviet power kept up the ever-burning fire of popular hatred against the Bolsheviks. In other words, the Basmaji movement in 1918 and 1919 so maintained itself in spite of the changeable activities of the Basmaji leaders as a result of the very repressive policy of the Soviets.

#### 4. THE BASMAJI MOVEMENT IN BUKHARA, 1920

The year 1920 is the turning-point in the life of the Turkestan Basmaji movement. On September 5 of this year Bukhara was Sovietized, and henceforward became known as a People's Republic. The activity of the Soviet power thus spread all over Central Asia. As in other previously occupied countries of Central Asia, Bolshevism gave rise to a Basmaji movement in Bukhara also. The intellectuals of the native towns, sympathizing until now with the Basmajis from afar, as with a movement expressing the open protest of the masses against the Soviet "Colonial policy," began now to take a keener interest in it for fear of its dying out. Secret conferences were held in Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara. The object of these conferences was to bring about a political rally around the Basmaji "headquarters," to give political guidance, to direct the spontaneously-born Basmaji movement into a definite political form. Autonomism was no longer of any



use. It indicated a link with the Russian state; it was a label to be discarded. There was only one way open—that of national independence. No other banner could have ensured success in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Without dictation or contradiction from any quarter whatsoever this programme was accepted as the only possible basis of the national struggle. But our own strength was insufficient—there were no guns or munitions, no material means. The representatives of the United Committee for the National Liberation of Central Asia, in the persons of Sadriddin-Khan, Kerimov, and others, made an appeal to the British Consul at Kuldja in 1921 asking for the support of the British Government.

This constitutes one of the characteristic episodes in the struggle of Turkestan against the Soviet power. The appeal never reached its destination. The special messenger on his way to Kuldja was arrested by the Bolsheviks in the town of Aulieh-Ata. As a result, all the members of the "Committee of Liberation" were condemned. The Soviet prosecutor based his accusation on the Shariat. Was it compatible with the commands of the Shariat and the obligations of Muslims to appeal for help to a country so hostile to Muslims as England is, who desecrated such holy places of the Muslims as Mecca and Medina? In spite of the guilt being proved—guilt punishable by death in accordance with Soviet law—the members of the Committee of National Liberation were only condemned to long terms of confinement in prison, whence, however, they soon escaped.

By this time a turning-point had already been reached in the Basmaji movement. In 1921 a congress was convened of the representatives of the rebel regions—that is, of Ferghana, Samarkand, and Bukhara—in which participated also the members of the United Committee for the National Liberation of Central Asia. At this Congress it was decided to proclaim Turkestan (Central Asia) an independent democratic republic.

All this—the activity of the Committee of Liberation, the Congress of the rebel regions—took place, unfortunately, at a time when the Soviet Government had at last succeeded in liquidating all the "White" fronts, and when the disposition of the masses began to weaken under the influence of frequent military failures in open battle. The feebleness of national consciousness was now asserting itself. Though stronger than during the Khanate period, it did not prove to be strong enough to arouse deep enthusiasm.



Now even the Basmaji leaders were ready to give up their "spheres of influence" and to recognize the leadership and authority of one of the capable leaders from among themselves. Such was Shir-Muhamed (who is at present living at Kabul).

#### 5. ENVER AND DJEMAL, 1921-2

The year 1921 was characterized also by another serious event in the life of the Central Asian Basmaji movement: it was the appearance on the rebel front of Enver Pasha. He appeared all of a sudden at first in Bukhara, causing great excitement in Bolshevik circles, where he was regarded hopefully in two directions; he might have been of service either in case of Mustafa Kemal's betrayal of Bolshevik expectations, or in the event of serious complications in India. But the presence of Enver in Central Asia without a definite agreement or Soviet guidance could not have been tolerable to the Soviet Government.

After the famous Baku Conference (September, 1920) of the peoples of the East, the Bolsheviks began to look on Enver with suspicion and regarded him as "dangerous." The arrival of Enver in Baku gave rise to numerous demonstrations of the Azerbaijanians, who hastened to show both their pleasure and their grief—pleasure on account of his presence in Baku, and grief on account of his sojourn in the country of the enemies of the Azerbaijan independence. The appearance itself of Enver Pasha in the hall of Congress caused an unusual sensation. The eyes of the Muslim delegates sought out not the table at which presided Zinoviev, Radek, and other leaders of the Third International, but the box accorded to Enver. At the entry into his box Enver was welcomed by the Muslim delegates standing on their feet, and welcomed as a leader of the Young Turks—the bell of the President calling them to order being completely disregarded. Enver saw himself amidst the Bolsheviks, and realized that he was not in his right place. And here begins the turning-point in the disposition of Enver himself, who had come to this Conference in the name of "The Union of the Revolutionary Organizations of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Arabia, and Hindustan." At this Conference Enver learnt from the mouth of the Turkestan delegates of the Bolshevik atrocities in Turkestan "during the three years." From the mouth of Zinoviev himself he learned that in Turkestan the Soviet agents "incite one section of the population against the other, offend the native peasants,



depriving them of their land . . . continue to regard the local population as of lower race" (see the shorthand report of the Congress, p. 227).

This, naturally, caused Enver to regret his association with Bolshevik Moscow and brought him to Central Asia. Here, in Bukhara, the Bukharan Revolutionary Government itself showed lack of uniformity in its political conduct in its relations to Moscow. After the capture of Bukhara by the Soviet troops the treasures and the wealth of the Bukharan Exchequer were exported to Moscow as "a gift from the grateful Bukharan people." This alone was enough to cool down the young Bukharans who had been brought to power by the Bolsheviks. Osman-Hodja, the President of the Central Executive Committee of the Bukharan People's Republic, found himself in opposition to the policy of Moscow. With him also took stand Abdul-Hamid, the War-Commissar of Bukhara, and many other noted representatives of the local Soviet power. In the sudden arrival of Enver they saw the hand of fate, as it were. Soon Enver left Bukhara, "going a-hunting," and afterwards he threw in his lot with the antagonists of the Soviet policy in Central Asia. Enver was followed by the above-mentioned Bukharan leaders with Osman-Hodja at their head, and Eastern Bukhara (Tadjikistan of today) became the arena of Enver's activity.

Welcomed with great enthusiasm, Enver committed an irreparable mistake which was the result of his complete ignorance of the conditions of Central Asia. He became "Grand Vizier" to Said-Mir-Alim-Khan, the ex-Amir of Bukhara, a man of exceptional unpopularity in his country owing to the despotic character of his rule with the aid of Russian bayonets. The Ferghana and Samarkand Basmajis refused to recognize the leadership of the "Grand Vizier" of the Amir of Bukhara, whom they loathed. On the other hand, the Amir himself was not quite free of suspicion towards the former leader of the Young Turks. The enterprise of Enver was doomed beforehand. At the beginning of 1922 he lost his life in battle under the walls of the town of Baldjuvan, leaving no trace of note in the history of the Central Asian anti-Bolshevik movement.

Another interesting moment was the attempt of Djemal-Pasha to vest in himself the leadership of the Basmaji movement. His plan was a totally different one. He regarded the Basmaji movement, not from the point of view of the anti-Bolshevik struggle, at any rate for the present, but as a revolutionary army which in the near



future could be marched to the confines of India. I well remember meeting Djemal here, in Europe, in the spring of 1922. Enver then was still alive. Djemal was highly dissatisfied with his old friend for his shallow-mindedness and his anti-Soviet policy in Central Asia. Djemal asked me to write to my Turkestan friends of the necessity of transforming this policy and of collecting forces against the "enemy of all the Muslims." So far as is known to me he even appealed himself to the military leaders of the Basmaji (to the Kurbashi), advising them to listen to him. But the political leaders of the Basmaji movement rejected Djemal's advice, and even suggested to him to refrain from interfering with the course which the national struggle had already taken. With this ended the attempt of Djemal to utilize the Turkestan Basmaji movement for the ends of "the Eastern Revolution of Liberation."

#### 6. CONCLUSION: THE NEW BASMAJI SPIRIT

Such is briefly the Turkestan Basmaji movement in its more essential aspects. Having begun under the banner of the defence of "Kokand autonomy," it turned immediately after the destruction of the Autonomous Government into a chaos of popular risings throughout the whole country. There was no political centre that could have organized the spontaneous movement and provide it with a definite political ideology. If under the conditions of a comparative peace we had succeeded in November, 1917, in rallying the people to the banner of autonomism, now there was no longer a like possibility. The people would not have listened to a political programme. They wanted to gratify fully their hatred of the Bolsheviks at once, and not to sit down and argue over the future order. In their opinion the Autonomous Government had gone down because it did not immediately take up arms, but instead had waited, conducted negotiations, and worked out plans, all to no purpose. It was only after a series of years of cruel experience that the Basmaji movement assumed some of the aspects of a political organization. And the first thing that struck the eyes of the Basmaji leaders was the impossibility of freeing the country by its own means from the Soviet power. Hence the attempt to appeal for help to England.

The Turkestan Basmaji movement is the evidence of our political weakness. In the people there was spontaneous hatred of Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks, but there was not a clear national political consciousness. The rebel people



did not themselves attempt to restore the courts of justice in accordance with Shariat, or the freedom of trade, nor to open the closed mosques and medresses; what they did was to ask and demand these of the Soviet power. In other words, they did not put forward their own "national" institutions against the Soviet organs, but demanded the Power's sanction for them. Having obtained the necessary sanction they quietened down. The reason why the Basmaji movement has, under the circumstances, continued so long can only be explained by the commission by the Soviet power of innumerable crimes and blunders in Central Asia.

The Basmaji movement has now died away. Only sporadically, now and then, can it now make itself felt. But one cannot, however, say that Turkestan is quiet, and that the Soviet power is enjoying peace with comparative ease. Far from it. To those who closely observe the events there, it is clear that a new Basmaji movement is coming to life—another form of protest and struggle against the Soviet power. The Bolsheviks now find themselves face to face with the real national resistance. That the Bolsheviks have awakened national feeling, and even partly created it, there is no doubt. One must not forget that the question of creating in Turkestan a national state centre of Turkish peoples was first advanced by the Third Conference of the Turkestan Muslim-Communists as early as 1919. Among the participants in this Conference there were persons more or less connected with the Basmaji movement. In answer to this suggestion of the Muslim Communists the Soviet Government divided the whole of Central Asia into a series of tribal republics, desiring to create between the different tribes artificial "national" walls.\* This measure, however, while effecting external success, failed to influence substantially the development of the national political aspirations of all Turkestan. In every republic of Central Asia there exists now a national Communist opposition to Moscow. All of them put forward the same demand—liberation from the state of political guidance by Moscow. In Uzbekistan, as well as in Turkestan and Kazakhstan, they say the same thing, that they do not wish to be a colony of Soviet Moscow.

And the Basmaji movement, cleansed of its more adventurous elements, begins to acquire, in the eyes even of the Communist Turkestanians, a halo of popular heroism in the struggle against the Moscow centre and Soviet Centralism.

\* See ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1927, "New Political Organisations in the Caucasus and Central Asia."



## PERSIAN ART AND CULTURE

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Chicago, U.S.A.

PERSIA has made a great impression upon the whole history of civilization. For centuries she has been a productive and vital force among the nations. The beauty of the country alone has made Persia justly famous. Magnificent mountains support a glorious sky. The shining plains, the rich gardens have delighted poets and aroused admiration from earliest times.

From Persia has sprung a mighty line of rulers and kings. Thanks to the bravery, skill, and enterprise of her great leaders, Persian dominion at various times has extended from India to Egypt, from the shores of the Mediterranean to Central Asia. Rome, the mightiest military power of the ancient world, Persia withstood and defeated. Darius, Ardashir, and Shah Abbas are great names everywhere.

Even more important than mighty warriors have been the contributions made by Persia to the cultural and spiritual life of the world. Her arms did resound throughout a few thousand miles of Western Asia, but the roar of battles is no longer heard in the land. Yet the voices of her poets still stir hearts everywhere. Firdausi, Sadi, and Hafiz survive even in translations, while even minor poets like Omar Khayyám and Shabistari have devoted followers everywhere. Her great religious leaders have modified the course of civilization, lifted men's thoughts and inspired them to noble deeds. Few nations can point to two such commanding religious thinkers as Zoroaster and Mani. Thanks to the extraordinary intellectual powers of such men as Avicenna, precious ideas were preserved from Greek civilization to be transmitted to Europe, there to



help inaugurate a new epoch. Inventions and discoveries from China, scientific and mathematical ideas from India were likewise appropriated by Persian scholars, and with new and important additions given to the whole world.

The vast and brilliant Muhammadan Empire was in many ways sustained by Persian brains. It was Persia, particularly under the Abbasides, that supplied the jurists, the financiers, the administrators, the statesmen and theologians, who made the Muhammadan world powerful and influential.

But perhaps beyond all of these things Persia is famous for her individual and brilliant decorative arts. For more than two thousand years the whole civilized world, ancient or modern, has paid tribute in word and in coin to the Persian genius for beauty. In later Roman times the wealthiest grandees of the empire lavished extravagant sums on Sassanian textiles, whose solemn splendour and decorative power stir us even today. China and Japan received inspiration and artistic guidance in various ways from Persia. Persia was responsible for much of the finest work in architecture and painting of Northern India. Asia Minor, under the Seljuks, produced a beautiful and dignified art almost wholly the work of Persian teachers and craftsmen. Hardly any of the arts that are now called Turkish but were of Persian origin, or enriched and developed by Persian craftsmen. And in many ways, furthermore, Persian art reached the shores of Europe, there to teach new methods and new arts, and to lend elegance, grace, and decorative charm to those already established. This art of Persia has been the country's greatest asset. It has not only brought wealth and prestige to the nation, but it has in all ages and places made friends for the country, and there is no civilized country in the world today but has collections of Persian art that show to all who can see that Persia is worthy of admiration and affection.



Of course, it must be perfectly plain that in no single discourse could one possibly describe or appraise Persian art. An art that has extended over 2,500 years,\* that has included many styles, and has worked in many materials, needs a lifetime for its exposition. In Homer's phrase, "Had I a throat of brass and diaphragm of copper, and a life eternal," I could not tell its glories.

We can perhaps indicate some general features of Persian art and try to clear away some misunderstandings that conceal its real merits and retard its revival.

The first great art period in the history of Persia is the Achæmenian, beginning in 536 and ending about 330 B.C. Here, under the direction of great kings like Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, there were created at Susa and Persepolis palaces so magnificent that over two thousand years later, with all the growth of civilization that has come between, we are still astounded by the skill and magnificence there displayed. It was kingly art, and never have kings been more nobly housed. It was, moreover, despite the fact that the Persian kings shrewdly used workmen from other countries and wisely gathered information and examples from every available source, none the less truly Persian art, and we see there some of the essential characteristics of the Persian æsthetic genius coming to early and beautiful expression. The columns of Persepolis, which have something in common with the columns of the great Egyptian temples, are far more graceful, far more rational. Many of the Egyptian columns are fat and bulbous. They are copied after plant growth. They look like huge mushy stems, soft and pulpy. Their capitals are like great flowers; a structure and a pattern wholly inappropriate for the carrying of great weights. That beautiful logical fitness which distinguished Greek architecture, in which the column is beautifully proportioned to the apparent load

\* This is conservative. One of the most important of many discoveries made in 1925 by Professor Herzfeld was a very interesting rock carving of considerable artistic merit, which Professor Herzfeld thinks must have been executed about 2850 B.C.



that it is to carry, was in a large measure realized at Persepolis, and its slender, sharply fluted columns look strong and energetic and graceful. And the capitals with pairs of kneeling oxen at the top seem particularly fitted to carry a heavy weight. Moreover, the Persians understood construction better than either the Assyrians or the Egyptians. They were not obliged to crowd their columns together as the Egyptians did, but could space them in a noble, dignified way, completely avoiding the clumsiness and over-impressive massiveness of much Egyptian architecture.

These palaces must have been literally overwhelming in their splendour and magnificence. The roofs and beam ends were covered with beaten and gleaming metal; brilliant enamelled tiles decorated the walls. The floors were made of rich coloured mosaics. The ceilings were cunningly fitted with contrasted cedar, ebony, and ivory, gorgeously ornamented in gold and brilliant colours. Tapestries hung from the walls. The atmosphere was one of magnificence and nobility combined.

In the subsequent periods, when Persia was under the domination of the Greeks and Parthians, interesting arts were produced, but the next great revival of national life and culture took place under the leadership of the Sassanian kings.

Under the new Sassanian dynasty the people were stirred by a great moral enthusiasm; there came a glorious revival of national life, and works of art, the natural expression of the new spirit, were produced that still are unrivalled of their kind.

Superb rock carvings at Taq-i-Bostan, at Naqsh-i-Rustum, and other places, gave impressive evidence of the new spirit that was abroad in the country. Here the battles and occupations of the great kings were carved with majesty and monumental force. Not only are these carvings vast in size, but they are nobly and powerfully conceived.



The skill of the sculptor was amazing. The heavy elephants crashing through the jungle on the rock at Taq-i-Bostan, the plunging wild boars, the swimming ducks, the beautiful patterns on the garments, the heavy bodies tied with straining ropes on the backs of the elephants, are all given with a liveliness and convincing force that any modern sculptor might envy.

The Sassanian bronzes, silver, and textiles set a world standard. Most critics agree that the Sassanian weavers reached the summit of textile art, and if we are to judge by the money value today of even the few small fragments that remain to us, they are still the most precious brocades that have been woven. The Persian genius for decoration was asserting itself, and those splendidly conventionalized figures with their energetic contours, symmetrically paired or enclosed in circles, embody sound principles of decorative art. In colour, they were rich and quiet, proclaiming a splendour that is the more impressive because sober and restrained.

Only Chinese bronzes have equalled the sumptuousness and energy expressed by the Sassanian craftsmen in metal. In the few pieces that are left we find once more energy and nobility eloquently expressed. Many bronzes seem clumsy at first, but they hold us with a fascinating power because their makers hit upon the essential forms necessary to produce the effects they aimed at. Sassanian animals, whether in bronze or faience, often look very weak in the legs, but in the exaggerating of the chest and mane they succeed in expressing to the sensitive observer a force that is quite overwhelming.

Sassanian architecture was noble and dignified, if lacking something of the dazzling qualities that marked the buildings of the Achæmenian kings. Superb palaces were built in many places, such as Hatra, Firuzabad, Mschatta, and, the most famous of all, the Taq-i-Khusru at Ctesiphon. This palace near Baghdad contained a great audience hall, which is 121 feet high and more than 85 feet



across. To have constructed such a vault out of bricks, so firmly as to have defied all the ravages of time, earthquakes, and, what was worse, Mogal invasions, showed a knowledge of construction that marked one of the great advances in the history of architecture. Covering the floor of this vast hall was a huge carpet, representing a garden in springtime, wrought in silver and gold, with canals, flowers and birds in beautiful array, adorned with precious stones. Even more important architecturally is the great stone palace of Ardashir, constructed in A.D. 220, recently discovered by Professor Herzfeld, covering more than an acre, with walls 13 feet thick, a vault 100 feet high and 55 across; wider than nearly every Gothic vault in Europe. From the Sassanian period on through the time of the Caliphate and the dreadful Mogul invasions, the flame of Persian art burned brilliantly, despite numerous and, at the end, incredible calamities.

In the beautiful city of Rhages, as well as in other parts of Persia, there was produced a pottery which, for elegance and charm, is perhaps the loveliest ever made; a gracious and lively pottery made manifest, caught and prisoned in common clay. With the Muhammadan prohibitions against the manufacture of gold and silver vessels, Persians who still had a taste for magnificence turned to silver and gold inlay on bronze, and particularly at Hamadan developed a new style retaining somewhat of the energy and regal power of the Sassanian period, but bringing in a degree of sumptuousness, of finished design and exquisite workmanship, that marked a new epoch.

After the Mogul invasion, Persian workmen went to Mosul and were at least partly responsible for the great school of Mosul bronzes which produced there, and, later, in Egypt, the most beautiful decorated metal that the world has known.

Architecture added new lustre to Persian fame, and the ruins of the old mosque at Veramin, perhaps, with the exception of the mosque of Khudabandeh at Sultanieh,



the most noble monument on Persian soil, is witness to a beautiful balance and rhythm which the Persian architects then effected between simple compact constructional lines and the rich decoration that was subordinated to the main conception.

Persian architects were now going all over Western Asia building mosques and colleges for the Seljuks, and later for the Ottoman Turks, building glorious buildings of every sort at Samarkand and Bokhara that still astonish all who behold them, and contributing their portion of skill and imagination to buildings in Syria and Egypt.

In the Safavian period, once more a new and splendid epoch dawned. It is not true to think that great Persian art is confined to the pre-Muhammadan period. Each period produced something beautiful and perfect of its kind, and in the sixteenth century we see Persian artists attaining new qualities and effects.

Lavishly decorated architecture sprang up in many places, the best examples of which are to be seen at Isfahan, with their superb ornamentation of mosaic faience, an important Persian development which is one of the most brilliant types of architectural decoration ever used, and one of the most difficult and delicate of all the ceramic arts.

Painting and drawing under the guidance of Bihzad, Mirak, Sultan Muhammad, and Rizza Abassi, reached a brilliant jewel-like perfection in colour and conception, and a liveliness which combined to carry one of the oldest and most famous of arts to new triumphs.

Carpets were made in that period the like of which had never been before, nor has anything been created since that can be compared with them. In Persian hands the weaving of carpets attained a perfection that few arts can boast of. The most sophisticated imagination can find no flaw in the greatest examples. The lucid and intricate designs of encyclopædic variety are embedded in firm and velvety textures, wrought in a delicious variety of pure and glowing tones, often of unbelievable depth and brilliance, exhibit-



ing the most enticing rhythms. Their charm can never be exhausted.

If the Greeks were astonished at the richness and magnificence of Persian apparel, what would they have said could they have seen the garments that clothed the princes at the time of Shah Abbas? Brocades of solid silver and gold, and yet as soft and flexible as water, were ornamented with ingenious artistic patterns nobly spaced, giving an air not only of utmost sumptuousness, but aristocratic dignity.

That any country should have produced such a succession of great art epochs and have set the world's standards in so many styles is something to be wondered at and something which is not yet fully understood. Too much of the history of Persian art unfortunately still lies locked under the soil, still awaiting the releasing spade of the archæologist. But some of the sources of greatness in Persian art can be briefly indicated.

In looking for the conditions which underlay and created such a rich, significant, and individual culture, the first, and perhaps the most important factor is to be found in the variety and sharply contrasted cultures with which Persia was in constant contact. Persia, located in the heart of Asia, had on the east the wise and ancient kingdom of China with all the practical inventiveness and profound æsthetic feeling which her art has shown from time immemorial. On the south there was India, the mother of religion, the founder of sciences, whose rich and teeming life found eloquent expression in a symbolic and imaginative art of high quality. On the west was Assyria, Chaldea, and Egypt, each with significant contributions to make. And on the north-west the energetic, lucid-minded, enterprising Greeks, the most vital cultural force the Western world has ever known ; while at all times Persia has received robust contributions from the various nomadic peoples who have swarmed through her country.

From each of these sources Persia assimilated important elements, and the contrast of so many points of view and



types of experience could not fail to be profoundly stimulating. It is indeed the universal conviction of the anthropologists and psychologists of today that the most potent factor in human progress has been the variety and contrast of cultural contacts. It is the productive friction of divergent civilizations that has spurred man to new efforts of understanding and inaugurated great advances in human history. From each of many sources Persia gained something, yet for all of her borrowing she maintained her own individuality and unity; all of these various elements were continuously assimilated in a new and consistent whole.

Persia was, moreover, so situated that although she was in touch with this wealth of novel and contrasting ideas, yet she was for the most part far enough away from these various nations not to be culturally overwhelmed by them, and although more than once the nation was dominated by foreign conquerors she managed always to absorb them. The Arabs were hardly more than half civilized when they first swarmed into Persia, and the Mongol, Seljuk, and Turkoman tribes were scarcely civilized at all, and much of what these peoples acquired of the arts of cultivated peoples Persia supplied.

But it is not enough merely to indicate the sources of Persian art. Other nations have had opportunities for borrowing methods and ideas in art from their neighbours and have produced only commonplace results. Owing, perhaps, to the exhilarating climate or the genius of individual rulers and religious teachers, there seems to have been at the finest periods a moral and intellectual superiority in the Persian people. From the first they displayed a high order of energy, intelligence, lively-mindedness, and enthusiasm, and these are qualities which made possible high art. The common people of Persia have from time immemorial shown skill and patience, capacity for intense application and readiness to learn. The Persians are clear-minded and are able to follow intricate steps necessary for the planning of great works of art without becoming confused. In this they



were markedly superior to the Turks, who tried to copy many forms of Persian art, and did achieve special marvels in colour, but never had the intellectual finesse and endurance to think out the schemes that are involved in the highest form of decorative art, and with the Turks the Persian complex and subtly co-ordinated designs are always much simplified.

In the finest Persian carpets there are often five or six kinds of pattern, each on a different scale, or with a different rate of suggested movement and different kinds of emphasis. The subordination and organization of these various types of design and the synchronizing of them so that the patterns terminate together at the proper place, this seemed to the Turks to involve disagreeable mental effort.

Another source of æsthetic inspirations came from Religion. Zoroastrianism at the beginning and Sufism in Muhammadan times both contained many elements that were congenial to art and poetry.

Sufism in particular was the faith of many of Persia's greatest artists from the thirteenth century on, and the faith that saw every aspect of nature as the reflection of divine perfection and love, was of necessity moved to reverent and penetrating observation, and inspired to "release the import of appearances," to assist common and earthly things to proclaim their divine origin and mission. As Shabastari said: "God has planted beauty in our midst like a flag in the city." And so artists who felt that in creating beauty they were co-operating with God for the perfection of the world, and that they were in a small measure like Him, true creators, found in such a faith a powerful motive that made them feel both humble and important, that stimulated imagination and sustained their efforts.

In this they were following the examples of the great monarchs before them. The first thought of such great kings as Cyrus and Ardashir was that their achievements should be enshrined in the most noble and permanent



monuments possible. They felt that as Vice Regent of God and the visible expression of the State almost their first duty even before the full establishment of their kingdoms and the securing of public order was the creation of the noblest and most beautiful monuments possible, and on such work they lavished vast resources and apparently felt that these creations were a great claim on the gratitude of posterity.

We must not forget that Persian kings were frequently, like the great Chinese and Mogul emperors of India, themselves collectors and real connoisseurs of various arts, and that they often sometimes themselves attempted the artist rôle. In the royal collection in Teheran there is a most interesting painting of a paroquet from the hand of Shah Abbas himself which, while not equal to the work of his own great artists, none the less has a simplicity and substantial power that is highly credible to a busy monarch. Furthermore, we know that the specific planning of Isfahan and the making of it one of the greatest cities the world had ever seen was almost wholly due to his vision, his energy, and his detailed superintendence of the work.

When artists can feel that they are important public servants, and that the highest authority in the State holds them in honour and regard, and provides them, without stint, the most perfect materials and unlimited opportunities it is inevitable that they are stirred to supremest efforts.

Another factor that must not be overlooked in the creation of Persian art is the slow accumulating tradition. The method of the artists in Persia, and indeed of Asia, is far more impersonal and traditional than those in vogue in the Western world, where the artist is far more individualistic and depends more on personal taste. Despite remarkable individual achievements, the Persian artist has a profound respect for tradition and is often quite happy if he can but continue the usual forms with just some small added perfection in execution. Thus at the back of each noble achieve-



ment in Persian art is the slowly accumulating experience and taste of generations.

But an art of the quality that we have indicated could naturally not be confined within its own borders, and by virtue of the superiority and enterprise of its artists spread rapidly throughout the world. If the art of the Achæmenian was confined largely to Persia without much specific influence that we can trace, the same is certainly not true of art of the subsequent periods.

In the sacred treasury at Nara in Japan we find the beautiful banner of Emperor Shomu, one of the first of the great historical monarchs of Japan. This banner is only a Chinese copy of a well-known Sassanian textile pattern, and there are plenty of other evidences that Sassanian textiles were well known and highly prized in Japan. Persia contributed a great deal to the enrichment of Byzantine textiles, and one of the mightiest monarchs of the West, Charlemagne, was buried under a shroud the design of which originated in Persia.

Whatever, as we have already indicated, the Seljuks, Ottoman Turks, and Moguls achieved in the realm of art, they owed largely to Persian instruction and inspiration.

In the beautiful green mosque at Broussa there is an inscription on the top of one of the capitals: "The Work of the Master Craftsmen of Tabriz." When Sulieman captured Tabriz in 1534, his most important loot consisted of Persian artists and workers whom he carried off to Constantinople, hoping there to create schools of art that would rival those of Persia. And not one of the famous carpets of the classical period of Turkish art, or any of their famous velvets and brocades, or any of their extraordinary lovely faience, but what owes a profound debt to Persia. When the great Mogul chieftain Tamerlane was to be buried, it was an architect from Isfahan who had to be summoned in order to build a tomb worthy of that mighty conqueror. Persian designs and technique, particularly Persian ceramic arts, such as beautiful lustre



faience, worked its way west into Spain, from Spain into Italy, there to be the moving force in the famous Italian majolica.

Even China, supreme as she was in all the arts, learned much from Persia. Cloisonné is a Persian development of an Egyptian invention which attained to superb beauty and richness in Sassanian times. This work was early carried into China and there became the basis of a national art. Many pottery shapes, patterns, and colour schemes employed in China are of Persian origin, and Persian artists were, we know, held in high repute.

The art of Northern India in the great Mogul period was, in large measure, under Persian inspiration. Persian artists were responsible for much fine painting and calligraphy, and directed almost the whole of the Indian rug weaving that attained artistic importance, inspired her poetry, and gave initial impetus to some of the greatest architecture the world has ever known. Some scholars have ascribed to Persia the invention of the pendentive, with its delightful stalactite developments, that made possible the development of dome architecture in Asia. There is an extremely difficult problem in the construction of domes, and for all their architectural and engineering mastery the Romans never understood it, and never saw any way to put a round dome on a square building. The problem is indeed an awkward one. To put a round dome on a square structure is to create a number of disagreeable gaps and overlappings. It was probably the Persians who developed this system of concave niches which filled awkward spaces and made possible the elaborate subsequent dome architecture.

The Persian genius for abstract symmetrical decoration which showed itself as early as the Sassanian period has become the dominant force in the textile decoration of the Western world. Although equipped with science and machines, with art schools, and with every technical resource, European weavers have never even faintly



approached Persian models in rug weaving, and whatever merit their commonplace productions possess they owe to Persian styles. Most European textile ornamentation from the fourteenth century on has some connection with Persian sources, and those who know Persian patterns as they pass through the interiors of European houses can recognize on every hand the influence of Persian designs.

In the last few years scholars have come rather suddenly to realize that the foundations of our European painting must be sought for in the Near East, particularly Persia. Byzantine painting, as Professor Breasted\* has so brilliantly shown, is under direct obligation to the painting of Northern Mesopotamia, so long under control of Persia. Professor Soulier† has shown at how many points the Persian painting entered as a formative controlling influence into the painting of Italy, and of course through it to the rest of Europe.

To fully understand and appreciate the work of such a succession of gifted art epochs is indeed no small matter, and is constantly occupying the attention of serious and highly trained scholars.

If we can get a clear grasp of some of the few fundamental principles of Persian art, it will help greatly to understand and appreciate individual works of art of all its types and periods.

Persian art is primarily decorative rather than representative, and unless we get this clearly in mind, there is no hope of ever fully appreciating the work of her best artists. Purely pictorial or representative art aims at giving an exact replica of some object. Whether a portrait, a landscape, or an architectural model, it tries to reproduce everything that the real object shows, so that the result is a sort of duplication of the original. This theory of art, when strictly followed, admits of no contribution from the artist except

\* James H. Breasted: "Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting." Chicago, 1924.

† Gustave Soulier: "Les Influence Orientales dans la Peinture Toscane." Paris, 1924.



the skill of his hands and the acuteness of his eye, and the result is almost like having another object.

Decorative art, on the other hand, aims primarily to produce an ensemble of lines and colours, of shapes and textures that are in themselves charming and beautiful, and which do not necessarily represent or even closely follow any real object. The best artists have always combined both features, but Persian art has been primarily successful in decoration, and even in the miniatures that often seem to follow the object with microscopic perfection the artist rarely forgets the requirement of good decoration. And we find that he arranges his lines more simply and more gracefully than they are to be found in his model. We find that for the sake of greater decorative brilliance he has left out of his picture shadow and perspective and atmosphere, so that the shapes and colours can stand out in a cameo-like perfection.

We often forget that lines have their own individual character and life. All lines tend to move; they apparently travel in certain directions, or point, or lean, or curve, or bend, or rise, or fall, or crowd, or separate—all words denoting motion, and yet words which are appropriate to lines which, physically speaking, do not move at all. Yet there are many patterns which have so definite and marked direction or motion that we cannot by any effort of imagination think of them as reversed. They move with an irresistible power, and yet we know the lines are not moving. We can put our hands upon the paper and hold them still, but we cannot see them except as alive and stirring.

The decorative artist is one who knows how to conceive and execute living and expressive lines, a line that is so filled with energy and spirit that we ourselves are caught up in its movement and share a little of its grace and liveliness. What is true of lines is more true of combination of lines, and the great artist is a magician who with line and colour summons a host of animated spirits, which he then combines



in an infinite variety of forms, each having a character of its own. His resources are infinite. Lines are to the draughtsmen what notes are to the musician or words to the poet. By making lines few and heavy, and the angles blunt, and the masses thick, he can suggest gravity and power. By having the lines often with sharp angles and heavy accents he can create an arrangement that in itself imparts to us restlessness; by having them flow gently together he gives us peace and repose. The whole range of common emotions can be awakened by a master of lines.

Thus the decorative artist is always examining objects to find what in them is the most graceful, what outlines the most inspiring, what colours the most fascinating. Having discovered this in the world of real objects or in the world of imagination or in the patterns of preceding workers, he then seeks to express them most simply but most forcibly.

*(To be continued.)*

## SOME RECENT BOOKS ON ARCHÆOLOGY—II

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

OVER thirty years ago the University of Chicago inaugurated a project to publish in a series of volumes complete translations of all the historical texts of the ancient Near East. Professor Breasted began this series of "Ancient Records" by publishing in 1906 and 1907 the historical documents of Egypt from the earliest times to the date of the Persian conquest in 525 B.C. The preparation of this work, which filled five volumes, occupied the author's unceasing attention for ten years, as he wisely rejected the often inaccurately published copies of texts and went straight to the originals, a course which involved long residence in Europe and many visits to Egypt. The scheme thus inaugurated was brought to a standstill for some years, partly owing to lack of funds and partly to the Great War. As soon, however, as the means could be found to resume operations "Ancient Records" once more assumed full activity, and Dr. Luckenbill attacked the records of Assyria and Babylonia. The texts with which he was concerned were designed to fill six volumes. The first two contain the Assyrian historical inscriptions, the third was destined for those of Babylonia, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth for the legal, official, epistolary, literary, and religious texts. At the end of 1926 the first two volumes were issued, and in 1927 Dr. Luckenbill visited Europe again in order to collate texts for the succeeding volumes. He was suddenly taken ill, and died in London on June 5, 1927.

It is due to the memory of a great scholar that some account of his life and labours should accompany our notice of his last work.



## ✠ DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL.

Luckenbill was born near Hamburg, Pennsylvania, on June 21, 1881. He was from boyhood a keen scholar and a voracious reader. Under his father's stimulating influence his interests developed largely in the direction of Oriental languages, and in 1903 he received his A.B. degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He continued his studies at the University of Berlin in 1905, and received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1907. In 1908-1909 he was a member of the faculty of the American School of Archæology at Jerusalem, and by 1923 he had been made a full Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature at the University of Chicago, which he had served since 1907.

In 1914 he married Miss Florence Parker, of Chicago.

In 1919-20 Luckenbill was a member of the staff of the University of Chicago Oriental Expedition, the first group of Europeans to cross Arabia after that country's declaration of independence; and in the autumn of 1924 he was a member of the British Museum Expedition to Western Asia.

Luckenbill was general editor of the Assyrian Dictionary, now in course of preparation by the Oriental Institute of Chicago University; he was also advisory editor of the *Journal of Religion*, co-operating editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, curator of the Assyrian collections in the Haskell Museum, a member of the American Oriental Society and other similar bodies.

His publications included, besides numerous contributions to scientific journals, "The Annals of Sennacherib," 1924, and "Ancient Records of Assyria," 2 vols., 1926, which are now before us. By his premature death from typhoid fever, to which he succumbed last summer, science has lost a great scholar and his colleagues a genial friend.

These two volumes of the historical records of Assyria\* fully maintain the high standard of accuracy and care that was revealed by Professor Breasted's collection of Egyptian texts in the same series. The inscriptions translated begin with the earliest known—those of Ititi and Zariku from Assur, down to the reign of the last of Assurbanipal's successors, Sinsharishkun. The period covered is therefore about eighteen centuries. The translations are preceded by a valuable introduction, and are followed by the lists of kings and of Eponyms, and the volumes are provided with a very complete index.

The Assyrian historical inscriptions are mainly the loud boastings of kings. Each successive king, with a monotonous insistence upon the first person, recounts his conquests, his spoils, and his building achievements. The style is vigorous, but formal. The Assyrian inscriptions lack those little human touches that are apt to creep into the most official and stilted Egyptian documents, yet they contain a great mass of most interesting information, apart altogether from their confessedly annalistic purport. We can glean a great many interesting facts relating to the social and religious life of Western Asia in those far-off days; and what the Egyptians represent mainly by pictures, the Assyrians tell us in words. There is something appallingly barbarous in the delight, that these texts reveal, of the conquering monarch in the ruthless slaughter of his enemies and in the utter destruction of their crops and goods, or, at least, of such parts of their property as the conqueror was unable to carry off. Every portable object of value was taken as spoil, and we read list after list of cattle, gold, precious stones, and raiment seized by the relentless victors.

It is a relief to turn from these accounts of bloodshed and spoil to the building inscriptions, which describe in graphic detail the architecture and adornment of the temples

\* "Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia," by Daniel David Luckenbill, Ph.D. 2 vols. Chicago University Press, 1926.



and palaces set up by the kings to the honour of the gods who had helped them to victory. It is interesting to note, also, that many of the kings brought with them from their expeditions to foreign lands all kinds of rare animals and plants, which they acclimatized in their own country. This is paralleled by the Egyptian kings, who were ever eager to introduce into the Nile Valley rare animals and plants from Nubia, Somaliland, and Syria.

The texts to be published in the succeeding volumes, especially the legal, business, and private documents and letters, will throw more light on the intimate life of the ancient East than the historical inscriptions of the kings can furnish. We sincerely hope that the materials for these volumes are sufficiently far advanced in preparation, and that Dr. Luckenbill's manuscripts are in such a condition that the remainder of the undertaking can be speedily accomplished by his successors.

In 1923 Dr. Adolf Erman of Berlin, whose studies of the language and literature of ancient Egypt have completely revolutionized our understanding of the hieroglyphic texts, published a collection of the principal Egyptian literary texts under the title of "*Die Literatur der Ägypter.*" This work was of the greatest interest and importance, because it brought together in a convenient form translations of texts which before had to be sought for in many scattered technical publications. Such previous translations, moreover, were of very unequal value, and many of them, though satisfactory in their day, were seriously out of date. At the time of Dr. Erman's publication the hope was universally expressed that an English edition should be issued, and this hope has now been fulfilled.\* Dr. A. M. Blackman of Oxford, one of the foremost Egyptian scholars in this country, has produced an English edition of Erman's

\* "*The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians,*" by Adolf Erman, translated into English by Aylward M. Blackman. Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1927.

work; and this is not a mere translation of the original German, but has been controlled by a direct study of the Egyptian texts themselves. We therefore have in this book the double authority of one of the acknowledged masters of Egyptian literature for the original and the competent scholarship of Dr. Blackman for the translation.

This volume for the first time places before the English reader a complete and representative series of the literary, didactic, and poetical works of the ancient Egyptians. In the seventies of the last century a laudable attempt to familiarize English readers with the ancient literature of Egypt was made in the series of works issued under the title of "*Records of the Past*," to which many of the leading scholars of the day contributed. This series, however, has long since become obsolete; for not only has our knowledge of the Egyptian language increased by leaps and bounds in the last fifty years, but many new texts have since been discovered. The English editions of Maspero's "*Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*" have made English readers familiar with the stories, but with these exceptions almost the only other authoritative sources of information were the technical editions of various individual texts scattered in many scientific publications and inaccessible to the general reader.

Dr. Erman's book begins with a series of extracts from the poetical portions of the Pyramid Texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. These are followed by hymns to the diadems of Egypt and to the gods. Next in order are the stories of the classical period of Egyptian literature, including the Story of Sinuhe and the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor. The Egyptians had many wisdom books or works of a didactic nature. These were very popular as school exercises under the Ramesside kings, and, besides the more complete rolls that contain them, we have numerous extracts written as school tasks by youthful scribes.

In addition to these longer pieces, we have a collection



of songs and love poems which are, in spite of their peculiar methods of phrasing, endowed with very considerable poetic merit. Perhaps the most interesting part of this volume, however, is that which contains extracts from the school books, partly because these are less widely known than the other texts, and partly because of the great variety and human interest of their contents. We have from time to time called attention in this journal to these interesting and fascinating documents.\*

It is needless to say that the work of such an author and of such a translator is excellent both in substance and execution, but whilst we are grateful for the great mass of interesting matter laid before us, we cannot help regretting that no magical texts are included in the collection. In the Berlin Museum, for instance, there is an interesting papyrus containing magical spells for the protection of mothers and babies, and of this Dr. Erman himself was the first editor. This text and other magical documents, especially those in the Museums of Leiden and Turin, would have been welcome additions to the volume. Perhaps the author will consider this point when he is preparing a second edition, which is certain to be called for at no distant date. There is another point to which we would call attention, and that is the absence of references to the pages or sections of the original texts. This omission, whilst not affecting the general reader, is of importance to the student who wishes to use the translation in connection with the Egyptian texts.

The ever-growing interest in ancient history and archæology on the part of the public, an interest which was greatly stimulated by the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen, has called into existence a considerable number of popular books. Many of these, however, although undertaken with the best of intentions, have been compiled by authors whose knowledge of the more technical literature

\* ASIATIC REVIEW, vol. xix., October, 1923, pp. 668-674; vol. xxi., April, 1925, pp. 309-312.



of the subject was insufficient for their needs. The function of popular books is not merely to be interesting and readable, but to distil into non-technical language the work of scholars and specialists, and to present the subject in an authoritative form by a critical use of the materials. Again, a certain number of popular archaeological books has been published by specialists who, whilst possessing the fullest knowledge of their subject, do not possess the gift of presenting the facts in a form which is intelligible to the layman. Popular works cannot supersede the technical, but they should form a clear and comprehensive introduction to the study of the latter. We now have to welcome a work which has none of the defects to which we have just alluded. In his latest book,\* Mr. Donald Mackenzie, whose works on ancient history and archaeology are so well known, has presented us with a clear account of the rise and development of the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Crete, Sumer, Assyria, Persia, Greece, India, and China. In each of these accounts he has embodied the results of the latest researches. His book, therefore, whilst being up-to-date and instructive, forms a delightful introduction to the larger histories of the nations with which he deals. The illustrations are well chosen and excellently reproduced, and many of the subjects depicted will be quite new to the general reader.

We have to welcome another translation by Dr. A. M. Blackman—that of Professor Spiegelberg's pamphlet on the credibility of Herodotus' account of Egypt.† This brochure is the substance of a lecture, and accordingly it aims at being no more than a slight sketch of the subject. In recent years it has been customary in many quarters to

\* "Ancient Civilizations, from the Earliest Times to the Birth of Christ." By Donald A. Mackenzie. Blackie and Son, Ltd., 1927. Price 12s. 6d. net.

† "The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt in the Light of the Egyptian Monuments," by Wilhelm Spiegelberg, with a few additional notes by the translator, Aylward M. Blackman. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1927. Price 2s. 6d. net.



discredit the veracity of Herodotus because many of his statements appear at first sight to be at variance with the evidence of the Egyptian texts. This criticism, as Professor Spiegelberg points out, arises from the fact that the critics have not taken into account the fact that Herodotus was a Greek, and as such he was at the mercy of interpreters for many of his facts, just as modern travellers are who prefer the stories of the dragoman to the reliable guidance of Baedeker. When allowance is made for this fact, and also for the brevity of his visit and the limited facilities to which he had access, Herodotus' reputation is amply vindicated, for most of his statements, if correctly interpreted, are in the main substantiated by the native evidence.

Miss Winifred Blackman's interesting book on the inhabitants of Upper Egypt\* can be appropriately noticed here, because, although it deals with the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, it contains an important and interesting chapter on the analogies between the customs and beliefs in vogue today and those that were observed in Egypt thousands of years earlier. The greater part of the book is devoted to an account of the social, industrial, and religious life of the Egyptian *fellahin* based upon exhaustive notes accumulated by the author during a number of prolonged visits to Egypt. Miss Blackman so completely won the confidence of the peasants among whom she lived, and especially the women, that she has been able to present her readers with a mass of valuable information on some of their most intimate and cherished beliefs. The picture which Miss Blackman draws of the *fellahin* of today corresponds very closely with what we imagine to have been their condition in ancient times from the indications of the hieroglyphic texts. When we consider what sweeping changes, both political and religious,

\* "The Fellahin of Upper Egypt," by Winifred S. Blackman. London: George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 1927. 15s. net.

have befallen Egypt since the Persian conquest, it is remarkable to see how little the character and life of the Upper Egyptian peasants has altered.

The last chapter of the book deals with ancient Egyptian analogies, and although this, as the author admits, might be very considerably extended, it presents as it stands a very striking array of parallels. Islam, whilst imposing a religious formula, has not eradicated many of the ancient religious and superstitious ideas which are the direct heritage of Pharaonic times. Nowhere, perhaps, is this more apparent than in the confidence which the Egyptians place in magic at the present day. Prophylactic, curative, and aggressive magic are practised very much as they were under the Ramesside kings three thousand years ago, and even the very wording of the formulæ has preserved its identical form. The incantation quoted by Miss Blackman on p. 207 might almost have been translated from one of the magical papyri of Leiden or Turin.

This book is a most interesting contribution to the ethnography, folklore, and cultural anthropology of Egypt, and its value has been greatly enhanced by the comparisons made with the ancient customs of the country whose records stretch further into the mists of antiquity than those of any other land.



## SUTTEE

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

OLD stagers are frequently informed that India is changing out of all recognition, and indeed when they read of all-India women's conferences and of the election of Indian ladies to legislative councils, they are inclined to credit such assertions. But India has always been a country of strange contrasts; and every now and then events occur which carry us back to the stories of a century ago. The mail of December 2, 1927, brought news of the self-immolation of a young widow at Barh in the Patna district of Bihar which, but for the fact that some of the thousands of spectators arrived in motor-buses, closely resembled the dreadful scenes described by William Carey, James Forbes, and many others. The most significant feature in the proceedings was the temper of the crowd of onlookers, which prevented effectual police interference until the girl had been so badly burnt that she died within two or three days. It was only when the subdivisional magistrate had reinforced a small force of civil police on the spot by armed police hastily summoned from Patna, that it was possible to remove her from the scene. Various persons have been charged with abetment of the suttee, and are now under trial.

These incidents show that suttee has not yet become a matter of purely academic interest, and we are grateful to Mr. Edward Thompson\* for giving us in 165 pages the results of his investigations into this long-established Hindu usage. He wrote before news of the Barh suttee reached England, but quotes various instances of suttees which have occurred since 1829, and the considered opinion of a Judge of the Allahabad High Court, who wrote in 1913 that "any relaxation of the law in such a matter will result in the recurrence of the evil which took so many years to decrease to a minimum. . . . Sati may or may not be forbidden by the Hindu religion; but it was once a common practice, and the sympathies of the people, at least

\* "Suttee: A Historical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow Burning" (illustrated), by Edward Thompson. Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.



of the unenlightened people, are all with sati, and it is looked on as a meritorious deed." Mr. Thompson thinks that it would be "easy to show that suttee in one form or another, public or private and irregular,\* has occurred almost every year in some part of India between 1829 and 1913; and probably it will still occur, though at longer intervals."

In a carefully considered chapter on the "Reasons for Suttee" he enumerates firstly "the premise of Hindu sociology and religion, that the husband stands to the wife in place of the Deity"; secondly, the desire to avoid sharing a dead man's possessions with his widow; thirdly, the doctrine of Karma, which proves that a widow is a sinner whose previous life has brought upon her "the heaviest of all punishments in the loss of her visible god." He points out that the widow who mounted a pyre passed from this miserable condition to one of beatification. "Her dying curse or blessing had absolute power and unfettered course. After her death prayers were made to her 'manes,' and those prayers were sure of fulfilment. Her dying redeemed her ancestors from hell, and she enjoyed communion with her lord. That communion was hers even if in life he had hated her; she forced her company on him, however unlovely or uncongenial she had been to him." Mr. Thompson remarks on the puzzle for the psychologist which the extraordinary levity and callousness of the spectators of suttees have been wont to exhibit, and then pauses, "remembering the mobs who watched our own Smithfield burnings and public hangings." Levity and callousness were not, however, always the characteristics of those crowds. But suttees were not burnings of heretics or public executions of fallen statesmen, rebels, or convicted criminals. So comparisons are difficult. Mr. Thompson hardly brings out the peculiar quality in suttee on which Colonel James Tod lays peculiar stress, its expiatory quality. The Sati was believed to make atonement for the sins of her husband and of others as well as of her own. In the very year in which Bentinck abolished sati, Tod, publishing his "Rajasthan" in England, said emphatically that only abrogation of the doctrine that pronounced sati *exculpatory* could effectually prevent it. But such abrogation would be to overturn the notion of metempsychosis, the fundamental doctrine of the Hindu creed. The way out, therefore, lay through the conflict

\* "The commonest form of irregular suttee is when a woman drenches her clothes with paraffin and burns herself in her own house" (p. 126).



of Hindu religious authorities, some of whom were for and some against suttee. It is true that, as Mr. Thompson shows, suttee again and again in actual practice meant downright murder of the most callous kind, and sometimes, outside British territory, holocausts of helpless women, crimes in which no shred of finer feeling is perceptible, except in some of the helpless victims; but the strength of its general appeal to the Hindu mind lay in its sacrificial character. Self-immolation was not infrequently practised by men as well as by women, and in both instances attracted popular veneration. James Forbes, in his "*Oriental Memoirs*," observed how strange it was that men "in the prime of life and with every blessing should desire to immolate themselves to their deities and be buried alive." Ram Mohan Roy ascribes "the dreadful acts of self-immolation and the immolation of the nearest relatives" to the obstinate system of idolatry which inculcated the propitiation of supposed Deities by such sacrifices. Reflections of this kind led him to declare in a petition to Lord Amherst that if the policy of the British Legislature was to keep India in darkness, the Sanskrit system of education was "the best calculated for the purpose." He was convinced that a new atmosphere was necessary, which only Western culture could generate.

When direct British rule began in Bengal, Warren Hastings, naturally anxious to legislate in harmony with popular sentiment, summoned learned Brahmans to Calcutta to prepare a manual of Hindu law. Not only did this compilation encourage suttee, but Colebrooke's translation of a digest, which was prepared later under the superintendence of Sir William Jones, emphatically states: "No other explicit duty is known for virtuous women at any time after the deaths of their lords except casting themselves into the same flame." It adds that the sati expiates the sins of three generations of her husband's family. This clear declaration naturally operated on the minds of rulers who had undertaken to "preserve the laws of the Shaster and the Koran and to protect the natives of India in the free exercise of their religion." And so when confronted with suttee and its attendant horrors, they adopted a policy of compromise, which, explicable in all the circumstances, was fraught with disaster. A way out of the dilemma was indicated in the first emphatic protest which reached the Calcutta Government. This came from M. H. Brooke,\* Magistrate of

\* Mr. Thompson, evidently misled by an article in a Calcutta review of 1867, calls him Brooks.



Gaya in Bihar, who prevented a suttee not by force, as Mr. Thompson says, but by simply stating that he would not allow it. Brooke's letter to Lord Cornwallis, who was Governor of Bengal as well as Governor-General of India, deserves quoting. "Cases sometimes occur in which a collector, having no specific orders for the guidance of his conduct, is necessitated to act from his own sense of what is right. This assertion has today been verified in an application from the relations and friends of a Hindu woman for my sanction for the horrid ceremony of burning her with her deceased husband. Being impressed with the belief that this savage custom has been prohibited in and about Calcutta, and considering the same reasons for its discontinuance would probably be valid throughout the whole extent of the Company's authority, I positively refused my assent. The rites and superstitions of the Hindu religion should be allowed with the most unqualified toleration, but a practice at which human nature shudders I cannot permit without particular instructions. I beg, therefore, my lord, to be informed whether my conduct in this instance meets with your approbation." *The real issue is plainly stated here.* Could any promise given in general terms absolve a Christian Government from doing its best to suppress a practice at which human nature shuddered? No reply was given to this awkward question. We can all be wise and brave years after the event; but it is difficult to study the parliamentary papers on suttee from first to last, and not to think that a straight answer *then* would have altered all the future and saved many lives. Suttee had already been prohibited within the immediate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. James Forbes' memoirs show that it was not permitted within the small settlements which at that time constituted the Presidency of Bombay. It is plain from all returns and papers that whatever the Shastras and the Brahmans might say, the number of persons in British territory who either committed or wished to commit suttee formed a small fraction of the total population; and Brooke states that the relations and friends of the widow came to him for sanction before they ventured to act. But, substituting what was considered to be politic inactivity for the simple rule of right and wrong, the Government of Lord Cornwallis professed a shallow optimism. Brooke was told that his conduct was approved, but in future he was to resort *to dissuasion only and not to coercive measures or the exercise of authority.* Public prohibition would probably increase the Hindu



veneration for suttee. *It was hoped that the practice would decay and disappear.*

Mr. Thompson thinks that the wrong turn was taken by Wellesley because, while regarding suttee with horror, instead of prohibiting it, that masterful Governor-General "submitted the matter to the Supreme Court, who replied two years later recommending the Government to guide its policy by the religious opinions and prejudices of the natives." Wellesley, says Mr. Thompson, was dissuaded from action by the apprehension of danger from the army. This version of events is, however, unjust both to the Supreme Court and to Wellesley. There is no evidence, so far as we are aware, to show that the former was ever consulted. For advice in the matter of Suttee, Wellesley properly turned to the judges of the Nizamat Adalat, the Company's chief criminal court, an altogether separate tribunal, which had only recently been established, and on February 5, 1805, asked its judges to ascertain "whether this unnatural and inhuman custom could not be abolished altogether." How far was it really founded on religion? The judges replied in the following June, forwarding the opinions of the Pandits whom they were wont to consult on questions of Hindu law, recommending abolition in districts where the practice had fallen into disuse and checking in others on lines indicated as possible by the replies of the Pandits. The latter said that with specified exceptions (women, for instance, who were pregnant or, having infant children, could not provide for their support by other persons), a Brahman, Khetri, Vaishya, or Sudra widow might burn herself with her husband's body, and would by so doing contribute essentially to the future happiness of both. For seven years the Government took no action on this letter. In 1812 they adopted a policy of half-measures which, as Mr. Thompson shows, proved worse than useless. But Wellesley was not responsible. When the Nizamat Adalat's letter was written, he was under orders of recall, and he made over charge to his successor on July 30, 1805. Apprehension of danger in the army from the abolition of suttee does not appear to have entered his mind. That bogey seems to have originated in the shock given by the mutiny at Vellore which occurred a year after his departure, and undoubtedly impressed his successors with the risks of interference with custom.

Mr. Thompson writes of the "Regulations" of 1812. In fact, no "Regulations" were issued. The Government's laws were then called Regulations, and the Govern-



ment of Bengal shrank from legalizing suttee in any shape or form. In 1813 and 1817 they issued circular orders which were devoid of legal sanction, could have been disobeyed without legal penalty, and conceded so much to the custom at which they were aimed that they did more harm than good. In 1815 district magistrates were instructed to submit to the Nizamat Adalat annual reports and returns of suttees. These reports and returns eventually penetrated to Westminster, and prove conclusively that, as Mr. Thompson points out on his page 67, the policy of paltering with suttee was criticized in scathing terms by various district and police officers who were perfectly willing to face the risks of prohibition and believed that these would be negligible. Some of the letters are so strongly worded that we think that the Government deserves some credit for forwarding the full text. There were others, however, from officials who were persuaded of the wisdom of their superiors. Reports of all kinds went before Parliament and may still be read.

In fairness to the Governors-General between Wellesley and Bentinck we must mention that in his famous abolition minute of 1829 the latter expressly exonerated his predecessors, stating that "in the same circumstances" he would have done as they did, and that the whole minute shows that, in the words of Sir Alfred Lyall, Bentinck acted "with some qualms and many explanations." It is clear from papers in the India Office that he had arrived from home charged by the Directors with instructions to consider "definite measures for the immediate or gradual abolition of suttee." The chief credit for the outlawry of the rite is certainly his. He showed a lofty and courageous spirit. But we are not disposed to say with Mr. Thompson that "the garland belongs to him *almost alone*." The way for the decisive blow was prepared by a long line of civil servants and missionaries as well as in a notable degree by the brave and high-souled Indian, Ram Mohan Roy. The time was over-ripe and the Governor-General was there.

The cleavage of official opinion even in Bentinck's day and Ram Mohan Roy's belief that outlawry of suttee would be unwise go far to explain long persistence in what had long been stigmatized as a mischievous and timorous policy. According to papers in the India Office, Bentinck was fortified by the unanimous verdict of the judges of the Nizamat Adalat in favour of immediate abolition; but of fifty-three officers, mostly military, and of fifteen principal civil servants, who were also consulted, only twenty-four and eight



supported this view. Charles Metcalfe, the Governor-General's principal counsellor, a man of long experience and undoubted courage, was clearly dubious. Bentinck, therefore, had ample warrant for thinking that he would run a considerable risk, but decided that the occasion justified this risk. The very fact that prohibition excited no opposition beyond a petition to the Privy Council from a number of Bengalis, who asserted among other things that "the conscientious belief of an entire nation" had been "violated," shows the sound judgment of those Government servants who had long before urged that popular attachment to suttee in actual practice was not of a kind to resist resolute repression.

Mr. Thompson's account of negotiations with the rulers of native states for the abolition of suttee, and his estimate of the motives which inspired Dalhousie's annexation policy, are particularly interesting and suggestive. In his last chapter he has expressed his views on British psychology during the Mutiny, a subject which seems to us entirely unconnected with suttee. We do not propose to follow him on this excursion. Despite the inaccuracies which we have noticed, his book is of solid value as a useful contribution to the history of a custom which possesses living interest. For, as he says, "the background of suttee," early marriage and inexorable widowhood, still persist among Hindus. A campaign to secure reform was long ago undertaken by the famous Bengali Pandit, Ishwar Chandar Vidyasagar. But, to quote from Sir Surendranath Banerjea's "Nation in Making," published in 1925: "The Hindu widow's lot remains very much the same as it was fifty years ago. There are few to wipe away her tears and remove the enforced widowhood that is her lot. The group of sentimental sympathizers has perhaps increased, shouting at public meetings on the great Vidyasagar anniversary day, but leaving unredeemed the message of her great champion."

## HISTORICAL SECTION

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### THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA (1699-1702)

BY HARIHAR DAS

THE intrinsic value and permanent interest of Sir William Norris's observations during the period of his stay in India must remain a matter of individual opinion, but no reader of his journals will dispute the fact that he had many of the qualities of a shrewd and intelligent chronicler. His account of Fort St. George, the original cradle of the fine and flourishing city of Madras, will interest those who love to trace the development of modern cities through the various stages of their growth. Of Masulipatam, which has declined as Madras advanced, but which at his time was the principal Mughal port on the Coromandel Coast, he gives a vivid and detailed account. He did not confine his attention to the towns, but was equally observant of the country. He pronounced the soil rich, but remarked that it was not cultivated as well as it might have been. This he attributed not so much to neglect or ignorance on the part of the cultivators, but to their apprehension of not enjoying the fruits of their labour from either insecure tenure or the extortions of tax collectors. The result was that through not growing sufficient paddy for their needs they had to import rice from Bengal. This remark applied more especially to the districts round about Masulipatam. In his journey through Central India to the Emperor's camp he did not fail to notice that agriculture constituted the principal occupation of the inhabitants, and frequently refers to their mode of tillage and the variety of their crops. In commerce he declared the Hindus were more competent



than the Muhammadans, while his description of the coinage and the current exchange employed in all commercial transactions adds to our knowledge of Indian affairs during the effective period of Mughal administration.

Surat was a great trade emporium, and many of its influential Indian merchants owned large ships and carried on a brisk trade with the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and other parts of the East. Of course, the several foreign factories there added to the general animation by the spirit of competition they maintained. Sir William Norris discovered that travelling through the provinces was not free from danger owing to numerous bands of robbers and constant raids by the marauding Mahraths. So much was this the case that travellers always kept together in parties and persons of importance were guarded by suitable escorts. At the same time *serais*, or rest-houses, had been built along the main roads either by the Emperor's order or through the munificence of some members of his family. On the journey inland Sir William saw and described many fertile regions and scenes of great natural beauty. He seems also to have been favourably impressed by the architectural skill displayed in numerous tombs and other monuments scattered over the region now described as Central India. He also observed with regret that many of the more artistic survivals of a past age, principally temples, had been either destroyed or seriously damaged by the Mughal. The fortified castles constructed by the Emperor Aurangzib and his predecessors, perched on lofty eminences in order to command the passes and river crossings, excited his admiration; but at the same time he noticed that the batteries placed in them were not correspondingly powerful, and pronounced the guns very inferior to those King William had included among his presents. Several of the towns on his route were prosperous centres of inland trade. The large bazars were filled with all kinds of local manufactures and other commodities. The prosperity of the people in those parts was very apparent



and he makes no reference to the existence of want or discontent.

The provincial Governors were in absolute subservience to the Emperor. At the same time they exercised arbitrary power in their respective governments, and so long as they were able to retain their master's favour by timely presents they were not interfered with. The Governors took advantage of their many opportunities to squeeze the people: more especially the Hindus, from whom they exacted levies in the form of presents, which could only be withheld at the price of confiscation. In point of fact it was the Hindu subjects who always suffered most from Aurangzib's religious intolerance. This was because, following their master's example, his Governors made sharp distinctions in the matter of race and religion, and in the administration of justice favoured most those who adhered to the tenets of Islam. In his journal Sir William Norris described in unequivocal terms how the poll-tax was levied upon the Hindus and forcibly exacted from them by the local Mughal officials. That tax, introduced by Aurangzib to provide him with the means for carrying on his numerous wars, was made an instrument of further tyranny, because the prevailing custom was for the official to exact something over and above what the State demanded. The provincial Governors vied with one another in the splendour of their courts, all modelled on that of the Emperor. Sir William made special note of the luxury with which they surrounded themselves and the ostentatious pomp displayed in their *darbars* and the numerous occasions when they held festival. These extravagant manifestations were indulged in without a thought for the needs and cares of the people, who were systematically kept in complete ignorance regarding public events and Government affairs. There was no regular postal system for communicating news between the different parts of India. The Governors exercised great influence in the administration of their provinces, and even the Emperor himself was obliged to depend upon their reports



irrespective of whether they were true or not. For political reasons, indeed, they were treated by the Emperor with all the outward marks of favour and approval. Nevertheless, he was well aware of what was happening throughout his realm, but the system had become so deeply rooted that he felt reform to be practically impossible. Besides, he was growing old.

Notwithstanding its imposing externals Norris pronounced the Mughal Empire to be in a state of decay. Corruption was rampant at the Court ; no one, as he discovered himself, could get a hearing without first bribing court officials from the highest to the lowest. The transaction of all business was slow and systematically protracted. He found the army disorganized owing to arrears of pay and scarcity of provisions, the country being still suffering from the effects of former famines. In spite of the new levy the Treasury was low, and the drain upon it caused by almost ceaseless warfare was constant. But the weakest feature of all was the army. Its nominal strength was fictitious, because, as Sir William discovered, the Mughal generals diverted much of the Imperial revenues into their own pockets and made returns of their effective strength that had no relation to fact. The military force essential for preservation of a foreign rule, such as that of the Mughal dynasty, was wasting away through the improvidence of officials who did not realize that at the same time they were undermining their own security. The disloyalty of the army officers had brought the Imperial Government into a condition that would end inevitably in its fall. The administration was in Sir William's view hopelessly irregular, and the Emperor too far advanced in years to be able to cope with those urgent and intricate affairs that hitherto he had kept in his own hands. It seemed evident that he could no longer control his own Ministers of State.

It is a matter of deep regret from the historical point of view that an account which Sir William obtained from Persian records, preserved among the Imperial archives,



giving a full list of all allowances paid by the Emperor to Umaras and Mansebdars of all degrees as well as to Princes of the blood, is missing and probably lost. Such a document would have been invaluable for throwing additional light on the Mughal system of administration. The details in the Emperor's pay-book could hardly have failed to prove informing. They would have revealed to what extent he regulated expenditure by due regard to his resources. The system in force was evidently based upon this principle—that the great ones of the land should owe both position and fortune to the Emperor's bounty or favour. It followed therefore that as he had unlimited power to give so also he had unlimited power to take. As a result noblemen tried to conceal part of their wealth with a view to the inevitable day of misfortune. That, however, was not easy, as spies were almost numberless. Although Sir William records many defects in Aurangzib's character and administration, he seems nevertheless to have been fully alive to the sterling qualities of the Emperor, who had been trained to war from his youth upwards. Aurangzib was the last of the great military leaders of the House of Timur. He had ever been prompt to recognize and reward the valour of his generals on the field of battle, and not less keen to censure and punish incompetence or cowardice.

Notwithstanding the pomp of his Court and the grandeur with which the State banquets were arranged, Sir William Norris took note of the fact that the Emperor's personal habits were abstemious. He never attempted to emulate his own grandfather, Jahangir, in his drinking bouts. He set his courtiers a good example in moderation, even if they did not follow it. That very moderation may have been the cause of his long life, which stands as a record among the Mughal Emperors. Aurangzib had a high sense of his own importance and regarded himself as the greatest monarch in the world. He was, therefore, more aloof and difficult of approach to foreigners than some of his predecessors had been. It must also be remembered that the



curiosity felt by earlier rulers about European countries had now somewhat worn off. These were no longer a mystery. The circumstances of the day, due to mercantile disputes, war in Bengal and at Bombay, the prevalence of piracy from which Mughal subjects suffered much, were all obstacles to that hospitable and gratifying reception on which Sir William Norris had too confidently counted.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that Sir William was much struck by the general attitude of Indians towards religion. He carefully noted their religious observances, about which he gives many details. It may be observed that those characteristics are still as strongly marked a feature in the religious lives of orthodox Hindus and Muslims as in Aurangzib's reign. Sir William was especially impressed with the reverent behaviour of the Hindus when attending Christian services in his camp. This was in entire harmony with their attitude when engaged in their own worship. He regarded the expenses incurred on the Emperor's birthday, devoted to charitable purposes, as further proof of a deep and practical religious tendency in the character of the peoples of India.

NOTE.—The *journals* and *letters* of Sir William Norris will be incorporated in the present writer's forthcoming volume on the Ambassador's mission to India. H. D.

## LITERARY SECTION

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### LEADING ARTICLE

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#### THE PARIAHS

BY STANLEY RICE

By comparison with the North the South of India is neglected, nor is it only the curiosity of sightseers which is responsible for the neglect. For the North presents endless problems to the scholar and a wealth of material on which to work, compared with which the South, with its literature written in languages unknown to almost every European savant, is comparatively uninteresting. The spot where Alexander crossed the Indus and the remains of Greek influence in the North-West, the Rama legends that cling to Oudh and the Pandava legends about Delhi, the Buddhist traditions of Gaya, the rise of Jainism, the Parsis of Bombay, the battlefields of Panipat, and a host of others, belong to the North. And most important of all, it was there that Sanskrit literature took its rise, there that the Aryan invader brought his hymns of the Nature gods, and thence that the Laws of Manu came. Aryans and Huns, Tartars and Afghans, Persians and Arabs, Greeks and English have poured over Northern India and created a wealth of history, of archæology, of literature, of religion, of politics that satisfy the most thirsty appetite. And yet, when all is said and done, it is for that very reason that the South is so often called the real India. If you ask the average traveller what he means by the real India he will probably talk rather vaguely of palm trees and a luxuriant nature, of a climate with a sun that can be very hot and a winter that is never more than cool, of "barbaric" temples and palaces, and of dark-skinned men. All these things really mean nothing more than that South India conforms to his idea of what the tropics ought to be. And if the traveller searches a little deeper, he will find in South India the abiding home of Hinduism; and though he may not realize all that this implies, he will feel in some vague fashion that he has responded to his environment.

South India is the real India because it is there that the



indigenous civilization of the country survives. India in the main is composed of the blending of two civilizations. Just as the English language is in the main a blend of Saxon and of Norman French, on which has been superimposed a mixture composed of the classical languages with a sprinkling of words surviving from pre-Saxon days or imported direct and unchanged from foreign lands, so India is composed of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures with survivals from the aboriginal stock and a superimposed mixture of Muslim and Greek, Parsi and Mongol, and English, with perhaps here and there direct importations—from France or Portugal, from Japan or Arabia—not sufficient in themselves to have any perceptible influence on the country. And as in English the Anglo-Saxon is the foundation and the Norman French the superstructure, so in India it is on to the parent trunk of Dravidian culture that the Aryan branch has been grafted. It may be that, as in the vegetable world, the graft is the more important part of the tree; that does not alter the fact that the stem is Dravidian. So much, indeed, seems to be admitted by the latest scholarship; let Professor Rapson bear witness. "Dravidian civilization," he says, "was predominant in India before the coming of the Aryans . . . there can be no doubt that they have very greatly influenced Aryan civilization and Aryan religion in the North." This theory is further supported by Risley, who speaks of the Dravidians somewhat loosely as "the original type of the population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements." Thurston, Barnett, and others hold that the Dravidians known to us are not the original inhabitants, who are now represented by jungle tribes, but are the product of the fusion between these primitive races and the more highly cultured pre-Aryan invaders. The theory that the Dravidians entered India by the usual gateway of the North-West receives further support from the existence of the Brahui tribe of Baluchistan, who speak a language universally admitted to be Dravidian. These folk make their appearance in all discussions on the subject. Professor Rapson, who has elaborated the question further in the "*Cambridge History of India*," gives reasons for rejecting the opposite theory that the Dravidians poured out of India to found colonies of which this is a survival, chief among them being that all invasions have poured into and not out of India, and that no invader was likely to be attracted by the inhospitable hill tracts of Baluchistan.



We may take it, then, that India was originally peopled by a race or races the remnants of which are found in the jungle tribes of today, that these races were conquered by another that entered in the time-honoured way by the North-West passes and gradually extended southwards; that they in turn had to meet another invasion before which they retreated again to the South, where they found refuge behind the Vindhya chain with its impassable forests, and where they remained ever since. But we are also justified in assuming that the course of these invasions followed the course of every other of which we have knowledge. There is nothing so hard as to exterminate a people. Many efforts—some conscious, some unconscious, others, again, indirect—have been made within historical times, but the result is always the same. Israel tried to exterminate the Canaanites, quite consciously, as we see in the story of Samuel and the Amalekites. Rome tried to exterminate the Carthaginians, but only succeeded in destroying the city. Germany tried to exterminate the Poles by the method of destroying all that gave distinctive nationality; and white men have all but succeeded in exterminating the red men in America and black men in Australia. A similar fate is gradually overcoming the Todas of the Nilgiris, whose plight moved the sentimental compassion of the Government of Madras a few years ago. Yet in no case is extermination complete.

Having thus established the impossibility of extermination, we may advance the further proposition that the conquered races tend to disappear or to be confined to inaccessible regions in direct ratio to the degree of culture which they have attained. The wider the difference is between the cultures of the conquerors and the conquered, the more do the latter withdraw or dwindle towards extinction; and conversely the nearer the cultures, the greater is the tendency for the two races to settle down peaceably and eventually to become fused. This has happened so often—in Britain and France, in Spain and Persia, in China and South America—that it needs no demonstration. The Dravidians, therefore, must have been driven from Northern India into the fastnesses of mountain and forest, as they themselves had driven the aboriginal races, or they must have remained behind—such of them, at least, who did not retreat behind the Vindhya—to become fused with the Aryans as the Saxons became fused with the Normans. It may be remarked in passing that we know very little of these prehistoric invasions; it is possible that the early



Dravidians penetrated further than the Aryans, and so laid the foundations of South Indian culture; the alternative is to suppose that there was a great migration caused by Aryan pressure, and that the same process of civilization went on to the South of the Vindhya as was going on in the North. Now of the two hypotheses mentioned the latter is by far the more probable. For whether the Dravidians had already established themselves in the South or were driven there by the Aryans, it is manifest that their culture was far in advance of that of the jungle tribes, and was little, if at all, inferior to that of the conquering race. It follows that Dravidian culture was widespread in the North, and that Aryan culture impinged upon it and became modified by the impact. It is on some such grounds as these that Professor Rapson's statement, already quoted, must be justified, though the size of the work from which it is taken evidently precluded a detailed argument.

The predominance of the North, and especially the Sanskrit literature which belongs to it, has probably not been without its influence in establishing the generally accepted theory that the caste system was invented by the Aryans to preserve the purity of their stock; and as time went on the idea was further adopted or adapted to suit the main occupational divisions. But with the admission of a pre-existent Dravidian civilization we are no longer bound to take this theory for granted.

The evolution of the four great castes presents problems of its own, but it is not relevant to the present. Both the "Aryan" and the occupational theories admit some pre-existing social order out of which the great divisions were developed; neither assumes or could assume that caste sprang like Athene fully armed from the head of Zeus, and it is therefore fair to argue that the Aryan and occupational developments are only later stages of a system the religious character of which they do not satisfactorily explain. The outcaste is a different matter, for it seems probable that he goes back to origins. It is unfortunate that the word "outcaste" happens to correspond with another English word, since it suggests the notion of thrusting forth; nor is it strictly correct, for the outcaste is not one that is "out of caste," but one who has never been admitted into it. These folk—in Telugu countries at least—do not admit even so much, for they call themselves Panchamas or members of the fifth caste, but that idea belongs clearly to the age when the four superior castes were fully developed, and may be regarded as at best a euphemism. The word Paraiyan,



which is familiar in England under the form Pariah, is said to be derived from the word *parai*, a drum, because these outcastes beat drums at festivals, weddings, and other ceremonies. This, of course, they still do, and so far as it goes the name indicates that when caste became transformed on the lines of occupation, the beating of the drum was considered to be their profession. On the other hand, they are now to a very large extent farm hands, "ploughmen formerly *ascripti glebae*," and the agricultural labourer is by no means the "lowest of the low." Dr. Slater, who holds that "untouchability" arises from the practice of an occupation regarded as "somewhat sinful" in that the Pariah is sometimes a leather-worker and flays cattle, sees the difficulty of applying his theory to the agricultural labourer. "It is not so easy to see," he says, "why the great rice-cultivating castes of Paraiyans, Pallans, and Cherumas are also untouchable." His solution—if what is after all only a suggestion can be called a solution—is that "untouchability once established tends to justify itself; the Paraiyan, being untouchable, does not scruple to eat mutton and drink toddy, and neglects various niceties of behaviour regarded as essential in higher castes." Now what does this amount to? Some Paraiyans are leather-workers; therefore contact with them is prohibited. Some, however, are not, but since it is "only where the geographical conditions make it possible to impose . . . nearly all strenuous outdoor labour on a depressed caste, and at the same time intensify the desire to escape such labour, that agricultural labourers are untouchable," the agricultural labourers of those parts became identified with the leather-workers and gradually sank to their level, with the result that they incurred the same disabilities. And this result was the direct consequence of their own self-degradation.

This theory is manifestly open to many objections. In the first place, why should a caste which is employed in the honourable and respected occupation of agriculture be "depressed" at all, even where their betters desire to shirk strenuous labour? Is not this putting the cart before the horse? Again, it is not every agricultural labourer that is untouchable; there are thousands of others who work as hard as any Pariah in the field and yet preserve their caste. But granting that these Pariahs belong to a "depressed" caste, how came the caste to be depressed? For it is recorded that there are not less than 350 subdivisions of Pariahs, and nothing would have been easier than to form a separate sub-caste of those who followed the higher



occupation. Further, there are other castes, such as fishermen and toddy drawers, who follow callings not less strenuous and certainly less respected than agriculture, but which are superior, if only just superior, in social rank to the Pariah. And once more, if it be held that they are landless workers on the land, others also work for hire, and there is no apparent reason why it is more degrading to receive wages for land work than for cook's or blacksmith's work. Finally, there is no good reason why the agricultural Pariah, brought up in the atmosphere of Hinduism, should so abandon himself to despair as to adopt the unsavoury habits of those whom he would have been taught to despise.

Though in his desire to justify the economic theory Dr. Slater has overlooked the true clue, he is right in his main thesis that the origin of untouchability must be looked for in South rather than in North India. It is, or was at one time, the commonly accepted theory that while the Sudras were those of the conquered people who submitted to the victors, the casteless folk were those who had not so submitted and were therefore subject to the greater punishment. But the "Aryan" theory ignores, as it does in the main question of caste, the obvious fact that the Pariah belongs more especially to the South, and that the disabilities are greatest in that part which was most effectually protected from invasion, whether by Aryans or anyone else, until Europe arrived by sea. Nor does it satisfactorily explain why others of this degraded "fifth" caste should be found elsewhere in India, when by a timely submission which seems to have involved no hardship they could have raised themselves to a relatively respectable and comfortable status. Inconvenient as the Dravidians may be, there they are, and have to be accounted for.

The true clue seems to be, as usual, religion. The very name of Paraiyan, which has been traced back as far as the eleventh century, but which for all we know may be, and probably is, far more ancient, suggests that when caste became occupational these people took or were given the distinctive title of their hereditary employment. They were the class who performed the most humble ministrations to the gods, and the connection of drum-beating with evil spirits suggests further that their original functions were connected with magic. But how did they acquire those functions? Now the helots of ancient Sparta were "probably the aborigines of Laconia who had been enslaved by the Achæans before the Dorian conquest." They were "State slaves, bound to the soil—*ascripti glebæ*—and



assigned to individual Spartiates to till their holdings." And again in ancient Rome we find that the slaves were employed in various artisan services, or as cooks or ploughmen, or even as petty traders, such occupations being thought beneath the dignity of a Roman. Bearing these analogies in mind—for, of course, the evidential value of societies far removed from India in time and place is very slight—we may recognize a strong probability in the theory that the outcastes were the survivors of the conquered peoples who, as caste tended to coincide with occupation, became the drum-beating, leather-working, and farm-labouring classes to which as serfs they had been relegated from early times. But they were not the races conquered by the Aryans; the Aryans conquered a race hardly if at all inferior to themselves in civilization, but distinctly inferior in military prowess, just as Norman conquered Saxon and Mussulman Hindu. The Paraiyans belonged to the aborigines who were conquered by the Dravidians, and being of a different race they were not admitted to the totem or similar clans with which marriage is always intimately connected, since that would have led to free intercourse and the gradual degradation of the race. In other words, the Dravidians applied to the Paraiyans the same test which the Aryans are assumed to have applied to the conquered inhabitants. But marriage was not the only consideration: the disabilities of the Paraiyans were probably due also—perhaps even to a greater degree—to the mystical qualities inherent in taboo. To admit such a man to the totem family was not only contrary to the social order, but would bring upon the clan the anger of their particular god. It would be a sacrilege of the same kind as the offering of unconsecrated or unorthodox fire by Korah and Dathan. But though debarred from the clan, the Paraiyan might still do the menial services in the same manner as he now does. If it is no sacrilege for Paraiyans to beat drums on such important ceremonial occasions as weddings, even when caste has attained its full rigidity, still less would there have been objection to similar practices when caste was in its infancy and religion had not advanced beyond superstition.

There may, of course, be an anthropological objection to this suggestion. It may be said that the Paraiyans show no affinities with aboriginal races, and possibly it is a large assumption to make. In the absence of definite data some assumption is necessary, and, failing strict scientific refutation, there seems much to recommend the theory. For many centuries—not less than twenty, possibly thirty or



more—the outcastes have lived in an atmosphere of Hinduism, which is at once the most tolerant and intolerant of creeds. They have been admitted to a kind of lowly participation in the system, though they have always been kept at a distance and have been excluded from the temples. Separated from their original folk and at the same time fused in a limited sense with the general mass, with whom, at any rate at first, there must have been some inter-marriage, it is not surprising that they have acquired Hindu characteristics in place of those they have lost. That they retain distinctive features, have their own cults and their own priests, and marry according to their own customs, is, as in the case of the other castes, due to exclusiveness as the key of the whole system. Anthropology would not, therefore, seem to be an insuperable difficulty; and in other respects the gain is great. We get a rational explanation of the existence of these folk all over the country and of their preponderance in the South. For if the Aryans found a civilized people with civilized customs, it would surely be natural for them to continue those customs or such of them as were suitable, just as Islam with all its proselytizing and iconoclastic ardour never extinguished or went near to extinguishing Hinduism, but on the contrary became itself modified by it; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the custom remained most vigorous amongst those people with whom it originated, and especially with those who were least exposed to modifications due to the irruptions of foreigners.

Secondly, it explains why the Paraiyans as a class are untouchable. This neither the "Aryan" nor the occupational theory does in a satisfactory way, for even if the Aryan wished to remain aloof, why should the southern Dravidian copy the example, and why should the Aryan himself have differentiated between this particular class and the other classes of the people? Nor is it easy to understand why that differentiation should extend to the avoidance of actual contact, to the refusal of help when in dire need of it, or of water and food when the body is consumed by hunger and thirst. We ourselves do not care to shake hands with an unwashed sweep, nor do we court the intimate acquaintance of the butcher who is slaughtering; but we have no personal aversion from either, only from the condition in which he happens to be. To argue that India was not as we are is altogether too facile; it only amounts to saying that there is no accounting for tastes. But when you place the matter upon a religious basis all is

explained. Ceremonial purity frequently involves the avoidance of contact with the unhallowed; ceremonial defilement is frequently conveyed by food and water. We have scriptural authority for both these assertions. For, according to Leviticus, certain sexual functions render both the man and the woman impure and involve temporary separation, and Christ in pursuance of his ethical mission taught that "not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man," words which St. Matthew says gave offence to the Pharisees.

Thirdly, it provides the natural basis for such practices. All or nearly all conjectures as to the origin of primitive customs which are based on secular ideas of race, economics, policy, and so forth have either had to be abandoned or have only held the field on sufferance in default of a better explanation. Many theories of the origin of caste have been put forward, but all of them, according to the encyclopædia, are "unintelligible." If we keep our eyes steadily fixed on religion as the key, we shall arrive at something which at least fits the facts.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

## FAR EAST

LE CŒUR JAPONAIS. By Félicien Challaye. (*Payot.*) 15 francs.

(*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE.)

Once upon a time the Japanese were "yellow monkeys" and "grown-up children" to Europeans, who, it must be confessed, knew little or nothing about them. Now a very different view is taken: "nous avons changé tout cela." It has become the fashion to extol the Japanese, if one may use the expression, beyond measure. M. Challaye has nothing but good to say of them, and yet one supposes they too have their faults. Just as someone once asked in a cemetery where the wicked were buried, so one asks, "What are the vices of the Japanese?" It is, of course, common knowledge that they are exceptionally careless of life, exceptionally artistic, and, as might be expected of a race so closely connected with China, exceptionally influenced by family life and the reverence due to elders. When we are told that amongst their other virtues are to be reckoned courtesy, love, and patriotism, we are inclined to wonder whether they are specially distinguished for these, and even to suspect that perhaps behind all their praise there lurks a faint surprise that such things are to be found in a coloured race. Nevertheless one must admire the very genuine admiration which M. Challaye has for his heroes, and echo the closing sentiment of his book that "the historic mission of Japan may well be to bring Yellows and Whites closer together for the general good of humanity."

SOCIAL CURRENTS IN JAPAN. By Harry Emerson Wildes. (*University of Chicago Press.*) 15s. net.

The aim of this volume is to present to the Western reader the Japanese psychology, particularly as seen through their Press. The book consists of thirteen chapters, the titles of which include such interesting subjects as "The Anti-Alien Tide," "International News Agencies," "Interpreting Japan to Foreigners," and "Libelling the Japanese."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHINESE DOG. Edited by Florence Ayscough, with writing-brush sketches by Lucille Douglas. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 6s. net.

(*Reviewed by* Mrs. SALWEY.)

Here is a daintily produced volume like many others of its class that have been attempted, including "The Wind in the Willows" and the interesting "Brown Ambassador" of Mrs. Hugh Fraser.

Yo F.E.I., the Chinese dog, is one of those pets who is credited with the power of reciting the adventures of his life, and wandering, with and

among people and places. Yo F.E.I.'s opinions and observations are fanciful and amusing. The authoress has interspersed through these pages sayings, superstitions, manners, and customs from Chinese classics and sages. By this means she has cleverly disseminated knowledge, through the reasonings of the dog, for the edification of the general reader. For those who delight in literature of this kind, and are dog lovers, many a half-hour may be spent pleasantly in the perusal of Yo F.E.I.'s sayings and adventures, and in those of his companions, both human and canine.

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SKETCHES OF VANISHING CHINA. By A. H. Heath. (*Butterworth.*)  
30s. net.

This volume contains brief accounts of the author's journeyings to the outlying parts of China, but the chief attractions are the very beautiful reproductions of drawings made by him in the course of his travels. Not only are the subjects well chosen, but the colouring is very charming. This work will be welcomed as a memento by the travellers who have visited those parts, as they will probably be inaccessible for some time to come. The sketches of Soochow and another of the cargo junks call for special mention, and are indeed suitable for framing.

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### THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

(*Books Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

TERRES ET PEUPLES DE SUMATRA. By Octave J. A. Collet. (Amsterdam : *Elsevier.*) Illustrations and maps.

The historical Amsterdam publishing house of *Elsevier* has once more proved that it can sustain comparison both with its own past achievements and with the best work of the modern Dutch presses. The sumptuous volume announced above blends in pleasing harmony the illustrator's and the printer's arts. Such is the balance, both in tone and weight, which is maintained between the printed page, the plates and the numerous maps, sketches and ornamental designs interspersed throughout the text, that restful homogeneity results, these varying elements notwithstanding.

The work itself is, in the main, a very skilful compilation which supplies a justified addition to the voluminous literature on Sumatra in that it co-ordinates, condenses, and unites vast masses of detailed facts, at present scattered in numerous periodicals and pamphlets, not always easily obtainable. The author's individual contribution to this work lies herein, that he has brought to bear upon the mixed material utilized so much knowledge and understanding of the countries—Sumatra stretches over a distance equal to that from London to Brindisi—and the peoples concerned, as to offer living pictures of both to those unfamiliar with either. His style, always lucid and ethnologically precise, frequently rises to artistic achievement in describing people or landscapes. The peoples living in Sumatra today range in stages of cultural development from Stone Age conditions to the penultimate forms of Bolshevism. Their



various laws and customs—that *adat* which the Dutch rulers have ever so wisely respected—show traces of all the influences that have affected them throughout history. If the author breaks no new ground in expounding these, he succeeds in making much which, at first sight, seems merely “quaint,” or “queer,” or even downright repulsive, to appear in the redeeming light of gradual evolution. His comparisons with European feudalism are telling and true, and he gives adequate weight to the influence of women upon public affairs. The different modalities of democracy, to which local or regional autonomy in conjunction with tribal rule has given rise, are fairly enumerated, but no attempt is made to draw certain interesting distinctions between Indonesian and European democratic concepts. Likewise in dealing with Mohammedan influences no indication is given of any change wrought since the introduction of the Nationalist régime in Turkey.

On the art side the book is weak. We are shown tantalizing examples of the graceful houses in the *Padang Uplands*, the *Lampongs* or *Minangkabau*, but no details of their exquisite ornamentation. Yet here, later than elsewhere, are lingering traces found of past cultural contacts. Music is disposed of in a couple of noncommittal sentences. In outlining native dances a mistaken emphasis is placed upon phallic survivals and too little upon the symbolism of gestures. But then the latter subject still awaits adequate exploration. In his epilogue the author pays a handsome and well-earned tribute to the Dutch Colonial Service, but criticizes some of the directions given it in recent years by the Home Government. His recommendations include the energetic development of railway and other transport facilities coupled with the wholesale immigration of the overflow of Java's population. No one who reads this sympathetic, yet strictly impartial, account of Sumatra will dispute the author's conclusion that this vast and rich but underpopulated island stands at the mere beginning of its unfoldment.

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AN ETHNOLOGICAL HANDBOOK OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES (*Beknopt Handboek der Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*). By B. Alkema, Lector, University of Utrecht, and T. J. Bezemer, Professor, University of Utrecht, and Agricultural High School, Wageningen. (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink und Zoon.) 131 illustrations.

An eminently readable book, and, considering the vast material it embraces, remarkably well balanced. The authors attempt to reconcile the conflicting evidence of ethnology, anthropology, and linguistic research into the origins of the various races that people the islands which, from Madagascar to Easter Island, “lie festooned along the equator as a girdle of emeralds.” To those whom they may not convince, they at least present a fair survey of the latest authoritative views upon these controversial matters. Family and social life in all its aspects receives adequate treatment. The religions which have moulded the spiritual values of these innumerable peoples and tribes are ably summarized. The authors' views of the Christian missions may not be entirely shared by all those who

have watched the results; but none will read without keen interest their summing up of the effect which Christian teaching has had upon the traditional social and political concepts of the natives, thereby developing a Christian-native *adat* which is supplying the basis for present-day justice and jurisprudence.

The chapters on arts and crafts evidence the keen study which the Dutch have devoted to these subjects. It is interesting to observe in the shapes of houses and the elements of ornamentation traces of bygone links, now with Southern India, now with Burma, Cambodia, or Siam. There would appear to be ample scope for collaboration between Dutch and British experts in assessing the full value of Indian influences upon the religious, social, and artistic life of the Indonesian peoples.

The illustrations, whilst not always as clearly reproduced as they might be, are well chosen, but the absence of maps is to be regretted. Perhaps neither the authors nor the publishers are aware of Mr. Kipling's statement that "as soon as men begin to talk about anything that really matters, someone has to go and get the atlas."

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THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES (*De Staatsinrichting van Nederlandsch-Indië*). Published under the supervision of Professor Ph. Kleintjes, LL.D. (Amsterdam: *J. H. de Bussy*.)

This book supplies a compendium of the laws, decrees, and regulations which make up the constitution of the Netherlands Indies. Starting with the Fundamental Law of 1854, it leads up to the important decrees of 1926 and 1927 regulating the *Volksraad*, or Council of the People. It affords interesting evidence of the gradual process of decentralization which has been going on since 1905, and fully sets forth the present status of the various provincial and municipal governing or advisory bodies, as well as that of the independent native states included within the Dutch overlordship.

The civil service, both European and native, is likewise fully dealt with. The work is indispensable to those who would study the methods by which other colonial powers are attempting to solve some of the post-war problems which they have in common with the British Empire.

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## INDIA

MADHAVRAO SCINDIA OF GWALIOR. By Messrs. Bull and Haksar. (Lashkar, Gwalior: *Alijah Darbar Press*.)

(Reviewed by C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O.)

The authors and producers of this handsome volume are alike to be congratulated on its merits and its appearance. Indeed, the only fault that a critic, who knew and admired the subject of this biography, is that in their wish not to exaggerate the merits of the dead prince they have hardly given him all the praise that he merited.

The house of Scindia cannot trace its origin to the sun or moon after



the manner of some of the Rajput dynasties. Although the Chief of Gwalior is one of the first in India, he is not of very ancient descent. The founder of the family was one Ranoji, who bore the common Maratha surname of Shinde, that by some mysterious process has been Italianized—possibly through the influence of the Filoze family—into Scindia. Ranoji Shinde had several sons, of whom four met violent ends: Jayappa was assassinated at Nagore, Dattaji and Jyotaba were killed in the battle of the Badaon Ghat, Tukoji was killed at Panipat. The dead prince was descended from Anandrao, the youngest of Ranoji's sons. Anandrao's son Daulatrao adopted Jankojirao. Jankojirao adopted Jayajirao, who was the father of the prince whose biography is before us.

The great mutiny broke out in Jayajirao Scindia's time. The chief remained true to his obligations, but his army mutinied, and he had to flee with his minister to Agra. His exile, however, was short; he came back in triumph with Sir Hugh Rose and governed his state for the rest of his life well, in an old-fashioned way. He died at Lashkar on June 20, 1886, leaving a boy of nine to succeed him. The state was entrusted to a Council of Regency; the care of the little prince was entrusted to a Kashmiri Brahman called Pandit Dharan Narayan, and an Irish doctor, Major Crofts, and a Scotch tutor, Mr. Johnstone. The mixture of nationalities had a happy educational result, and the little boy grew into the splendid prince whom no Englishman ever met without feeling for him the warmest regard and admiration.

On December 15, 1894, Madhavrao Scindia, then eighteen years of age, was invested with full powers over a state as large as Scotland. In no short time his subjects were surprised and gratified to find that their new ruler had energy and capacity not inferior to that displayed by the youthful Louis XIV. of France. Day after day the young chief sat at his office table, plodded through his files, and minuted on them himself without the aid of clerk or secretary. Another way in which Madhavrao resembled the great French king was in the constant tours that he made through his dominions. It is not too much to say that he knew his principality as well as any English country gentleman knows his estate. He had two difficulties to contend with. The first was the body of Rajput gentry. It must be remembered that in Central India the Maratha is almost as much a foreigner as an Englishman, and the Rajput landholders have, since the beginning of Maratha rule, tried to make it impossible. The second difficulty was the attitude of the Residents at Gwalior. In the early days of Madhavrao's reign the old tradition lingered that the Indian Maharajas were the natural enemies of the Government of India. Any display of energy on the part of a chief was regarded as a preparation for rebellion. Since Madhavrao Scindia was the most energetic ruler of his time, one political officer reported him to be "the most seditious prince in India." It took Madhavrao Scindia years to live down this most unjust suspicion; but at last even the dullest of political officers had to admit that no one could be disloyal who had throughout his long rule made such splendid and generous gifts to His Majesty's Government.



Madhavrao was not only a great ruler, but an excellent rider and a skilful and fearless shot. He followed up on foot many a wounded tiger, and on one occasion by his skill and coolness he saved the lives of Sir Stuart Beatson and Sir Pratap Sing by dropping a charging tiger at their feet.

Although Madhavrao Scindia was profoundly loyal to the King Emperor, he often regarded the policy of His Majesty's Government with dismay. He believed in personal government and disliked what he deemed weak concession to agitation. There is no doubt that his views were correct as regards Gwalior. England may make democratic experiments, confident in her strength to "scrap" them if things go wrong, but an Indian chief has no such reserve of strength to draw on; for him a democratic experiment may mean the utter ruin of his state and his dynasty. Here we must reluctantly bid the dead ruler good-bye. He was a great prince, a great gentleman, and, to use the words once used of him by a British workman, "He was a damned good chap."

LA LÉGENDE DE RÂMÂ ET SÎTÂ. Par Gaston Courtillier. (Paris: Éditions Bossard). 36 frs.

(Reviewed by JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

Professor Gaston Courtillier has placed the non-Indianist student of Indian literature under an obligation by giving us his charming French translation and adaptation of Valmiki's colossal Râmâyana—a literal "translation and adaptation" of a raging monsoon storm to the daintiest of Sèvres teacups, and all the proportions sedulously observed!

"Il faut prendre le Râmâyana comme il est : ce n'est pas quelque bibelot d'étagère, curieusement ouvré par la fantaisie d'un dilettante, c'est une force de la nature qui se manifeste pour un peuple géant, sous un soleil qui féconde une végétation de féerie, au pied d'un Himâlaya colosse, aux rives d'un Gange qui après les pluies roule des flots comme des marées. . . . Puisse aussi notre modeste essai, comme une goutte d'eau renvoie l'image du ciel, en refléchir fidèlement dans ses minces dimensions un peu de la beauté originale!"

If one desires a summary of Valmiki's huge epic, it is difficult to conceive of a more charming and yet erudite guide than Professor Courtillier. The Râmâyana is a book which it is as impossible to summarize as it is to photograph the Himâlayas, and yet for those who perforce have never seen the majesty of Lord Kinchinjanga, here is something which will at least faithfully recall the irreproducible vision. It is not the rose, but perhaps some trace of the rose's perfume lingers still among the dry and dusty petals.

KARMA AND REINCARNATION IN HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

By Paul Yevtić. (Luzac and Co.) 5s.

(Reviewed by JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

This essay, which constitutes a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, is described by the author as an attempt to present the central Hindu doctrine of *karma* in its main and characteristic features. The author fully realizes the imperfections



and drawbacks attending the presentation of such a wide and complex subject within a small compass. However, this essay is meant as an initial step for a thorough review of the Hindu doctrines from the philosophical point of view. It is well known what *karma* and reincarnation mean for a Hindu, but it is just as important for the West to realize the far-reaching effect of such a doctrine for the evolution of thought of humanity. In this expression of opinion, which has been abbreviated from the author's preface, we most heartily concur.

"It would be of great value for human interchange of ideas, to view the Western conceptions of fate, destiny, and sin from the Hindu standpoint. . . . In their metaphysical aspect we often put problems the wrong way—that is, instead of looking to ourselves, to our own self, to find an answer and satisfaction regarding existence, we are advised and taught to look to some distant and indeterminate Being, who assumes at times national characteristics. Whether we conceive God in a pantheistic, monistic, or deistic way, is less important *than doing things in a right way*. For a Hindu, transmigration and *karma* mean that a common bond embraces all humanity from the beginning; that reincarnation is countless repetition of our egoic consciousness, which always strives through much suffering and pain to achieve finally that primeval unity of Being. A living ego is connected directly with all past and future generations. A man does not belong to himself, but to the whole, and cannot be imagined apart from the whole. . . . Only by transcending *through higher knowledge*, the empirical reality, may one overcome death and become, instead of a mechanical actor, a fully conscious and responsible being, a magician and governor of the worlds and stars. That is, and ever was, the final message of Hinduism." We shall look forward with interest to the issue of Dr. Paul Yevtic's larger book.

ISLANDS OF QUEEN WILHELMINA. By Violet Clifton of Lytham. (Constable). 18s. net.

This volume is furnished with a brief introduction by Lord Dunsany, in which he says of the author: "She does not go up against the people of these flowery isles with any apparent desire that they should adopt our industry, our morals, or our machines, but rather seems to drift among their customs like a feather upon a favouring wind, like a bird's feather for lightness, but for resolution and endurance like a feather wrought out of iron." The author describes Insulinde attractively, and the reader realizes that there is much to be seen outside Java and Sumatra, to which the tourist-traffic is confined.

## MIDDLE EAST

ARMENIEN EINST UND JETZT. By C. F. Lehmann-Haupt. Volume II. (Berlin.)

(Reviewed by A. SAFRASTIAN.)

Professor Lehmann-Haupt has at last published the second volume of his monumental study on Armenia once and now, sixteen years after the appearance of his first volume.



Professor Lehmann-Haupt is one of the most distinguished Orientalists of today. He has written also authoritative works on Israel and Greek archaeology, and before the war he was the Gladstone Professor of Greek at the University of Liverpool. For the last twenty-six years he has edited the *Klio*, one of the well-known international reviews dealing with the archaeology and philology of the Ancient East.

Under the auspices of the German Vorderasiatische Society, Professor Lehmann-Haupt and Dr. Waldemar Belch went out in 1898 to 1899 to scour Armenia and the neighbouring countries in search of the surviving relics of ancient Urartu, the capital of which lay in the city of Van. The professor prefers to call that country Chaldia or Khaldia, because these proto-Armenian Kings of Van called themselves Khaldini from the name of their chief god Khaldis.

This kingdom is called Ararat in the Old Testament, the Hebrew form of Urartu of the Assyrians, which Herodotus later on made the land of the Alarodians.

The present volume deals chiefly with the excavations and investigations carried out by the two German scholars in the basin of Lake Van, and the surrounding countries about the Lake Urumia, the state of Musasir (Revanduz to Kelishin Pass) which served as a buffer between the powerful kings of Khaldia and Assyria. Further West, the professor alone investigated the mountainous region of Dersiru and the passes of Armenian Taurus, discovering Khaldian cuneiform inscriptions then unknown.

The author has indeed made another great contribution to the knowledge of the Ancient East in general and the pre-history of Armenia in particular. He has not only made some interesting finds, but also made better and clearer squizzes of inscriptions already known. He discovered and deciphered an inscription on the Tabriz gate of Van which throws fresh light on the old history of the city, its famous rock-castle, and the old Khaldian dynasty of King Menuas (probably the old Armenian Manavaz).

There is still a good deal of obscurity about the succession of this Vannic dynasty. The Assyrian monarchs Assur-razir-Pal (885-860 B.C.) and Salmanasar III. (860-824 B.C.) describe in their own records their wars with Kings Arame and Sardur of Khaldia respectively; but as no record except the above-mentioned one by Sardur has been discovered up to now from the Khaldian side, it is difficult to locate them in chronological order and their relationships. This King Sardur of Van calls himself "the King of the World," and it is assumed that it was under him that Khaldia achieved hegemony among the Nairi Confederation.

One important issue which the author claims to have solved with certainty is the circumstance in which Rusas II. of Khaldia (733-714 B.C.), the great rival of Sargon of Assyria, found his death. The latter boasts in his own way that after the invasion of Khaldia in 714 B.C. he carried away the statues of god Khaldis from the central temple of Musasir, the protégé of Khaldia, Rusas committed suicide by a dagger; whereas the professor quotes letters of the Assyrian military commander on the southern frontier of Khaldia to prove that simultaneously with Sargon's invasion the Kimmerian hordes attacked Rusas from the north, coming down from the



Caucasus passes, and that probably Rusas was killed in fighting the Kimmerians.

Basing himself on an Assyrian oracle of Asar-haddon regarding the later alliance between Khaldia and Kimmerian chieftains, Lehmann-Haupt suggests that many Kimmerians entered the Vannic army as mercenaries. To my mind this point requires further elucidation; and it may have something to do with the origins of the Indo-European element in Armenia in later stages, although the author does not suggest it in any way.

Another discovery of Lehmann-Haupt has been the stele of Tapzuava, near the village Sidikan, at the Iraq end of the Kelishin Pass. This stele, inscribed both by Sargon and Rusas, seems to leave little doubt of the great struggle which the two monarchs waged for the mastery of the region. The author considers this as one of the chief achievements of his mission.

The author gives a graphic account of the benevolent theocratic government of the Khaldian monarchs, their constructive works such as the Menuas canal, the Shamiram-su of Van today, the city of Argistichina, possibly the old Armenian capital of Armavir, upon the ruins of which the Antiquities Preservation Commission of Soviet Armenia is preparing to excavate next summer. A thorough digging on the site of Armavir, on the northern banks of the Arax river, may indeed supply material to fill the gaps left open by the author. By a comparative study of the topography and of the classical authors, Professor Lehmann-Haupt identifies Tigranokera with the modern town of Farkin, north of Diarbekr. The author makes also some trenchant remarks on the modern Armenian problem.

He promises a third and last volume dealing with the origins and the culture of the Khaldian people.

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THE CAMPAIGN IN MESOPOTAMIA. Vol. IV. By Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly. (*H.M. Stationery Office.*) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR GEORGE MACMUNN.)

Volume IV. of "The Campaign in Mesopotamia" is perhaps the most interesting of the series that Brigadier-General Moberly has been writing. And this for two reasons: first, that it takes us to a narrative of which no very general knowledge exists—viz., the operations after the capture of Bagdad; and, secondly, it tells us the real story of what happened in North Persia, at Enzeli, and Baku in the days of the "Hush-Hush Push," to use the familiar name by which General Dunsterville's mission was known in the Eastern Army. While the story of the battle of Ctesiphon, of the attempts to relieve Kut and of the fall of that garrison, together with General Maude's victorious advance, are all more or less household words, the subsequent events are lost in the vital happenings on the western front and the striking successes in Palestine. Therefore many will be glad to fill in the gaps in their general knowledge of the events of the war by a study of this volume.

It commences with an account of General Maude's operations to consolidate his position at Bagdad, and to gain control of the Euphrates in the vicinity of that city, the difficult operations on the River Adhim,



and the striking encounter battle in a dust storm, with General Brooking's sensational capture of Ramadi, with the taking of the line of Jebel Hamrin hills towards the Persian frontier, and the advancing Cossack divisions. After taking us through the maze of the political and strategical conditions in the Caucasus and the operations of the Dunsterforce, the author describes the series of advances up the Tigris, the action of Tekrit, the battle of Sharqat, and the pursuit of the Turks to Mosul. The demands of Palestine for more troops, and what was really a transfer of troops to a theatre where their pressure could be more effective, did not cripple the residue which was eventually left to General Marshall, nor in the end prevent him reaching the goal of Mosul—a goal reached but a few hours before the signing of the Armistice. Steadily the railway from Bagdad—the once German railway, of which some seventy miles northwards from Bagdad had been constructed by the Germans—crept slowly up the right bank of the Tigris, and with it moved the army, striking at the Turks whenever opportunity offered, until finally the whole Turkish Army was destroyed. It is an unsensational story of great endeavour by determined troops, under circumstances often of great difficulty, and the reward lies in the steady development which goes on in Iraq thus freed of Turkish inefficiency.

The romance in this final volume lies, as has been said, in the happenings in North Persia and the Caucasus, now laid bare with some completeness for the first time, and the reader will learn how late for the fair were the original plans of organizing the Armenian Army, when Russia collapsed, and how a selected corps, the *élite* of British and Dominion N.C.O.'s, were hurried to Mesopotamia to form the cadre of the reorganized armies. It is shown how the opportunity for this policy had passed before the men could be got even up on to the Persian passes, and how for a long time they became a Persian famine relief force, bringing life and hope to the dying victims of Russian and Turkish inroads. The story of Enzeli and Baku and General Dunsterville's mission and operations, and all the folly of the Tatar committees at Baku and in Azerbaijan, is told more completely than in the glimpses given us hitherto by Colonel Rawlinson and General Dunsterville himself. These chapters, forming as they do close on a half of the volume, are admirably arranged by the author, and present in as unperplexing a form as possible the innumerable cross-currents with which the British Foreign Office and General Staff had to deal, as an excrescence of the great game in Europe. Truly, it is not till such books as this shall have been digested and pondered over for twenty years that we shall realize what the British nation undertook in the World-War.

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### GENERAL

FOOTPRINTS OF EARLY MAN. By Donald A. Mackenzie. (*Blackie.*)  
5s. net.

Great interest is shown at the present time in prehistoric researches of man, and one result has been this scholarly book from the pen of Mr.



Donald Mackenzie. Thanks to the discovery of the so-called Piltdown skull in a gravel pit at Piltdown (in the Sussex Weald) and that other skull known as the "Lady of Lloyds" (now exhibited at University College), which was found under the site of Lloyds building, having apparently been washed down by an ancient Thames flood, it is now possible to affirm that prehistoric men and women have lived in England. These two skulls do not differ much from the Galilee skull (now preserved in Jerusalem) which was found in the Robbers' Cave in Palestine by Mr. Turville Peter of the British School of Archæology. The red earth of the Robbers' Cave contained, moreover, Mousterian tools, together with bones of animals which evidently had been hunted and eaten by these prehistoric men, some of these animals having become long since extinct. Thus the Galilee skull gives us ample proof that the Mousterian man, so named after "le Moustier" in the valley of the River Vézère in France, and who is identical with the Neanderthal man (a name given after the Neanderthal in Düsseldorf where a complete skeleton of this species has been found), has also lived in Palestine and, as the author rightly surmises, in Western Asia. It has been further proved that the Mousterians also lived in Africa, for in 1921 a Neanderthal skull was found in a cave in Rhodesia, north of Bulawayo, a relic now designated as the skull of "the Rhodesian man," found with a great number of fossilized remains of elephants, lions, antelopes, and birds. Mousterian and Neanderthal tools have also been found in Egypt, in the Sahara Desert, in Algiers, and in Morocco; they probably entered Europe from Africa. French archæologists have found in Northern China Mousterian tools buried under yellow loess-formations, a fine sandy loam produced by the grinding action of rocks that moved during the ice periods.

L. M. R.

# FICTION.

LE JAUNE ET LE BLANC. Par Jean Marquet. (*Les Editions du Monde Moderne.*) 12 francs.

BOUDDHA VIVANT. Par Paul Morand. (*Grasset.*) 12 francs.

(*Reviewed by VÉRONIQUE COLDSTREAM.*)

These two novels each deal in their different spheres with the contact and clash of colour, and each from its different angle reaches the same conclusion—that in any closer relationship the Eastern and Western races can gain little from each other, and that any form of amalgamation is impossible and any attempt to achieve it well-nigh disastrous.

The first of these two books treats the theme in the less ambitious manner and presents it in its simplest and most familiar form—mixed marriage. Rivolet, a Frenchman posted in a lonely part of Indo-China, twice takes a native wife. Each marriage promises happiness, each plunges him further into tragedy. The mixed blood of his children is a further tragic problem. The boy, sent to France while still a child, escapes the worst consequences of his birth; but the girl, left to the care of her Annamite mother, is sold in time of famine to a Chinaman and becomes a



prostitute. The book is movingly written and effect follows cause convincingly. In the two wives the author gives two shrewd sketches of the mentality of Annamite women—the one purely native, the other superficially Europeanized. But the story is a familiar one, and what it proves—that physical contact between the races is not a success—is, though perhaps not so obvious to French minds, hardly disputed in England.

M. Morand presents a subtler question—that of spiritual contact. His new book is a delicate, imaginative study of the effect of the West on an Eastern mind. Yâle is the Crown Prince of the independent State of Karastia, steeped in the slow, patient wisdom, the credulity, the rigid traditions of Oriental antiquity; he conceives a violent admiration and longing for Western life with its progress, its science, its intoxicating efficiency and rapidity. Escaping from Karastia he elects first to go to London, later to Cambridge, and then back to London. In England he finds the impatience, the artificiality, the frivolity, the vulgarity of Western civilization first appalling, then bewildering, finally tragic. It seems to him that the white race is on the brink of spiritual disaster, and, inspired by a rapturous vision, he sets himself to bring them salvation through the ancient wisdom of his own land, through the wisdom of Buddha. The English, however, meet his attempts to save and convert them with derision. In France, where he embraces poverty and chastity in their extreme forms, fasts, meditates, and mortifies the flesh with the devotion of a fakir, he is taken up at first as a curiosity and then dropped as his novelty fades. Love for an American girl puts an end to his spiritual crusade, and abandoning the salvation of Europe he follows her to New York—not, however, without some hope of converting Americans—where he first meets the full force of the colour prejudice and suffers therefrom his most bitter humiliation. He comes gradually to realize that the West cannot and will not accept what he has to offer, and that the strength and wisdom of the East lie in a passive acceptance of fate rather than in an active struggle against it. The latter is the European part. He resigns all hope of acquiring anything from the spirit of the West or of bestowing anything on it, and returns to succeed his father on the throne of Karastia and to rule in its age-long traditions. M. Morand's book is less a novel, perhaps, than an acute ironical study of an Oriental mind; it is not untouched by satire both of East and West. Subtle and skilful, like all the author's work, it goes deeper than individual or temporary differences to the fundamental and spiritual clash of races.

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### SHORTER NOTICES.

GUIDE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE AUX TEMPLES D'ANGKOR. By H. Marchal.  
Plans.

(Reviewed by STANLEY CASSON.)

\*\* Both to those who have been to Cambodia and to those who have not this book will be equally welcome. It is not written in the dry guide-book manner, nor yet in such a way that it is only useful on the spot. We are



given a useful summary of Khmer history and art with the periods of art carefully classified. There follows a very full description of each monument and a detailed examination of architectural and artistic problems that arise.

Khmer art is of peculiar importance because it is the art of a region that absorbed the best from India, from China, and from Siam. The incredibly rich culture that thus arose lasted until the fourteenth century, when it was swept away by northern invaders. What distinguishes Khmer art from the art of its neighbours is hard to say. It is more eclectic, less stereotyped, and more subtle. There was something in the Khmer people of high artistic value. M. Marchal suggests that the autochthonous native culture of the Khmers, which may indeed have been pre-Khmer in origin, is responsible for this difference.

The book can be most highly recommended.

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PALESTINE: *Revue internationale*. No. 4. 1928.

This journal is of value to students of Hebraism and Zionism. It contains thoughtful and interesting articles on Jewish life and Jewish speculation. "L'Ame Juive," by Elie Faure, is particularly illuminating. There is also an instructive note on the Spanish Jews of the Levant and their peculiar language and customs.

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OMAR KHAYYAM: SAVANT ET PHILOSOPHE. Par Pierre Salet. (Paris: 3, Rue du Sabot.)

This combined historical and literary study of the poet cannot be classed with the voluminous literature on Khayyam which fills so many shelves and gives so little satisfaction. The author in this work deals with the literary forms of the time and the religious views current, with the particular metaphors used by the poet and their philosophical significance. Finally he gives all the essential historical data. The monograph definitely illuminates its subject.

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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. I., Part I., Introductory. By Sir George Grierson. (Calcutta: *Government of India*.)

It is very satisfactory to note that the necessary introduction to this valuable series is now published. Although it is in fact the very first part of the series, the contents show that it was necessary for this volume to appear last. The institutions which have the other volumes will welcome this completion of the set.

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GENGHIS KHAN: EMPEROR OF ALL MEN. By Harold Lamb. (*Butterworth*.) 10s. 6d. net.

There has been very little published on this great conqueror—at least in English. The small book by R. Douglas, issued many years ago, was a translation from the Chinese, and has been difficult to obtain for a long time. Mr. Lamb is a very careful compiler, and gives us here for the first time a connected account of the career of the Great Mongol. The bibliography, which is to be found at the end, proves that he has diligently looked up the references in various languages.

A DICTIONARY OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE: TREATING OF SANSKRIT ARCHITECTURAL TERMS, WITH ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTATIONS FROM SILPASASTRAS, GENERAL LITERATURE, AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL RECORDS. By Prasanna Kumar Acharya. (*Oxford University Press.*) 30s. net.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE ACCORDING TO THE MANASARA-SILPASASTRA. By Prasanna Kumar Acharya. (*Oxford University Press.*) 15s. net.

A number of Sanskrit works have recently been published, and it had now become necessary to explain the expressions and terms to Europeans who have of late taken an interest in Hindu architecture. A number of European works have appeared, but none has existed so far which elucidates these difficult terms. The work is conscientiously carried out, as is shown by the fact that the author is not satisfied with merely giving the English terms, but quotes from the Sanskrit contexts in which the words occur.

As regards the second work—"Indian Architecture according to the Manasara-Silpasastra"—the author intended to issue it as an Introduction to his edition of the Sanskrit text and English translation which are in preparation. But in studying his subject he found the material increased considerably, and he has now produced a volume in crown 4to size of 268 pages. It is most gratifying that Indian scholars adopt the great care generally exhibited by European professors, and Mr. P. K. Acharya is one of them. The work is well divided; it gives a general survey of architecture from the most ancient times onward; it provides a summary of the various treatises on architecture, and finally subjects the Manasara to examination. Full references are also provided, and the index alone, beginning on p. 215, is a most painstaking performance.

Both volumes will be welcomed by the increasing number of workers in and lovers of, Indian art.

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HSÜNTZE, THE MOULDER OF ANCIENT CONFUCIANISM. By Homer H. Dubs. 24s.

Human nature in its origin is bad and requires rectifying by following the doctrine of the Master, Confucius. This is the keynote of Hsüntze's teaching in opposition to the mentality of Mencius. If human nature were all that could be desired, why should so much philosophy be constantly put forward in order to rectify it? The Five Relations as laid down by the Master are necessary to prevent humankind from relapsing into brute nature. So says Hsüntze.

Dr. Dubs, after a lengthy preface, introduces the reader to The Background, in which he emphasizes the origin of religion, a theory not generally shared by missionaries. An account of Hsüntze's life, based chiefly on notices by Ssu Ma-Ch'ien, shows that he devoted his life rather to training pupils, amongst whom was the famous Han Fei-tzu, in his philosophical theories than to the acquisition of an ambitious government position. The variety of Hsüntze's teachings may be gathered from the headlines, such as Human Nature, the Basis of Ethics, Philosophy of Education, the Problem of Evil, etc.



Whether Dr. Dubs is correct in his view that Hsüntze was one of the greatest philosophers of the world remains a question of opinion ; however, it is known that he brought out the true genius of his Master, Confucius, and that without him Confucius might be forgotten today.

This is the first monograph of the great thinker, and we should be grateful to Mr. Dubs for having given us such a detailed account of Hsüntze's life and teachings which has been lacking. The volume is an introduction to the translation of this philosopher's works about to be published in Probsthain's Oriental Series.

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ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF BOOKS ON CHINA. By Arthur Probsthain. (London : Author, 41, Great Russell Street.) 1927. 30s.

This volume of 283 pages is the result of Mr. Probsthain's life's work and experience as a bookseller and publisher. It is bewildering to find here a bibliography of 4,624 various books which form perhaps the largest collection ever brought together. This is not a catalogue, but an instructive literary guide to a country's greatness.

Mr. Probsthain has carefully divided his "Encyclopædia" into numerous sections, and to make its study easy to the hard-worked reader he has provided a number of indexes. The most interesting portion is perhaps the one dealing with the language and literature, and we do not recollect having ever seen a work of this kind so detailed and provided with individual notes to most entries, showing that the compiler or bibliographer has devoted his time to making himself thoroughly acquainted with this literature. A number of plates illustrating his collection of Chinese paintings have been added.

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INDIAN SERPENT-LORE, OR THE NAGAS IN HINDU LEGEND AND ART. By J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D. (*Probsthain.*) 42s.

Professor Vogel, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar and for many years in the service of the Archaeological Survey of India, has set himself the task of collecting the Legends relating to the Nagas from the literature of the Brahmans and Buddhists, and has translated them into English. These translations form the greater part of a handsome volume, but, making use of his own observations, the author has accompanied them with great detail. To archaeologists and folklorists this elucidation will be indispensable.

The Nagas, or Serpent deities, are already mentioned in the Vedas ; in the Mahabharata they naturally underwent a great variety of characters, and in the Buddhist writings adopted a more human shape and finally were associated with the future Buddha. In the Chronicle of Kashmir, the Ragatarangini, the Nagas appear as spirits of the water, having lost their venomous character. In this form they are still worshipped today in some parts of the Himalayas, to which phase the last chapter is devoted.

Professor Vogel has done full justice to the various forms of Serpent worship and folklore. The thirty plates illustrating the Nagas in architecture are selected with great judgment, and their execution is excellent. A

last word should be added on the typographical and technical beauty of this volume. The printing as well as the paper and get-up might serve as a pattern for publications of this kind.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALI IBN 'ISA. By Harold Bowen. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 25s. net.

A good deal is known to Western scholars of the statesman Ali Ibn 'Isa, who served in most of the declining period of the Abbaside Caliphate, and who did his best to stem the fall of the dynasty; and here again we owe the first introduction of the Vizier's work to Von Kremer, who has done so much to make us acquainted with the life and history of the Arabs. The information which we possessed was, however, limited, and Mr. Bowen has now presented us with a vivid account of Ali Ibn 'Isa and his times. He has, of course, not been satisfied with collecting the material from European sources, but has principally drawn from the original Arabic books and manuscripts. The result is a stately volume of 420 pages, and it is fair to say that we now obtain for the first time a clear picture of the Minister, his life and work, as well as of this whole period of the Caliphate. In fact Mr. Bowen has produced a standard work which will be studied and consulted in after years. It should be added that the Cambridge University Press deserves every credit for the fine outward appearance. It is a pleasure to read their publications. As regards the sketch-maps, they are sufficient in detail, and very clear.

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ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, N.I.S. Vol. XLII.: The Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarase Districts. By Henry Cousens. 1926. (*Calcutta: Government of India.*) £3 10s. 6d.

Although dated 1926, the latest volume of this valuable collection has only just arrived from India. The arrangement is the same as in all the previous volumes, and the text is compiled with the usual care of the Government officers. Mr. Cousens has given a short historical outline, very precise and very correct, with a list of the rulers. After this the early and later temples are fully described, and the usual glossary completes the text.

As regards the technique of the present volume, it is much to be regretted that the Government of India have departed from the old style. The plates are of two kinds. The lithographed illustrations are excellent, but the tone-blocks are not suitable for the reproduction of detail. It is earnestly to be hoped that in future good plates will be provided for these important volumes.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1924-25. (*Calcutta: Government of India.*)

In our notice of the previous volume it was mentioned that these Annual Reports are now issued in a different style. In reality they now are the combined efforts of the various branches of the Survey. In the absence of Sir John Marshall, engaged on important excavations at Mohenjodaro, Mr. J. F. Blakiston has undertaken the editing of the



present volume, and we ought to congratulate ourselves on being kept informed of the splendid work done by the officers of the Archæological Survey under the able leadership of the Director-General, Sir John Marshall.

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EARLY HISTORY OF ASSYRIA TO 1000 B.C. By Sidney Smith. With maps and illustrations. (*Chatto and Windus.*) 37s. 6d.

The untimely death of Mr. L. W. King led to the apprehension that his promised work on this history was not to be expected. We are therefore pleased that Mr. S. Smith, of the British Museum, has not only taken it up, but has gone considerably beyond the old plan.

Mr. S. Smith is well known on account of his previously published book, and it is very satisfactory that Mr. King's work should have found such an able successor. The author is to be congratulated upon the manner in which he has completed the task of the present volume. He is experienced, painstaking, and correct; and his chapters on the early Sumerian period—although they do not strictly belong to the present volume—are greatly welcomed, as much more evidence has come to light since the issue of the volumes on Babylon. We sincerely hope that Mr. Sidney Smith will complete this great history before long, and we feel sure that the student of the Near East will be equally grateful to him.

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IBN SA'UD OF ARABIA: HIS PEOPLE AND HIS LAND. By Ameen Rihani. Illustrated. (*Constable.*) 21s.

The name of Ameen Rihani has been familiar to the Arabic scholar on account of his work "Mulluk al Arab"—i.e., Travels to the Seven Kings of Arabia. The Arabic work was highly interesting and valuable, as the life and thought of the Arabs of modern times were fully described.

As the author was educated in America, he has been able to produce a first-class work on King Ibn Sa'oud, which will be read and studied with care. No previous writer has given us an inside picture of the Arab such as has been achieved by Ameen Rihani, and we predict with confidence that, side by side with Burton, Doughty, and Philby, the beautiful and instructive volume by Ameen Rihani will find a foremost place.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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## ASIA'S STAKE IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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NOT the least of the difficulties encountered in writing this article has been to decide on a title. The title selected defines the article's intention rather better than any other, but it may convey a false impression. The League of Nations is world-wide, and is not made up of regional groups. All the States members of the League derive equal benefits from the League, and have undertaken the common obligations that membership implies, irrespective of the geographical position of these States. In spite of this fundamental fact, which it is important to bear in mind, a discussion of the League of Nations' activities from a regional point of view is not only possible, but occasionally very desirable.

The League of Nations was founded "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." This implies in the long run the bringing of nationalism under international discipline, but by no means suppression of nationalism, certain forms of which will find ampler opportunities for self-expression and development as international suspicions and mistrust are replaced by international co-operation in the interest of humanity as a whole. National culture and national genius will exercise world-wide influence. Nationalism thus disciplined is destined to be the motive force of all future international progress. Undisciplined, it will be, as it has ever been, a menace to peace and to civilization.

"Nationalism," in the greater part of the East, is of much more recent growth than in the West; the word has not quite the same significance. Further consideration of



this matter would take us too far from the subject-matter of this article; it would justify, if justification be needed, the present discussion on the League of Nations and its activities from a regional point of view.

The above reference to the discipline of nationalism is unfortunate if it imply the idea of an extraneous independent disciplinary authority, of a super-state—a word without much meaning, that is so frequently encountered in ill-informed criticism of League activities. It is almost needless to point out that the League has no existence at all apart from the States which constitute it. It is a league in the strict meaning of the word—a compact for mutual help. The discipline referred to is self-inflicted, according to a code to which all members of the League owe allegiance, and which is based upon a recognition of the equal rights of all independent States.

When referred to as an entity, the League means the machinery set up by the contracting parties to carry out the obligations incurred by signature of the Covenant of the League, and which is strictly under their control and in no sense automatic.

From the League's point of view Asia is extremely heterogeneous; more so, perhaps, than other continents. It contains countries and States which have been members of the League of Nations since its inception—Japan, China, India, Persia, and Siam. Within its confines are the colonial possessions of other States members of the League—Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal. Thirdly, there are mandated territories—territories which, "as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them," and the tutelage of which is entrusted to certain nations as mandatories of the League. Such Asiatic mandated territories are Palestine, Syria, Irak, and numerous small islands of the Pacific, north of the Equator. Finally, there are Afghanistan, Arabia, the Philippine Islands, and the vast territory formerly known as Russia in Asia, administered by Governments which are not yet members of the League of Nations.

Thus it will be seen that possibly 90 per cent. of the total population of Asia have some form of definite connection with the League's activities, but varying in kind and degree. Certain of the League's activities have, however, a common interest to all States, and it is to such activities that most of our attention in the remainder of this article will be devoted.



The League's activities already cover so wide a field that it is extremely difficult, even for one working in close association with it, to keep in touch with all its developments. Small wonder then that the significance of much of the work that it has accomplished should be imperfectly appreciated, more especially in far-distant lands. Looking back over the last eight years that have witnessed the remarkable growth and consolidation of the League as an instrument of international co-operation, the manner of its evolution appears natural, even obvious; all the same, probably no one eight years ago could have traced with accuracy the lines along which greatest progress has been made. The League today is not quite the League that its founders foresaw; in some ways it has fallen short of their hopes; in other ways it is greater than they foresaw.

As a political instrument the League has been more closely associated with European than with Asiatic affairs. This is but natural. Europe was the storm centre in which the Great War originated. The peace treaties which created the League created also seven thousand more miles of frontiers than existed before the war, and it endowed the newly created League of Nations with duties of extreme difficulty and extreme delicacy in connection with the execution of the peace treaties. Now that most of the States which were opposed in the war have joined the League, the greatest of all the early difficulties has been surmounted, and the second great task of the League has been much facilitated—namely, the task of fostering international co-operation. This is the field in which the League's progress has been most rapid and its gains have been most substantial. Such co-operation has been enlisted in many branches of human endeavour, always with the aim of securing increased welfare and prosperity the world over. Of such a nature is much of the work of the technical organizations of the League, the Economic, Health, Transit, and Social organizations, and of the International Labour Office. Not only will all peoples, irrespective of geographical consideration, share in the benefits which it is the aim of the work of all these organizations to confer on mankind at large, but the habit of international co-operation, which is growing out of these endeavours, is doing much towards the removal of misunderstanding among the nations, and is thus contributing to the organization of peace, which is the greatest of all League tasks. It is work such as this which will slowly but surely make less acute the difficulties which at present surround such a



thorny subject as disarmament and security. Such considerations as these make these activities of the League of paramount importance to States in Asia as elsewhere, quite apart from the technical results obtained.

Before citing examples of such work it would be well to explain how League procedure differs from pre-war forms of international relationship. International conferences and conventions dealing with many of the matters now engaging the attention of the League are not a League invention. They were numerous and varied during the half-century that preceded the war, but the maximum benefit could not be extracted from such opportunities for international contact, for there was generally no permanent organization to carry out the resolutions of the conference and to build on the measure of agreement that it was possible to obtain. The League's organization has remedied that. Conferences on matters of vital international importance can now be adequately prepared, for which purpose the best technical experience of all countries is freely drawn on. Hence international conferences meet with a much greater chance of arriving at definite results than ever before, and at the same time failure to arrive at agreement is robbed of the serious consequences formerly attached thereto. Failure now merely means the necessity for further work, building on the points concerning which unanimous agreement has been secured, and harmonizing divergent views. It is important to bear this in mind; if it be disregarded one is apt to attach too great importance to League "failures." In pre-war days the risk of failure precluded the possibility of such international attempts at conciliating divergent points of view regarding many matters of vital importance. The benefit of frank and full discussion of international grievances and difficulties is self-evident, even if immediate agreement be unobtainable.

As types of League work of special interest to Asia we shall select that of the Economic and Financial Organization, the Health Organization, and the Mandates Section. Certain salient features of the work will be cited as examples, available space precluding any attempt to deal with these matters in any detail.

Seven years study of the difficult and dangerous economic problems of the post-war world culminated in May, 1927, in the International Economic Conference, which was attended by delegates from fifty States. Japan, India, Siam, Persia, China, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics were represented. Governments selected as



their representatives technical experts, and not spokesmen of official policies. Existing economic difficulties, that are responsible for so much privation and social unrest, were frankly discussed as world problems, always with the main objective of securing greater freedom for international commerce. The Conference was an important stage in the continuous work of collaboration in the economic sphere, which dates from the birth of the League. The elaborate preparation of the Conference, which occupied more than a year, was assisted by the collaboration of experts in many lands, a fact which facilitated greatly the fruitful discussions that took place. The harmful effects of post-war tariffs, which are much higher, more changeable, and more complicated than before the war, on world prosperity, were fully recognized. Recommendations were made that States should take steps to remove or diminish these barriers to trade, the causes which led to their establishment having largely disappeared. Unanimous recommendations of this kind from such an assembly are of extreme importance. Such a careful diagnosis of the economic ills from which the world is suffering, made by so competent a body, enables treatment to be carried out with a certainty of success; for the ills have been shown to be amenable to treatment. An increase of economic prosperity is thus clearly foreshadowed, and with it an increase in the standard of living and the consequent removal of conditions that threaten the world's peace and tranquillity.

The work of the League's Health Organization has had, perhaps, more direct associations with Asia than any other of the League's activities. The League's intervention in public health work has been much more extensive than was originally thought possible, or perhaps even desirable, by those who had no clear ideas of the economic importance of disease and of a low standard of public health. That the League should have given much attention to the matter is certainly not surprising if one considers that nothing is more international than disease, and that in its spread many diseases have a habit of ignoring national frontiers. Every improvement in world communications postulates added facilities for the spread of infection from country to country, unless such improvement be accompanied by improved health supervision and new measures of disease control. Plague centres are thus of international concern, as are the measures taken by States to eradicate them or to control the spread of disease therefrom. Thus the League's Health Organization has from its inception done all it can to secure



the prompt dissemination of full information concerning the appearance and progress of the more important communicable diseases in all corners of the globe, and to help national health administrations by providing facilities for their personnel of making themselves acquainted with the manner in which health problems similar to their own are handled in other lands. Asia has the misfortune to have within its boundaries the most important reservoirs of infection of the three most important international epidemic diseases—plague, cholera, and smallpox. Moreover, conditions in Asia are such as to make these diseases singularly difficult to control. With a view, primarily, to giving Asiatic health administrations prompt information regarding the appearance and progress of disease in the ports of the East, and other ports in communication with them, a special bureau of epidemiological intelligence was opened by the Health Organization in Singapore. This Eastern bureau receives each week cabled reports regarding the health conditions in approximately 140 of these ports, and this information is summarized, and by means of wireless messages sent out each week, or more often in case of great emergency, all health administrations have information regarding these important matters much more promptly than ever before. Weekly wireless messages are broadcast from Saigon, Bandoeng, Sandakan, Karachi, Madras, Tokyo, Shanghai, and Antananarivo at fixed hours. The continued interest and support which this Bureau receives from Asiatic administrations is sufficient evidence of the utility of the rôle that it fills.

The Eastern Bureau of Singapore has also started to co-ordinate enquiries into several public health problems of extreme importance to Asia; it helps to keep research workers in different countries in touch with one another.

To assist health administrations in making themselves acquainted with public health progress and procedure in countries other than their own a series of collective study tours has been organized by the League's Health Organization, whereby health officials nominated by Governments are enabled to visit one or more foreign countries where they can study with special facilities all that the country visited has to show them with regard to such matters. Two such study tours designed especially for Asiatic Government health officials have already been held: the first in Japan, and the second in India. The opportunities afforded participants in these tours to study the points of view of their travelling companions from many lands are



particularly valuable. Contact between health work in Asia and in far distant countries has also been facilitated by the grant, by the League, of individual travelling studentships.

This short reference to League health work is sufficient to show that Asia has received very particular consideration, for in this, as in so many other branches of human endeavour, Asia has much to teach and much to learn.

It should be mentioned that the very rapid development of the League's health work that has taken place during the last six years would have been impossible but for the additional financial support from the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Such support, for example, made the establishment of the Eastern Bureau at Singapore possible immediately its establishment had been approved by the administrations in whose interest it was primarily founded.

Space permits of only the briefest reference to the working of the mandate system. As already explained, under this system Mandatory Powers are responsible to the League of Nations for the administration of territories which, as a result of the war, have ceased to be governed by the States which formerly exercised sovereignty over them. These mandated territories are administered in the interests of the territories themselves, and each year the Mandatory Powers have to render an account to the League of their stewardship. It is in the interests of all that local administrative difficulties, and the measures taken to overcome them, should be explained to an international audience. The personal contact established between the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, partly composed of ex-officials, with a varied and wide experience of colonial administration, and those responsible for the present administration of mandated territories, is also of great benefit. The mandate system aims, in short, at incorporating all that is best in the colonial systems of the world, and rigidly excluding the worst features of such forms of administration. The system has been so short a time in force that it has barely passed the experimental stage. All those most closely connected with it, however, are confident of ultimate beneficial results.

The above references to League activities, selected more or less haphazard, are sufficient to show how close an interest Asiatic countries have in the continued prosperity of League endeavours. Everything that directly, or indirectly, threatens the peace of the world is of direct concern



to the League. It follows then that in contributing their best to this great task of international reconstruction and international pacification, governments the world over are acting in their own highest interests.

I understand that the ASIATIC REVIEW intends from time to time to describe, certain activities of the League in which Asia is specially interested. These will show, far more clearly than has been possible here, how great a stake Asia has in the continued progress of the League of Nations, and how best she can contribute to the furtherance of its objects and aims.

## LABOUR PROBLEMS IN INDOCHINA

BY JEAN GOUDAL

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It had been hoped for a long time that IndoChina would escape from the problem of the shortage of labour which, at present, is the great stumbling-block in almost all the French oversea possessions, and it was repeatedly stated that Tonkin would furnish almost inexhaustible reserves of man-power. Certainly, IndoChina is very rich in population when compared with the French colonies in Africa. Whereas in French West Africa the density of the population is 2.6 per square kilometre, in French Equatorial Africa 1.3, and in Madagascar 5, the figure for Indo-China is 28. But it must be remembered that the only region in IndoChina which is thickly populated is Tonkin; whilst the territories that are favourable for great tropical enterprises or are endowed with rich mineral wealth are those which lie outside the populated districts. It therefore became necessary, in order to develop these parts, to organize emigration from the north to the south. At the same time, as the problem of the economic development of the colony was better understood, it was found necessary to adopt a definite policy with regard to the provision of labour. The fulfilment of the programme of large undertakings planned by the Governor-General Doumer necessitated the employment of a large number of workers. The mines of Upper Tonkin and of Laos stood in need of labour. The number of plantations in Tonkin, Northern Annam, and Southern IndoChina increased, and industries developed rapidly in the towns and the seaports. The discussions that followed the demand for labour from Indo-China formulated by the companies working in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia served to draw attention to the difficulty with which recruitment was beset. In consequence of the floods of 1926 the dykes in Tonkin had to be repaired, and the Government found the greatest difficulty in recruiting all the coolies necessary for this work—viz., thirty thousand at least—in order to move eight to nine million cubic metres. At the beginning of 1927 the delegate for Annam at the Conseil Supérieur des Colonies expressed fears that the great undertakings in the colony would become paralyzed on account of shortage of



labour, and suggested that the abundant resources of China should be tapped. These indications show that the problem of recruiting labour in IndoChina was until recent years becoming more and more critical. Moreover, the local Governments have been faced with the same difficulty, though in a less urgent form, since the very beginning of the colonization, as can easily be seen by a study of the labour regulations in the colony.

The first task raised by the labour problem in IndoChina was therefore to facilitate the recruitment of native labour to the French plantations, and that was the aim of the legislation passed between the years 1896 and 1910. In order to assure the proper execution of the labour contracts the Government thought it necessary, first of all, to identify the worker and to assure him certain fiscal and administrative exemptions. I need only refer in this respect to the orders of August 17, 1896, and August 20, 1898, which introduced the issuing of a work-book to every worker in Tonkin and Cambodia; and the order of August 26, 1899, regulating the conditions of labour in Tonkin—orders which afterwards became applicable to Annam, to CochinChina, and Cambodia, by an order of February 5, 1902. In the same way an order of April 13, 1909, regulating labour conditions in agricultural undertakings in CochinChina, confined itself to foreshadowing the setting up of autonomous villages for French undertakings, with an area of 400 hectares and eighty workmen. The underlying idea was to protect the workmen as well as the European proprietors from the influence of Annam chieftains, and thus do away with a possible cause of conflicts and disputes. The next stage was reached about 1910, when new plantation crops were introduced, such as coffee and rubber, which necessitated an increase of labour and more precise labour regulation. Furthermore, as the Government had to turn to foreign territories, such as the British and Netherlands Indies, to obtain labour, special guarantees were required to meet the wishes of the British and Netherlands Governments.

This was the position when the second stage in the regulation of labour conditions was reached in 1910. Its main feature was the anxiety to protect native labour, whilst, at the same time, giving every possible encouragement to colonial enterprises. Several important orders were passed in this connection—especially that of March 8, 1910, applicable to the whole of IndoChina, dealing with foreign labour in the plantations and mines; it was supple-



mented by several series of instructions, especially that of March 20, 1913, regarding labour from Java. Special mention must be made here of the order of November 11, 1918, regarding native agricultural labour and labour inspection in CochinChina, which constituted a veritable "Magna Charta" in that colony. This law only applied to agricultural labourers who were merely engaged, and the contracts signed according to native customs did not come within its scope. As the text was revised and completed by the orders of October, 1927, of which an analysis is given later, it does not seem necessary to comment upon it any further here.

The order of November 11, 1918, had established in CochinChina a system of labour inspection; this measure was extended to Tonkin by the order of April 30, 1926, and to Annam by the order of June 10, 1927. The local inspection services thus set up at first mainly acted as bureaus of information. The Governor-General, Monsieur Varenne, realized the necessity of setting up a Central Organization of Inspection which would co-ordinate the efforts of the local inspection and study in detail the various problems arising from the recruitment of labour. Accordingly he set up by the order of July 19, 1927, a General Inspectorate of Labour under the control of the Governor-General of IndoChina. The statement of purposes of the order explained that the creation of the general labour Inspectorate was a preliminary to the elaboration of a complete labour code entrusted to the new Inspectorate. The Inspectorate set to work at once; it elaborated several draft orders which were circulated for the examination of the local authorities and came into force on October 25, 1927, after consultation with the interests affected in the Government Council. It is important to examine the essential provisions of these three orders which, in reality, constitute the basis of labour organization in IndoChina.

The first order deals with the emigration of labour from Tonkin. Its object is to guarantee a system of recruitment which is satisfactory to both parties. Henceforth, those who are engaged know precisely what they are expected to undertake, and the employers are certain that the workers who are supplied to them are suitable and capable of working normal hours. All recruitment is subject to the control of the Governor-General in so far as work outside IndoChina is concerned, or to the Résident Supérieur of Tonkin in the case of work situated in IndoChina. This arrangement is very important, for it must be remembered that recruitment



is a delicate operation demanding great moral and technical qualities, and that in the past some recruiting agents, attracted by the benefits that can be derived from these operations, and not possessing the necessary moral qualifications, had succeeded in recent years in securing customers by lowering their fees. It therefore became indispensable that the power of recruitment should not be accorded to those who were not properly qualified.

The maximum duration of an engagement is fixed at five years for outside, and three years for within IndoChina. Every engagement must be accompanied by a signed contract, which contains a certain number of precise conditions, which are enumerated in the law. There are very detailed provisions regarding the journey and transport of the coolies. The emigrants must undergo two medical examinations, the first taking place at the capital of the province to which the emigrant belongs, and the second at Haiphong before embarkation. During these examinations various preventive vaccinations are undergone. There are also provisions for administrative and sanitary control on board ; similar regulations are in force upon disembarkation and when the coolie is repatriated. The carrying into effect of the provisions is confided to a Department of Emigration of Tonkin Labour, attached to the Bureau of the Protectorate at Haiphong.

The second of the orders, dated October 25, 1927, enumerates measures of protection for the labourers when they are employed on the plantations, and are very detailed. The form and conditions of the contract guiding the hiring of the labourer are precisely set out. The contract must contain certain clauses, of which the following may be mentioned here :

Length of service; hours of labour; mode of payment; lodging and medical attendance given free for the labourer and his family ; right to part or the whole of his food, and, in certain cases, clothing ; the sum of money advanced, with provisions for repayment, conditions of repatriation, etc. The length of the engagement must not exceed three years, in the case of work undertaken in IndoChina, but re-engagement is permitted. Before the signing of the contract, every labourer must be medically inspected and passed fit for service.

Special regulations govern those labourers who are recruited under contract to work in another part of the Union, or outside IndoChina, and vice versa. The order goes on to prescribe a method of control over the labourers, carried out by the representatives of the Government on



the plantations, as well as a control of the carrying out of the contract of service. The conditions of work are carefully set out, and I may quote here some of its provisions: The hours of labour are fixed at ten hours as a maximum, which must include the time necessary for travelling to and from work; overtime is paid at 50 per cent. extra. The labourers have a right to one day's rest per week. Salaries must be paid at least once a month, and in IndoChina currency, in the presence of the labourer or his representative. Advances made to the labourer are repaid monthly by deduction from his salary, but the sum retained must not exceed a quarter of his salary. Food regulations, with a minimum scale of rations, are also included. Special precautions are taken to ensure the health of the coolies. The housing, which is rent-free, must be sanitary and suitable. Special measures are taken for the prevention of fever, and the provision of a proper water-supply. It is laid down that every worker engaged by contract has the right to medical attention for himself and his family, and to the supply of medicines. The women and children must not be engaged in labour which is beyond their strength, and the women are granted one month's rest with full pay after child-birth. Lastly, upon the conclusion of the contract there are strict provisions for either the return of the labourer or else the renewal of his term. These, it is hoped, will put an end to the numerous disputes which arise when coolies fraudently leave one plantation for another, or are sent back as a disciplinary measure.

The third order of October 25, 1927, makes provision for an individual grant in favour of labourers recruited by contract. This grant is constituted by the deduction of 5 per cent. of the worker's salary, and the contribution of an equal amount on the part of the employer. This can be increased by payments voluntarily made by the labourer himself. The grant is not, in principle, payable to the labourer before his return home. This innovation is very important in view of the well-known improvidence of the Annam coolie and his weakness for games of chance.

It has been seen that these three orders contain very detailed and complete provisions. In fact, they may be described as the first general code of laws to regulate industrial labour.

This legislation did not fail to evoke certain criticisms, the most important of which were its length, which, so it was alleged, rendered it too complicated. This is scarcely a fair line of argument in view of the complicated nature of



the problems. Another reproach that has been levelled against it is that the orders were passed into law too hastily, and almost sprung as a surprise on the eve of the departure of the Governor-General, without consultation with the interested parties. This criticism, likewise, is ill-founded. The Labour Commission, which was appointed by the Governor of CochinChina to examine the various draft orders, was composed, amongst others, of two delegates of the Chamber of Agriculture, and of two delegates of the Rubber Planters' Association. The clauses of the orders were examined by the members of the Government Council. It is clear, therefore, that the interested parties had an opportunity of stating their views. In France, at the head offices of some companies, the opinion was expressed that these laws imposed a fresh burden on their enterprises and calculated the increase in the salaries at 25 per cent. The truth is, that the grants introduced on behalf of the coolies only cost the employer 5 per cent., and that the free ration of 700 grammes of rice daily, which they calculated at 20 per cent. of the salary, was already in force in practically all the plantations before the passing of the law.

The labour legislation is a valuable aid in the maintenance of order in IndoChina at a time when criminal propaganda is endeavouring to reach all sections of the native population. It is important that when they are being encouraged to revolt, they should feel that they can expect real protection from the Government. Planters and business men in IndoChina now have the facility of finding the labour which is necessary to them in the conduct of their enterprises, and the enterprises therefore are on a surer footing.

It must not be thought, however, that the Varenne orders afford a solution for all the problems of labour in Indo-China. In the first place, these rules do not apply to contracts between natives. This is a gap which it is important should be filled. The majority of Annamese proprietors, instead of working their own concessions, let out their estates to a large number of small farmers (*ta-diên*). In order to obtain the implements necessary for agriculture the farmer stands in need of money advances, which the proprietor grants with an interest varying in some cases from 100 to 200 per cent. It is important to rescue the small farmer as soon as possible from the grip of his usurious overlord. The present Governor of CochinChina is already enquiring into the matter and issued a circular on July 13, 1927, in which he prescribed the dividing up of the land



into lots of between 5 and 10 hectares, to be placed on sale at public auctions. This measure would enable the small farmer to obtain a strip of land for himself.

Another highly important question, the solution for which must be found quickly, is the application in IndoChina of legislation governing accidents during employment. Until now, no law has been passed imposing on the employers the duty of looking after the workers in this respect. Nevertheless, some of the great European industrial enterprises have frequently made it their duty, apart from any legal obligation, to accord to workers who have been victims of accidents during their employment, equitable reparation in the form of medical attention, which is often given in buildings set up by the employers themselves, or else in the form of a money indemnity to themselves or, in case of death, to their dependants. It would appear, however, that the time has now come to make this practice compulsory. This would have the effect of forcing the Asiatic employers, be they Chinese or Annamite, to follow the example which has been given to them by the French employers.

There are other problems, connected more or less with the regulation of labour, which might be mentioned here, such as rights of association already in force in Cochinchina, which might well be extended to the other parts of the Union, and the important question of concessions, which has not yet been satisfactorily solved. According to statements made in a debate in the Chamber of Deputies on March 18, 1927, it would appear that the granting of certain concessions in the hinterland Moï had been accompanied by the recruiting of forced labour for the cultivation. The result was, that on March 26, 1927, the Government issued a decree that until such date as a general codification of concessionary rights was completed in IndoChina, no concessions could be granted or contract approved except by virtue of a decree. By decree of July 5, 1927, a temporary régime was established and a Commission of Enquiry sent to IndoChina to examine on the spot the question of the granting of concessions. No law establishing a definite régime has yet been published. It is clearly a very delicate task to find a solution which is absolutely satisfactory to all parties, and which does not compromise the legitimate interests of the European community or, on the other hand, the welfare of the workers.

This difficulty is present in all the French colonies, and for that matter also in the possessions of other countries,



but it assumes an especially acute form in IndoChina where colonization takes the shape of great European enterprises, grouping and mobilizing the natives, rather than the encouragement of independent native production. Whilst in Africa colonization tends to make the natives a people of peasant and small proprietors, in IndoChina the effect is to make them paid servants. It is not, therefore, surprising that the workers in IndoChina are making the same demands as are now common in Europe. The recent laws made by M. Varenne represent a very great effort to find humane solutions for these problems, and it is only the proper application of this legislation which can show whether it really satisfies the needs of the situation, or whether it may not be necessary to decide upon a comprehensive recasting of the very principles underlying the colonial policy which is at present followed in IndoChina.

## PROBLEMS OF THE JAVA SUGAR-INDUSTRY

BY H. D. RUBENKONING, LL.D.

(Secretary of the Federation of Owners of Netherlands-Indies Sugar Estates)

THE importance the sugar-industry possesses for Java, both economically and socially, may be presumed to be a well-established fact. Sugar is one of the oldest of the cultivations of Java, an island which is not the greatest, it is true, but still always the most important of the four large islands which, in the main, constitute the overseas realms of the Netherlands in the East Indian Archipelago.

The East India Company did not do much else than ship the sugar (which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was chiefly manufactured by natives and Chinese in their primitive sugar-mills) to Holland and place it on the market there. The Netherlands Indies Government already occupied in the first half of the nineteenth century, by virtue of the so-called cultivation system, an entirely different position. It encouraged the planting of the sugar, setting the native population to work thereon, aiding at the same time the establishment of sugar-factories, in which the cane thus planted by the native population was milled and converted into sugar. The sugar-manufacturers of that time, or contractors as they were called, had, indeed, their agents, who assisted and advised the native population in the planting of the cane, but they were absolutely powerless, and could not in any case prescribe or issue any orders in the matter of planting. Hence the fact of attention being especially devoted in the matter of improvements in the process of sugar-manufacturing on the part of manufacturers to the manufacturing side of the business. That was altered after, in 1870, thanks to the agrarian laws of Minister de Waal, the sugar-cultivation became a so-called free cultivation which, without any intervention whatsoever on the part of the Government, was and is carried on by private individuals on lands leased from the native population for that purpose. And especially has that become changed since, about 1882, the dreaded "sereh" disease threatened entire cane-plantations with ruin, almost at the same moment that the over-production—a result of the development of the beet-sugar industry—created a crisis,



which would have been fatal for the entire Java sugar-industry if leading financiers in Amsterdam had not joined forces. As a result, on the one hand, of the appearance of the "sereh" disease, against which drastic remedies appeared necessary, and, on the other hand, of the crisis of 1884, which emphasized the necessity of better equipped factories, able to produce sugar at a lower cost-price, the Experimental Stations were called into being, and have since remained the scientific advisers of the Java sugar-industry. There were originally three; since 1907 these have been amalgamated into one general Experimental Station, consisting of three departments—Cultivation, Technical, and Chemical—now jointly established at Paseroean in Eastern Java. The importance of this Experimental Station, with its complete scientific staff and equipment, is evident already from the fact that its annual budget exceeds  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million guilders.

In 1894 the planted area of the Java sugar-industry was over 105,000 "bouws,"<sup>\*</sup> the average production per bouw 81.15 "picol,"<sup>†</sup> and the total sugar crop 530,963 tons of 1,000 kg. In 1927 the total planted area was over 260,000 bouws, the average cane-production 145.6 picol per bouw, and the total crop 2,348,085 tons of 1,000 kg. While thus the plantations have increased  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times, the crop has quadrupled, clear proof indeed that the methods employed by the Java sugar-industry, based as it was on scientific foundation, contributed in the greatest degree to the increase of production. The development of cane-planting in the Java sugar-industry, and the consequent increase of the cane to be milled in the factory, are closely connected with the composition of the plantation. A great increase per bouw and in production already occurred after 1902, when great areas were planted with the new varieties 100 P.O.J. and 247 B., in which connection it should be borne in mind that the letters P.O.J. signify that it is one of the cane varieties originating from the "Proefstation Oost-Java" (East Java Experimental Station), while in the other case the B. refers to Bouricius, the well-known planter of this cane species, whose services have also been honoured by the founding of the so-called Bouricius Fund, whose aim is to assist the surviving relatives of persons who have made themselves useful to the sugar-industry in Java. It has not stopped at these changes, for the composition of the cane-plantations in Java has con-

\* "Bouw" = 1.747 acres.

† "Picol" = 61.76 kilogrammes = 136.16 English lbs.



stantly undergone considerable changes. After 1920 the new varieties E.K. 28 and D.I. 52 came to the front, while at present, consulting the cane-planting for the industry for 1926-1927, it must be stated that both these kinds must in turn make room for 2878 P.O.J., which already in the plantations for the 1927 crop occupied about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of these plantations.

The expectations entertained with regard to this cane variety after tests had been made were at once very high, as a result of the figures obtained by 2878 P.O.J., as compared with the more important practical kinds. With one single exception, the weight of cane of 2878 P.O.J. is greater than that of the other varieties, the yield being likewise, with one exception, better. An increased yield of 20 per cent. of sugar is considered a moderate estimate, hence the great increase of the 1928 crop was anticipated as the result of a method of planting wherein 65 per cent. was already taken up by 2878 P.O.J.

There are, however, even for the sugar-industry, no roses without thorns. The timely provision of the ground rented by the industry has at all times been a problem of importance. The right of the factory to the leased land is indisputable, but what can be done if this land cannot be made use of at the right time? The new cane 2878 affords an important advantage, being obtained by early planting out, and it is comprehensible that everyone tries to select the most favourable moment for the beginning of that planting. The annual report of the General Syndicate of Sugar Manufacturers for 1926 contains the advice, in cases where the land is not made free at the proper time, to put in a claim for damages before the judge, in this case the Residency judge in question. From several quarters, however, and these not inimical to the sugar interests, it was remarked that threatening and going to law were easy, but that it was advisable in the first place to invoke the intervention of the Government, whereby threats and lawsuits could perhaps be avoided. The more so does such advice deserve attention when one learns that the planters in Djocja have found a solution combining the interests of the population and the factory-owners—a solution on the lines that the manufacturers will assist the the population to the necessary water, provided the latter are willing to plant their "sawahs" so that the rice harvest may be over earlier and the fields can already, in case of need, be prepared in March for the cane. Nor are the "roses" which the cane variety 2878 furnishes "without



thorns," for it is already reported that symptoms of disease appear in various parts of Java with the new cane variety. There are, indeed, reports of such symptoms of disease with regard to 2878 P.O.J., but the Director of the Cultivation Department of the Experimental Station has remarked that practically every variety of cane, in some districts, and under certain conditions, has given rise to unpleasant experiences. This has never affected the general value of such varieties for the industry, and the Experimental Station considers, therefore, that there is less cause for anxiety, as the commencement of the West Monsoon in 1927 was abnormal, and the heavy showers, characteristic, as a rule, of the breaking of the monsoon, were almost everywhere lacking. Vigilance and attention the Experimental Station considers necessary, but it feels no anxiety concerning the new cane variety. Neither does Dr. H. C. Prinsen Geerligs, the well-known sugar specialist, display any anxiety in an article published by him in the *Indische Mercur*.

It is quite another question however, whether the Java sugar-industry will succeed in disposing of the far greater crop that 1928 will yield as compared with 1927, at prices that may be counted as profitable. In the olden times the problem of export did not exist; practically the whole of the sugar crop was shipped to Holland, and the Netherlands Trading Company saw to its being put on the sugar-auctions in Amsterdam. But after 1870 the situation had already undergone a change. The system of free cultivation of the sugar-industry, it is true, did not formally come into operation until 1879; but the agrarian regulations of 1870, containing, as they did, the provision that, in future, with the Government, settlement would no longer be made in sugar but in cash, the Amsterdam sugar-auctions declined, and within three years England occupied the place previously held by Holland.

In England, however, the Java sugar had to contend with the beet-sugar industry of the European continent, and, quite comprehensibly, it had to give up the fight against a competitor who was artificially supported by the premium system. On the other hand, the export to America had greatly increased, almost doubled, while at the same time China and Japan were also becoming important markets. After the Spanish-American War, however, a close economic union arose between Cuba and America, and American capital brought revived prosperity to the sugar-industry in Cuba, the American market thus also



being then lost to Java. This was accentuated by the action of the American refiners, who, despite the opposition of the American beet-sugar industry, managed to get the Reciprocity Treaty passed into law between Cuba and the United States, which still favours Cuba sugar on imports by 20 per cent. Java had then to look for markets elsewhere, and the East was indicated for that purpose. The Asiatic markets were supplied with white sugar by Hong-Kong, Germany, and Austria; especially was this the case with British-India, that had always bought a little coarse Java sugar, but imported from other countries very large quantities of white sugar. Whereas in 1895 Java did not export more than  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. of the whole crop to the East, this had already risen in 1903 to 65 per cent., in 1910 to 78 per cent., and in 1913 practically the entire Java crop went to the East, of which in that very year British-India took no less than 10 million picol. The war, of course, altered matters. Especially in 1914, France and England bought the large quantities of still unsold Java sugar, export to Europe suddenly increasing to more than 9 million picol. In 1915 the figure for the East again rose to 78 per cent., to drop in 1916 to 43 per cent. Then came the difficult years of 1917 and 1918, which were surmounted solely by the co-operation secured in the Java Sugar Association and later in the United Java Sugar Producers. But even by these means the export of Java sugar did not become as stabilised as was the case before the war. While in 1920 Europe and America were the largest purchasers, jointly requiring more than half the crop, in 1921 the East again attracted the lion's share. Since then it has continued to fluctuate, especially as regards Europe, the latter taking in 1923-1924 over  $6\frac{1}{4}$  million picol, for 1926-1927 this was not more than 20,000 picol, whereas in the same year the export to British-India exceeded 12 million picol.

For export, the Java sugar has to take into account the situation on the world-market. Cane- and beet-sugar at present now stand in the ratio of about 1 to 2: a difference indeed from the last crop of pre-war days, which was for beet-sugar about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  and for cane-sugar rather more than  $9\frac{1}{2}$  million tons. Yet it is entirely different from the situation, immediately after the war, for 1920-1921, when beet-sugar produced hardly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million tons against over 12 million cane-sugar. Despite these fluctuating figures, Java constantly produced about 13 per cent. of the total cane-sugar production, while the Java share in the total world production may be estimated at about 10 per cent. It is



obvious, therefore, that Java can exercise no influence upon the prices of the world-market, and equally obvious that, in so far as the restriction intended and partly carried into effect by Cuba is of importance for these prices, their effect will also be followed with great interest by Java. Though in Cuba results could be obtained by restriction of the crop in general, in pursuance of the plan of Colonel Tarafa which has become law, they in fact adopted another policy. The essence of this plan is not so much the restriction of the entire sugar crop, but the indirect fixing, as a result of the restriction, of the maximum quantity of Cuba sugar available for the United States. According as the production in Cuba increased America became glutted with Cuba sugar, and, the latter being cheaper than any other sugar can be, precisely owing to the preferential duty, it was, of course, chosen in preference to all other kinds. In other words, the Cuba producers had, in order to find a market, to go and compete among themselves. The law called into being by Tarafa's plan is directed towards again giving the "Full Duty" sugar a chance to compete, as only thus has the preferential duty for Cuba sugar again value. For Europe and Java, however, this Tarafa plan presents also another side. When Cuba has placed 3 or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million tons of her crop in the protected American market at a good price, she possesses a sharp weapon in the crop surplus, the volume of which may be regulated within wide limits by the Cuban President. It cannot be a matter of indifference to Czecho-Slovakia, the largest beet-sugar producer of Europe, or to Java, whether Cuba tries to place only 350,000 tons or fully a million tons of sugar on the markets in Europe and in Eastern Asia, especially if the sale of this quantity is forced by a corporation like the Cuba Sugar Export Company.

Colonel Tarafa came to Europe, conferred first in Paris with the representatives of the beet-sugar producing and exporting countries, and afterwards visited Holland, in order to consult the "United Java Sugar Producers," which represents Java sugar in regard to the sale of the product. The result of the negotiations was made known in carefully worded *communiqués*. If one refers to the communications made, according to an interview with Colonel Tarafa, by the *Financial News*, it will be found that the Cuban Act was especially called into existence through the consideration that the sharp fluctuations in the sugar prices have had, and still have, most unfortunate effects for those who are concerned with the sugar-industry.



From producer to refiner there prevails but one opinion: stabilization of prices, if it can be attained, will have beneficial results. An integral part of the Cuban law consists, in fact, of the provisions, which prescribe the establishing of the already mentioned Export Organization, that regulates the export of the surplus of the Cuba sugar crop available for export at the beginning of 1928. It was therein already implied that efforts would be made to arrive at an agreement with other exporting countries.

What has been attained so far? In Paris negotiations took place with the producers' organizations of Germany, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, leading to an agreement, which was subsequently adhered to by Belgium and Hungary. Of the remaining exporting countries, San Domingo has already promulgated a law, whence it appears that this country is willing to co-operate with Cuba, having projected a restriction of production for five years on the basis of the crop for the current year. The negotiations still necessary with Peru and Brazil will not offer any difficulties. With the Java sugar-producers, however, such agreement has not hitherto been attained as in Paris and Berlin was attained with the exporting European beet-sugar organizations, and in the case of Java the proposed regulation is by no means acceptable in its entirety.

While Cuba restricts her output, the Java crop expands considerably, this being a result of the cane variety employed—viz., 2878 P.O.J.; and also of the extension of area, which, comparing the plantations of 1928 with 1927, has increased by about 12,000 bouw. The Commercial Association "Amsterdam," owner of the large estate "Djatirot," situated in the east of the island, has prepared in the vicinity three new estates, of which great expectations are likewise entertained. To expect from Java at this moment a restriction of production seems out of the question, and this will presumably be appreciated by the Cubans. The Cubans should bear in mind that Java cannot point to the same advantages as the former in the shape of preferential tariffs, and is therefore forced to devote herself to an intensive form of cultivation in order to maintain herself as a sugar-producing country, and that, accordingly, she must not be expected to co-operate in any plan of restriction of output. Cuba may expect this sacrifice from her own producers, who, indeed, are themselves the cause of the over-production, owing to constant extensions of the cultivated area. Cuba can therefore hardly ask Java to resign the advantages, acquired thanks to



important scientific experiments, for the benefit of others who are strongly supported by preferential tariffs. Cuba has now undertaken to restrict the 1928 crop to 4 million tons. The countries that have agreed to the Cuban restriction plan will meet in conference in October, 1928, to establish and perfect the situation of the sugar-market on the basis of statistics, determining, if need be, whether, and, if so, what portion of, the sugar available for export must be kept out of the market. This part will then come under the control of an international sugar company; the retained quantity will, in ratio to the export of the associated countries, be fixed for each of the latter. This plan, for the success of which Cuba has declared her willingness, if required, to reserve more than is prescribed by the regulations, thus only effects the sugar available for direct export, and does not interfere directly with the production. All that will be required will merely be the exercise by the associated countries of an effective control of export. Cuba will thus divide the available 4 million tons, so that  $3\frac{1}{4}$  million thereof will be exported to the United States, while of the remaining  $\frac{3}{4}$  million tons Cuba will herself use 150,000, and hold 350,000 at disposal for sale in Europe, against 250,000 in Eastern Asia, unless, as regards this latter market, prices turn out to be too low, in which case the quantity will entirely, or in part, be reserved.

Colonel Tarafa expressed the opinion to the representatives of the *Financial News* that success had indeed been attained in giving practical form to the ideas which had long been forming in the minds of the groups connected with the sugar-cultivation. That the working out of the details would to a great extent have to be left to the future was certain, as also the question as to whether the association of sugar-producers might also be rendered serviceable for more efficient propaganda campaigns. Ultimately Governments might perhaps be approached to discuss their tariff policies.

Assuming that such an association is arrived at, it is questionable, even in that case, whether a renewal of the Brussels Convention of 1902, which after the war may be regarded as no longer existent, would be necessary. Practice has taught us the advisability of making economic arrangements apart from Government conferences, and that, as a rule, such regulations, created by the interested groups themselves, possess greater effective force.

The problems surrounding the Java sugar-industry affect not only that industry but the whole island upon which it is



established—affect, in fact, the entire Netherlands East Indies on account of the social-economic position occupied by the sugar-industry. The importance of the sugar-industry would be most strikingly expressed, as was once observed by the Sugar Inquiry Commission, if one contemplated Java for a moment without such an industry. That is of course impossible, but it need not prevent one perceiving the numerous more or less important channels along which the presence of the sugar-industry carries prosperity to various circles—channels that would dry up the moment that the cause of their existence, the sugar-industry, disappeared.

It is therefore imperative that everyone connected with the economic life in Java should follow with interest the development of the sugar-industry and study the fluctuations of the sugar-market, even if he does not belong to the "interested parties" in the sense of having shares. It is indeed noteworthy how, in democratic circles, both in Holland and in the Indies of late, the conception of *interested parties* in the conservation of Insulinde for the Netherlands has extended. Recently Mr. Ten Berge demonstrated in the *Volksraad* that these interested parties are not alone to be found among people possessing shares, but that they are to be found also in large groups of the working- and the middle-classes in Holland: of the working-classes because without the Netherlands East Indies Holland's finances would be in a state of destitution and would certainly not be able to bear any social legislation such as is now carried out by the latter; of the middle-classes because of the large number of flourishing businesses that find their customers among those who, with fortunes accumulated in her colonies, settle in Holland. And now it has recently been argued in an unexpected Radical quarter, with the quotation of figures, that the export balance furnished Holland by her colonies constitutes a practically indispensable factor for the prosperity of Holland. What is more especially remarkable in this is the fact that this export balance, when it applies to the screwing up of taxes, is termed "drain," whereas as present, when it is a question of combating the cry raised by the Communists, "Let Insulinde go," this balance is presented in the form it actually has.

THE HAGUE,

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## THE INNER EAST

[This section, previous articles of which appeared in the last two issues, is intended to furnish information regarding events in what were formerly the Asiatic Provinces of the Russian Empire.]

### PEACE-MAKING IN TRANSCAUCASIA

BY PROFESSOR ZURAB AVALOV

[Professor Avalov, formerly a Member of the Russian State Duma, is the author of several works on Georgian history and jurisprudence. The member of a well-known Georgian family, he was one of the representatives of Georgian interests during the negotiations with the Turks at Batum, and with the Germans at Poti during the spring and summer of 1918. Professor Avalov subsequently represented the *de facto* Georgian Government in Berlin, and after the Armistice in London. During the Peace Conference, he was a member of the Georgian Delegation in Paris, and later at San Remo. It is considered that his objective summary of the diplomatic position of the Transcaucasian States during the period 1918-1921 cannot, at the present time, be without a degree of historical value.]

THERE was in the panoply of the Peace Conference at Paris one weapon which seemed quite appropriate to the task of organizing the self-supporting nationhood of such countries as needed help from without, not so much on account of their backwardness, as on account of their exposed geographical position and temporary financial and other difficulties. We mean mandates.

Nowadays Fascist Italy claims, sometimes with bitterness, sometimes with disconcerting energy, more chances and opportunities abroad—colonies to which her superfluous population may migrate. It is therefore curious to remember that in the summer of 1919 an Italian mandate in Georgia and Azerbaijan was seriously considered by the Peace Conference. The mission was to be accepted, to begin with, in the form of sending troops to replace the English. Everything had been settled; the expeditionary corps (12th Corps of the Italian army and some special troops) had been prepared; but at the last moment, owing to parliamentary and political difficulties in Italy, the whole plan was given up.

Signor Nitti, in his book "L'Europe sans Paix," considers this renunciation as a great service which he rendered to his country. The expedition had been formally aban-



done as soon as he became Prime Minister (June, 1919), and a tremendous, dangerous adventure had thus been avoided.

It must be noted that in their negotiations with the Georgian Government much stress was laid by the Italians on the raw materials their country needed, chiefly fuel—coal and oil. Some concessions had been drafted to this effect, and the possibilities had been studied on the spot by a large mission, headed by some representative men of that pre-Fascist time.

It is most probable that Signor Nitti's negative attitude on the question was wise and statesmanlike—not because an armed conflict with the Soviets was to be expected, as he suggests, but because Georgia or Transcaucasia in general was not the kind of country the Italians longed for (not "colonial" enough); nor was Italy the right Great Power to assume the mandate in a region exposed to blows from Russia and Turkey, not to mention different political and demographic difficulties in Transcaucasia itself, which would probably have appeared from the very start.

A mandatory was wanted—if wanted at all—powerful enough to preclude eventual attack from objecting neighbours, and committed only to a temporary constructive mission, without any other ambition; rich and great, and therefore proof against all hidden desire for eventual territorial expansion.

The United States, in the opinion of many, responded to these requirements, and was, it seemed, destined to take charge of Transcaucasian affairs. Of course, their direct preoccupation and supposed field of future activities lay a little to the south: Armenia was to be regenerated, freed, and settled by Americans. But should this be so, Georgia, too, could hope to receive some support—diplomatic and financial—as the access to Armenia lay through Georgia, the fates of both countries being therefore closely linked together.

An American mandate in Armenia—what a peculiar chapter in the romance of the Peace settlement!

The spell did not last long. In 1919 it was, nevertheless, one of the chief possibilities in Transcaucasian political speculations. How could it be otherwise, from the popular point of view, when the Peace Conference sent as its particular representative to Tiflis an American colonel, and a large special mission had been despatched by President Wilson to make investigations in Armenia and adjacent countries, including Georgia?



Numerous experts at that time made reports on all branches of the people's life in Western Asia; the whole country had been crossed in all directions by the members of that mission, miraculously descended, as it seemed, from some elevated sphere to these regions, ravaged by war and revolutions, and stricken with poverty.

A general report was submitted to President Wilson by the chief of the American mission, Major-General Harbord (October, 1919). All the pros and cons with regard to the responsibility to be assumed by the United States in Armenia were balanced. The necessity of including in the mandate other republics of Transcaucasia as well, in order to give to the mandatory the best possible chances of success, was clearly explained.

But all this was in vain: this mandate and other momentous plans of American participation to the settling of European and Asiatic affairs—like the security of France to be guaranteed, and the particularly desired and expected partnership of the United States in the League of Nations—everything has been swept away by the irresistible "homeward" current of American public opinion, by the traditional fear of entanglements and formal responsibilities.

The dramatic effect of that change of policy on the fate of the Armenians in Turkey and in Transcaucasia is well known.

The most important factor in Caucasian politics in 1918-1921 was, quite naturally, Great Britain. The importance of Great Britain proceeded in different manners and from different inspirations, which it would be out of place to describe or analyze here in all their complexity. A few features only need be sketched.

British policy in those quarters was guided firstly by an immediate necessity resulting from the breakdown of Turkey (Armistice of Mudros) and of Germany (Armistice of November 11, 1918). The victorious British had to replace both the Germans in Georgia and Turks in Azerbaijan and Armenia. This occupation enabled them to control on behalf of the Allies the preliminary peace arrangements in Transcaucasia.

The territories they entered were nominally parts of the Russian Empire. But they found there, as a matter of fact, the new Transcaucasian Republics established since May, 1918.

How were these new small States to be treated? They were dominions of Russia, England's Ally in the Great



War, but an ally fallen now into misfortune. Her interests were to be spared.

The Soviet Government was, on the contrary, an informal enemy. The fact of not having followed the Soviet movement was rather in favour of the new Caucasian States. But what if civil war, started in South Russia, would result in a rapid restoration of Russia to her normal strength?

In view of such a perplexity, no wonder that England's Russian policy should react on its attitude towards Georgia and its neighbours.

But the problem was not limited to Transcaucasia. The Paris Conference had to decide how to deal with different new republics established *de facto* on the borders of the former Russian Empire. And what was to happen should the antagonists of the Soviet system, guided in 1919 by Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin, have the best of it? The new Caucasian and Baltic States, as well as Ukraine, acted with solidarity at Paris in the summer of 1919, taking advantage of the Conference's liberal disposition with regard to the self-made new democracies. And it was decided that, if necessary, the Allied Powers, or eventually the League of Nations, would act as an intermediary between Russia and its former border-lands, now border States, aiming to an arrangement and readjustment of their mutual claims.

The subsequent collapse of the anti-Soviet Russians in the south and in Siberia prevented the carrying out of that large scheme, which was based, however, on a sound principle.

At any rate, the Russian conflicts, and consideration due to Russia, explain why it was that, only after the final victory of the Soviets over their opponents, the Great Powers decided to give their acknowledgment to the *de facto* independence of Georgia and other Transcaucasian States (January, 1920). The proposition to this effect was submitted to the Supreme Council by Great Britain, a proceeding natural enough when we consider that England was particularly responsible for peace on the Transcaucasian isthmus, and for preventing an advance of Soviet troops farther southward and their junction with the Turks.

Very great anxiety seems to have reigned at that time in British Governmental circles with regard to the possible penetration of militant communism from the north into Western Asia. Sir Henry Wilson and Admiral Beatty were summoned to Paris because the Supreme Council had



to consider urgent measures. As the alarm was found to be exaggerated, nothing definite was decided upon.

But at that point a new aspect of Transcaucasian affairs appeared—namely, their importance in connection with the imposition of peace on Turkey and for the general security in Western Asia. In this respect Great Britain was particularly interested; the peace, which soon became the Sèvres Treaty, was chiefly an English work; and an English establishment in Transcaucasia, though temporary (Batum under British occupation!), could prove to be very important, eventually combined with pressure from other quarters. A new political agreement with Persia, planned simultaneously by Lord Curzon, necessitated, too, a settled and firmly supported Transcaucasia, the best natural high-way to Persia.

Together with the final drafting of the peace treaty with Turkey, negotiations were started at Paris, on behalf of the Foreign Office, with the delegates of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, in order to facilitate an *entente* of the three Republics, consistent and firm enough to build a barrier and to justify support to be given eventually by the Allies. The whole scheme, if arrived at, was to be advocated by England before the Supreme Council at San Remo (April, 1920).

Stimulated by the distinguished emissary of Lord Curzon, the delegates of the Transcaucasian Republics entered into somewhat lengthy negotiations, first at Paris and then at San Remo. An agreement had been reached with regard to Batum as a free port and a common outlet of the three States. Obligatory arbitration for territorial disputes was stipulated, etc. But the crucial question concerning an Armenian railway destined to link Kars directly to Batum (instead of an actual connection Kars-Tiflis-Batum) could not find a satisfactory solution, the Armenians claiming Armenian sovereignty over the line, even where it crossed Georgian territory, and substituting later for this claim some others, also refused to them by Georgians.

In that controversy the most curious point was that the disputed line not only was non-existent, but even its technical possibility and financial advisability had never been seriously studied.

The whole question was purely tactical. In order that the Supreme Council should approve a plan concerning Transcaucasian affairs, a palpable evidence of Transcaucasian solidarity and unity was expected. It could not be produced.



A climax had been reached at San Remo, and the downward movement began. The Soviets seized Baku and invaded Azerbaijan, almost simultaneously with closing of San Remo Conference. Soon afterwards an armed conflict arose on the frontier of Georgia and Azerbaijan, now under Soviet rule. Busy on their western boundaries, the Communists easily signed a peace with Georgia, giving on this occasion their formal acknowledgment of its independence. Would a *modus vivendi* thus arranged last, and would democratic Georgia exist by the side of "red" Azerbaijan, just as Estonia and Latvia, after coming to terms with the Soviets, continued to exist as "bourgeois" republics by the side of red Russia? And was Batum to perform for the Russians in the Black Sea the same purely commercial services Riga and Reval secured to them in the Baltic?

Alas! the analogy was not complete enough to justify such an optimist conception. The Baltic Republics occupied the left wing of the line, and victorious Poles had succeeded in winning and maintaining against Soviet Russia their eastern frontier. An invasion of the Baltic States would mean an outflanking of the Poles. It would be thinkable only in a victorious war with Poland, and 1920 had witnessed a Polish victory. At the same time, the general feeling of Europe, and actual support from different quarters, greatly aided self-confidence and stimulated those Republics.

Quite different was the outlook in Georgia.

In the summer of 1920 British troops were withdrawn from Batum. This was a momentous decision—formally, a restitution of a territory, temporarily occupied by British, to its legal owner, Georgia; as a matter of fact, a political renunciation, closely following the experience of San Remo.

The withdrawal could be plausibly justified by the exigencies of that famous, though anonymous, factor in international politics, which is the "British taxpayer," whose influence was great in 1919-1921. The true reasons of the event were probably multiple.

Since the victory of Soviets over their opponents in the Civil War, the idea of compounding with the *de facto* Government at Moscow made progress in England.

What we have here to note is, however, only the direct influence of the new policy adopted by England—aiming at the conclusion of a commercial agreement with Soviet Russia—on the fate of Transcaucasia.

The San Remo failure opened the way to the new tendency. It was followed by the abandonment of Batum, which improved England's position in dealing with Russia,



but deprived her of one of the few means at her disposal of enforcing upon Turkey the peace—if the peace was to be enforced. And this seemed to become almost impossible.

The gradual growth of the Turkish Nationalist movement in Eastern Anatolia, favoured by the indifferent attitude of Great Powers; the disillusionment as to the getting the Sèvres Treaty executed; the hopeless position of the Armenian question in spite of the frontier drafted by President Wilson in the eastern villayets; all this, added to the negotiations between England and Russia, changed completely the general outlook of Caucasian and Turkish affairs in the second half of 1920. As to the Turkey who was at this time negotiating a separate peace with France, the enforcing of peace conditions had been entrusted to Greece alone—a decision which proved to be very ruinous to that country.

The position of the Armenian Republic between the Soviets and the Kemalist movement soon became untenable. The Communists were astute and skilful enough to appear as the benefactors and supporters of the Armenians, betrayed by the Western "Imperialists and bourgeois," against the new Turkish invasion. A partition of the Armenian territory took place later, Kars and its province with some other districts having been ceded, as already mentioned, to Turkey, the rest constituting as a Soviet Republic of Armenia round about the region of Naki Gokchai.

In these circumstances, independent Georgia, surrounded by the Soviets on three sides, and, to complete the grasp, by the Kemalist Turks in the south-west, could hardly survive. She was quite isolated now, supported by nobody, not belonging to any international system, or protected by position in any well-controlled zone.

Nothing can depict better the changed conditions of the Transcaucasian isthmus than the attitude (already mentioned) of the States assembled at Geneva in December, 1920. It was the first general assembly of the League of Nations, and the question of admission of Georgia, Armenia, etc., to its membership had also to be decided. The problem was particularly delicate because, in the case of admission, the responsibility of the League and its members would be engaged to a certain point (Article 10 of the Covenant), while the non-admission could be interpreted disadvantageously for the League by that section of European public opinion which expected with confidence the beginning of the new era.

Very unhappily the news had reached Geneva during



the session of Armenia's invasion by the Turks. The event struck, as it were, deliberately at one of the feeblest portions of the whole Peace Settlement. The Great Powers were unwilling or unable to help. A hopeless way of mediation by neutrals was suggested without any result. Nothing at all was done. The atmosphere was decidedly unfavourable to the admission of new members, living under threat of a Turkish or Communist aggression.

Nevertheless, the admission of Georgia as well as the admission of the Baltic States, was strongly supported, particularly by Dr. Nansen and Lord Robert Cecil. The Assembly knowing that the Great Powers did not favour immediate admission, and helped by the circumstance that the *de jure* independence of those States had not yet been acknowledged, voted accordingly.

The required formal recognition was at last given to Georgia and to the Baltic States by the Supreme Council (January 27, 1921).

The Baltic States, as parts of an elaborated defensive system stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, simultaneously buffers between Germany and Russia, in a word closely connected with the whole fabric of new Europe, could survive, and became later in 1921 regular members of the League of Nations.

Georgia, lying as an isolated fort, deprived of defence and munitions, fell now an easy prey to the Soviets and Turkey. It was overrun by those neighbours, as we have mentioned above, some weeks after its *de jure* recognition.

The republican and democratic machinery set up there since 1918 now gave place to a Soviet organization. The next step was the setting up of a Transcaucasian Federation, including Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, with their joint partnership in the U.S.S.R., which needs no comment here.

Our only purpose here is to show the contingencies of international politics, explaining the fiasco of Georgian independence in 1921. Other internal factors contributed to the same end in Georgia, and so it was in Armenia, too, and also elsewhere in the Caucasus.

Considered from within, the political possibilities of Georgia were dominated from the beginning by the overwhelming Russian revolution and its particular conditions in Transcaucasia. Both combined in giving a prominent place in public life to the Socialists, supposed to possess the political wisdom which was lacked by the men of the old *régime*.



In Georgia latent national aspirations had come to an ebullition which modified and moderated to a certain degree the revolutionary situation created by the Russian collapse. The leading Social Democrats, faced by the national movement, tried quite opportunely to combine it with their own social programme. They became now Georgian Social Democrats; their close bonds with the Russian Revolution were to be broken in view of the Communist menace.

Aiming at first (as most Georgians did) at a Georgian autonomy within the limits of the Russian Empire, they were pushed ahead by the extraordinary events, particularly by the violent dissolution of the pan-Russian Constituent Assembly early in 1918 (Georgia had participated in elections to it), by the Brest-Litowsk Treaty, etc. At last, soon after the complete separation of Transcaucasia (April, 1918), urged both by the anti-Communist attitude of Caucasians and by the necessity of making separate peace with Turkey, the independence of Georgia was proclaimed (May, 1918), Armenia and Azerbaijan following that lead.

So, curiously enough, it was reserved to Marxists to guide the Georgian national movement, which they had always opposed before. This was, however, a sound and normal evolution, and they had support from all quarters.

Of course, the task of building a strong Government in a detached Dominion, when war and revolution were in the country, was not an easy one. It seemed, nevertheless, that the Georgian Government was firmly established. They were able to survive the shortlived German occupation, and to co-operate later with the English. As we saw, formal recognition was obtained practically from all concerned. But after all, it was impossible for Marxists to become suddenly Garibaldians.

Psychologically, it was perhaps their sectarian animosity against their kindred Communists which sustained their anti-Muscovite attitude more than anything else. And the spell of becoming the independent government of an awakened nation helped greatly to overcome their Marxist susceptibilities. Nationhood, as the basis of *their own* Government and leadership, was quite differently felt and appreciated by them now.

At any rate, having assumed the responsibility of ruling Georgia, they tried to carry out some particular measures considered as obligatory articles of their faith and suggested by the Russian Revolution at large. Accordingly a so-called agrarian reform was enforced upon landed property.



Only insignificant holdings were left to proprietors. The remaining land of all the estates—big, medium, or small alike—was confiscated without compensation, and sold afterwards in parcels to peasants, or included in State domains. That drastic measure was necessary—so it was explained—to prevent the spread of Communism in Georgia. It was, as a matter of fact, pure Bolshevism without the Soviets. Unfortunately the sectarian character of the Government was manifest in other directions, too. A partisan Socialist body was created—the National Guards—outside the army, and the latter was neglected and mistrusted. This resulted in great confusion with regard to the defensive organization, and is supposed to have been one of the principal reasons for the sudden final failure in 1921.

It is, however, not impossible that under a more favourable international constellation—should, for instance, the situation, as it was in 1919-20, have lasted a few years longer—Georgia might have succeeded in reaching a certain degree of stability. But as the things developed from the summer of 1920, the fate of the three Republics was sealed.

Their own contribution to that fate was great indeed. They could never arrange anything like co-operation. They could not restrain their conflicts. The defensive alliance concluded by Georgia and Azerbaijan in 1919 had no effect. Antagonism between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and a rather cool relation of Armenia to Georgia, was always patent. Later, when their common misfortune brought them nearer together, the representatives of the three above-named Republics signed at last an agreement embodying their friendship and solidarity. But this was at Paris—and they were political refugees!

The future of Transcaucasia, and more particularly the problem of the independence of Georgia, may still recover its actuality. The general settlement between Russia and the Western Powers has not yet been made, and Georgia's *de jure* independence may still be involved in the discussion and may inspire some diplomatic activity. This possibility is very vague and limited, but it does exist. And the former Government of Georgia residing at Paris—where a regular Georgian Legation is in activity—expects perhaps a possible restoration, as result of some international complications. They have influential supporters in the Second Socialist Internationale, and they are able to influence some platonic votes in the League of Nations. These connections are not negligible.



But everybody cannot follow a policy of "wait and see." In 1924 insurrection was plotted in Georgia, or supposed to have been plotted. Some local risings took place. At any rate, a bloody repression followed, where thousands of innocents perished. A few insurgents continued to struggle, but finally had to cross the frontier. Needless to say how fruitless and inadequate such action is; it reveals, nevertheless, the more pathetic and emotional side of the Georgian nationalist movement.

There are many Georgians now so imbued with the idea of the independence of their country that they cannot imagine it otherwise than independent. It seems to them that they have lost it by pure accident, by some minor fault to be avoided next time. The complete independence they justly require is thought of abstractedly as something quite natural, as truly it is from a philosophical point of view. The actual popularity of this aspiration, noble and sound, shows how rapidly collective feelings change, when changes are prepared historically and socially.

And yet the independence of Georgia was proclaimed in 1918 not as a result of a long prepared plan, not as the conclusion of a gradual growth or particular national training, but under circumstances which were as sudden as they were unexpected and extraordinary—the dissolution of Russia, the Communist *coup d'état*, the necessity of dealing with Germany and Turkey.

The peculiar form of proclaiming the independence had been, consequently, determined by a casual environment. But deeper, of course, lay the more lasting and general factor—the awakening of the nations, old or new, to the will of self-government. And this has many ways of manifesting itself. Even when independence has been lost or has not yet been reached, a nation can develop itself to a higher destiny. Many nations grew in Europe to full nationhood under foreign rule or foreign yoke, and became independent States at the last moment, even then owing to particular circumstances.

It is not otherwise with the Caucasian nations. Most important was their awakening through war and revolution to a higher level of political conscience and to greater ambitions. It is true that, when in possession of their independence, they soon discovered the difficulty of maintaining it. They have lost it. But compared with their situation before 1917, they have accomplished very great progress with regard to their nationhood. However, their field has never been tilled systematically, as is required



nowadays, and much can be done there daily even under bad conditions.

What now if the Communist Union falls? What if some menace to the Union is directed from without? The question is much debated by Russians and former Russian subjects abroad. The famous problem of eventual Western intervention is sometimes discussed. Georgia and Caucasus are mentioned from time to time in these speculations.

In Georgian political groups styled as responsible, including Social Democrats and others, the chances of possible complications are often judged optimistically.

Sometimes allusion is made to the interest which the British Empire has in liberating Georgia and the Caucasian isthmus in order to protect its Indian possessions from the rapacious North. The vested interests in Baku, and generally the oil problem, is also involved in that outlook. We cannot, however, examine all these features of the situation.

Generally speaking, our retrospective criticism of past politics does not imply any rigid thesis for future use. It would be particularly idle and wrong to project into some time to come the quite exceptional perspective of 1919-20. Everything has changed since. The future of England in India depends probably on other conditions than mountain barriers far in the north, and even from such a superficial point of view Turkestan is of greater moment than the Caucasus.

No possible change is in sight now with regard to the *status quo* of Georgia and the remainder of Transcaucasia. Should something happen in consequence of some unexpected upheaval in the U.S.S.R., then it is only to be hoped that the nations of the Caucasus, trained now in co-operation more than before, shall meet a new crisis with better chances than ten years ago, thereby securing to their country the conditions of fruitful labour and the dignity of a self-supporting and self-controlled existence.



## JOINT ACTION AMONG THE INDIAN PRINCES

BY L. F. RUSHBROOK-WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

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THIS year an unusually large number of Indian Rulers will be coming to England, including the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and the greater portion of that body's Standing Committee. The occasion is remarkable, not only on account of the number of States to be represented, either by their Rulers or by their Officials, but also on account of the purpose underlying the visit.

To say that these Princes are arriving in connection with the work of the Indian States Committee appointed by Lord Birkenhead is to say very little. Indeed, unless there is some general understanding both of the genesis of the enquiry and of the attitude of the Princes themselves, the importance of the occasion is unlikely to be appreciated. To explain the matter it is necessary to recall certain historical facts. That the Indian Mutiny brought about a revolution in the attitude of the authorities towards the Indian States is, of course, a truism. Up to the time of that outbreak, the Company's officials, remembering the days when the British themselves had been only one among many competitors for the domination of India, were wont to regard the "country powers" with a suspicious eye. The traditional policy of treating each State in isolation, coupled with the increasing material development of British India, had together produced reactions unfavourable to the States, which had tended to decline relatively and absolutely. It was apparently assumed that British India was destined for rapid advance along the lines dictated by early Victorian liberalism; while such of the Indian States as could not be absorbed beneficently under the doctrine of lapse, would inevitably dwindle into mere shadows of their former selves. But the Mutiny, while it gave a severe shock to the easy optimism characterizing those who controlled British policy in India, served to demonstrate that the power of the States was still a reality. Lord Canning's famous admission that the patches of native rule served as breakwaters to the wave which would otherwise have swept us away utterly and completely, may be taken as an index of the changed attitude. Nevertheless, before many decades had elapsed the position



showed some signs of approximating to that which had obtained before the Mutiny. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the growing economic unification of the Indian subcontinent seemed to threaten the very existence of the Indian States. With the development of modern means of communication British India became welded, administratively, into something like a unit; and the disparity in resources and in importance between the territory under British rule and the isolated fragments which remained outside, became more than ever accentuated. The solemn pledges given by Queen Victoria were of themselves insufficient to solve the problem presented by the survival of the Indian States. From the States' point of view the danger of the situation lay principally in the fact that the Government of India was responsible for two different sets of duties. In the first place, it governed British India; in the second place, it managed the everyday relations between the Indian States and the Crown. The inevitable tendency of the greater of these two functions to dominate the less was accentuated at the beginning of the present century by an increasing departmentalization in the Government of India. Policies were laid down for all-India by the Technical Departments of the British Indian Government; and the States were expected merely to record their acquiescence. The result, from the Princes' standpoint, was a steady, if unostentatious, encroachment upon the position guaranteed to them by Royal pledge.

They experienced considerable difficulty in devising a remedy. The policy of isolation still persisted; and although it was impossible to prevent a considerable interchange of ideas among the States, the Government of India continued to deprecate any suggestion of joint representation or joint action. But parallel with the growing realization by the States themselves of a group of interests separate in degree if not in kind from those of British India, there may be discerned a tendency in higher quarters to look upon the States themselves as constituting jointly a factor in Indian politics. Whether Lord Curzon and Lord Minto were animated by any deliberate desire to associate the Indian Princes with the British authorities in the great task of uplifting all India is uncertain. But it is unquestionable that from the early years of the twentieth century we can trace a growing liberalization in the policy of the Government of India towards the Indian Princes. Moreover, the new generation of Princes was possessed of ideas which, though possibly inspired by a consciousness of



special interests, were quite plainly anything but hostile to the British connection. In the time of Lord Hardinge, the meeting of some of the leading Princes for certain purposes was officially encouraged, although those purposes were to begin with of very minor importance. The habit of joint consultation grew rapidly under official encouragement, with the result that even before 1914 some of the Princes, notably the present Maharajas of Bikaner and Patiala and the late Maharaja of Gwalior, had begun to envisage a scheme for the safeguarding of State interests consistently with the maintenance of the interests of British India and of the Empire.

The outbreak of the War, like the outbreak of the Mutiny, served to exhibit very prominently both the power of the Princes and their abiding loyalty to the Crown. When "boons" to British India were talked of, the Princes somewhat naturally began to consider their own position. Accordingly, when the new policy officially announced in August, 1917, became the declared goal of British India, the Princes found little difficulty in securing a hearing, both by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, for the representations they desired to put forward. For various reasons the system by which their day-to-day relations with the Crown were conducted was unsatisfactory to them. An analysis of the complaints they put forward in 1918 shows three main directions in which they believed change was necessary. They felt that they had no voice in the determination of all-India policy; in other words, decisions were taken by the British Indian authorities alone which, though nominally confined to British India, in reality vitally affected the interests of the States. Secondly, they deplored the lack of any impartial tribunal to decide disputes arising between themselves and the British Indian authorities, for it seemed to them that in a number of cases the Government of India was at once party and judge. Finally, they believed that the Political Department, for all its great work in fighting the battles of the States, occasionally acted in disregard of the treaties, and in general exercised an authority which, if benevolent, was nevertheless in certain respects undeniably arbitrary. In order to remedy these defects, as they appeared to them, the Princes put forward a scheme for a deliberative assembly in which they could meet together and discuss their common interests; which assembly was to form the basis of a system for joint consultation between themselves and the British Indian authorities when matters of concern both to



the States and to British India were at issue. They further proposed a system of arbitration, under which any dispute between the British Indian authorities, whether Central or Provincial, and a State, might be submitted to the decision of an impartial tribunal. Finally, they desired to associate with the Political Secretary a committee which would, as they hoped, ensure that the general policy of the Political Department should be more in harmony with the sentiments and desires of the Princes.

The plan put forward by the Princes to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford afforded a useful basis of discussion. It was not wholly endorsed by the framers of the joint Report, although some very remarkable admissions testified to the general strength of the case it was designed to meet. But the Montagu-Chelmsford Report at least recommended the externals of the machinery proposed by the Princes, even though these forms did not embody the precise content for which the Princes had hoped. It is, however, to be noticed that when the proposals of the Report came to be translated into action, the modified recommendations were so much weakened, that all that the Princes seemed to have secured as a result of nearly ten years' persistent effort was the institution of the Chamber of Princes under conditions which deprived it of initiative and rendered it merely the shadow of a name. In reality, however, the Princes secured something far more important than was at the time realized—full official recognition of their right to consult with each other; and some opportunity of acquiring that difficult art, the settlement of common interests by amicable discussion.

From that time onwards the progress has been steady, if not always easy. The policy of isolation, so long pursued, has left legacies of separation among the individual Princes which are not to be overcome without much patience and goodwill. But the Chamber of Princes, while somewhat hampered by Rules of Business over which it had, until a few weeks ago, no control, has undoubtedly fostered in those who share in its deliberations a habit of co-operation. The formal sessions of the Chamber, for reasons which will be obvious, have from the Princes' point of view been less important than the informal conferences for which the annual gathering at Delhi provides the opportunity. For several years the Standing Committee of the Chamber has possessed its own headquarters in a rented building, where the Chancellor's office is located during the Session. This headquarters is the real centre of action, for it is here that the Princes assembled for the Chamber hold their most



intimate discussions, formulate common policies, and lay the foundations for joint work. Here are discussed those matters which cannot find a place upon the rather stereotyped agenda of the Chamber itself; and here are laid down the lines which will guide the Standing Committee in its discussions with Government, now held thrice a year between the sessions of the Chamber. Here also are devised schemes for putting into execution certain Chamber resolutions which would otherwise remain merely the expression of pious hopes.

The existing system of common action among the Princes is in the nature of a makeshift, for the ineffectiveness of the Chamber from the Princes' standpoint has transferred the bulk of the real business to the informal conferences. But since the informal conferences and the Chamber Sessions consist of the same Princes, the Chancellor and the Standing Committee treat mandates from either as possessing the same authority. As a result, real work is done; and several of the greater Princes who at one time stood aloof now regularly send representatives to the informal conferences, where Ministers speak by invitation—always forthcoming—even if they do not vote. The upshot is that for every one of a long list of grievances the Princes have now a remedy to suggest, even if this remedy has not been accepted by Government. But, naturally enough, the Princes are not satisfied, nor are they content to rest upon their oars.

It was the Standing Committee, under the lead of two Princes of great experience, which first put forward a request for an impartial enquiry into the whole relationship between the Princes of India and the Paramount Power. The project was discussed at the Round Table Conference which took place in Simla in the spring of 1927 between Lord Irwin and certain members of his Government on one side and the Standing Committee on the other; and it became generally rumoured in the course of the ensuing summer that an enquiry of some sort would be undertaken. The Standing Committee next took the step of despatching to England two Ministers to obtain an authoritative opinion from eminent counsel upon certain aspects of the legal position of the Princes. This opinion had not yet been considered formally by the Standing Committee when Lord Irwin announced that the Secretary of State had appointed a Committee of three persons—Sir Harcourt Butler, Professor Holdsworth, and Mr. Peel—to enquire into the relationship between the Indian States and the



Paramount Power, and to suggest means for the more satisfactory adjustment of the existing economic relations between the Indian States and British India. Once again the Standing Committee lost no time. It proceeded to formulate a plan for a central organization to prepare a general case on behalf of the States for presentation to Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee ; and, further, briefed a well-known English barrister of great experience in public life to advise it throughout, and to present the case when ready. These steps were cordially endorsed by the next informal conference of Princes, which authorized the Standing Committee to proceed along the suggested lines, and, further, in its formal rôle as a Session of the Chamber, re-elected the Chancellor and his colleagues for a further year of office. Shortly afterwards it was arranged that as many members of the Standing Committee as could leave India should go to England in the course of this present summer to assist the Chancellor and counsel in the management of the case, and in putting forward definite suggestions, already tentatively approved, for remedying the Princes' grievances.

It was not to be expected that there would be entire unanimity among the Princes concerning these measures, particularly as certain States had not entirely thrown off their original conviction that the Chamber and all its works were alike useless. But more than three-fourths of those States who are members of the Chamber in their own right, and an equal proportion of those smaller States who are either represented by groups or who stand outside the Chamber altogether, have associated themselves with the Standing Committee. And in the meeting held at Bombay in March last it was apparent that even those States which preferred to deal directly with Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee were at one with the Standing Committee in their diagnosis of the disadvantages, from the Princes' point of view, of the present situation, although they were not yet prepared to commit themselves to the precise type of embryo Federation for All India which the Standing Committee and its advisers had by this time formulated. It is more noteworthy, from the practical standpoint, that the following resolutions were passed unanimously :

"This meeting of rulers and representatives of State Governments (a) appreciates the wisdom of His Majesty's Government and of the Government of India in providing for an enquiry into the relations of the Indian States with the Paramount Power and with British India; (b) recognizes



that the readjustment of these relations so as to secure the political future of one-fifth of the human race calls for the highest statesmanship on the part of His Majesty's Government and people of British India, and on the part of the Indian States; (c) declares its resolve to devote to the moral and material progress of the subjects of the States the advantages resulting from the equitable adjustment of fiscal and economic issues; (d) affirms the intention of the Indian States to join with His Majesty's Government and with the Government and people of British India in working for a solution which shall secure protection for all interests and progress for all India; (e) reaffirms the abiding determination of the rulers of Indian States, as recorded in the last session of the Chamber of Princes, to ensure the rule of law in their States and to promote the welfare and good government of their subjects; (f) emphasizes the dependence of the progress and prosperity of British India and the States alike upon the creation of constitutional means for the adjustment of relations between them; (g) reaffirms on the one hand the loyalty of the Indian States to the Crown and their attachment to the Empire, and on the other hand their sympathy with the aspirations of British India, which they regard as legitimate."

These resolutions show that both the Princes who are combining with the Standing Committee to present a joint case, and the Princes who are making their individual representations directly to Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues, are alike envisaging the problem of the States from no narrow or selfish standpoint. They are trying to think for the Empire and for India, as well as for themselves. Without exception, they are agreed in believing that the present machinery by which their relations with the Crown are conducted, needs radical alteration. They believe they have solid cause for complaint; they also believe that their grievances can be removed consistently with justice to all parties. They realize that they must first prove their case. Afterwards, they must get together and devise a remedy. Finally, they must demonstrate that this remedy is reasonable and just.

In the course of the summer and autumn they hope to do all these things. They are very much in earnest about them, and they believe that the enquiry now being held under Sir Harcourt Butler's chairmanship will give them the opportunity they seek.



## THE ASIAN CIRCLE

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### A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

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Mr. Stanley Rice.

The members of the Asian Circle consider that the views expressed by Captain A. L. Rogers in the present article will be of interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

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### ARAB NATIONALISM IN IRAQ AND PALESTINE

So confused and contradictory are the views on Arabian questions imposed upon the public by imaginative historians and newspaper proprietors that no excuse need be offered for further reference to this subject. The dissimilarities which prevail in the eleven States and the lesser protectorates of Arabia are, however, such that it is impossible adequately to consider the complexities in any attempt to deal with the question as a whole. It is proposed, therefore, to confine this article to an appreciation of Arab opinion in those regions where British interests are most immediately affected.

Either by nature, or as a result of the manner in which his country has been governed for many centuries, the Arab is essentially an opportunist, selfish, subtle, and quick to adapt his outlook to changing conditions. It follows that his political attitude is based almost entirely upon his view of the manner in which he may best enhance or protect his



own position. Hence, cohesion between Arabs is not to be found except with those who may have temporarily, or more permanently, identical interests in some important respects, these interests being material to the individual, rather than spiritual or national. Frequent references are now made to the religious divisions of Arabia—Sunni, Shiah, and Wahabi—as being responsible for political antagonisms; but, fundamentally, the inferences drawn are misleading, if not inaccurate. To gain an impression of the whole it is necessary to consider in detail the different elements of which it is composed.

First in importance are, perhaps, the tribal Shaikhs of Iraq, who control, at a conservative estimate, some 200,000 armed men in a country whose future is as yet uncertain. The leaders of the great tribal confederations are, for the most part, the tenants of lands capable of producing abundant crops and substantial wealth; and they naturally desire to cultivate those lands and sell their produce to the greatest possible advantage to themselves. This depends upon the permanency of their tenure and the degree of security which obtains. They are, therefore, in general, the supporters of a government that would recognize their tribal privileges and maintain law and order, and the opponents of an administration that seeks to abolish the tribal system, is unable of itself to guarantee tranquillity or the impartiality of its representatives, and rejects, as far as possible, the assistance which could overcome these defects. Thus, the greater Shaikhs, Shiah and Sunni alike, desirous of being looted neither by the politicians of Baghdad nor by the raiders from the desert, may be found aligned together in the face of the more momentous of the problems that confront them.

The politicians of Baghdad, who are chiefly men of only moderate means, are also able to find amongst themselves considerable similarity of interests. Each, individually, has one definite objective in view—namely, a government appointment which would be to the advantage of his own and his relatives' finances. But the supervision of British officials is a serious check to the existence of corruption and nepotism on a satisfactory scale, whilst the tribal system in the provinces limits the number of administrative appointments. Moreover, there is the knowledge that the tribal Shaikhs look upon the British officials as their natural allies. It is agreed, therefore, in principle, that the British connection with their country should be terminated, and the tribal system broken at the first possible moment. Bitter



competition there is between the candidates for ministerial portfolios ; the factions formed may call themselves political parties, with names of varying inappropriateness ; but the political programme of one group, when in office, shows but little to distinguish it from its hated rival. Such is Arab Nationalism in Iraq.

Although petty jealousies have played an important part in Palestine, Arab opinion there, both Muslim and Christian, shows greater unity, since existence itself appears to be jeopardized by the Zionist programme that the Mandatory Power seems unable, or unwilling, to keep within reasonable bounds. The racial consciousness of the Arabs, as a whole, is not, however, developed to an extent that would make possible any effective sympathy or support for these from the east and north—at least until such time as the Zionists attempt to put into practice their more recently formulated intention of extending the area of their national home to the banks of the Euphrates. It is true that, not long ago, a prominent Zionist of British nationality was greeted by a hostile assembly of considerable proportions on his arrival at Baghdad ; but this arose from the success with which a "nationalist" agitator had appealed to the passion and caprice of the ignorant mob, and should be regarded as having been a demonstration against British, rather than Zionist, policy, although there is, to the Arab mind, no precise dividing line between the two.

Now, despite the wide gulf that is fixed between the greater tribal Shaikhs and the "nationalists" of the towns, it should not be supposed that the latter are unable to influence tribal opinion and, in certain circumstances, produce a situation in the tribal districts most unfavourable to the government in office or the Mandatory Power. Apart from his lack of political education, the weakness of the tribal Shaikh arises from the uncertainty of his relations with his own tribesmen. The leadership of the tribe is not his by right of primogeniture, but was granted to him by his tribesmen because, in their opinion, his personality was such that he was best suited to the rôle from amongst the family of his predecessor, of whom he was not necessarily the eldest son, but perhaps a younger son or brother. In nearly every case he is clearly the best selection, for the tribesman is a shrewd judge of character ; but he has, almost inevitably, at least one serious rival amongst his nearest relatives. His chief preoccupation, therefore, is to retain control over his tribesmen and, above all, their good-will, for it is upon the latter that his authority is primarily based, although his



position is recognized by the government, which will sometimes, if called upon, assist him to maintain law and order in his territory.

This system leaves ample scope for intrigues designed to bring about a state of disorder, the more especially if the intriguer should be the agent of a political party in the capital. By means of specious promises of reward to an aggrieved member of the Shaikh's family, such an individual may gain an important influence in tribal councils; and there are many means of creating a restless spirit among the rank and file of naturally volatile and turbulent tribesmen. Although there are many powerful confederations whose habitat is in rich lands, whence much profit may be drawn, there are also lesser tribes in waterless districts who, with their leaders, benefit but little from a state of security and, having but little to lose, are ready to indulge their disorderly tendencies at the expense of the government or their neighbours. Defiance of authority, having declared itself among these elements, proves highly infectious, and in such circumstances it is only by exercising all their influence that it is possible for the greater Shaikhs to keep their followers under restraint. Assured of support from the government, they are able to exercise this influence to good purpose; but, in the absence of any evidence of such support, they find it necessary to conform to the spirit of their tribesmen from whom their shaikhly position is derived. It was by this process that there arose, in 1920, the disorders in Iraq referred to, without reason, as the nationalist rising; and it is noticeable that at that time many of the insurgent leaders were known to be by no means ill-disposed towards the British Government, and, since the subsequent pacification of the country, have been, as far as possible, the supporters of the Mandatory Power. The same principles operated also during the more recent disturbances in Syria.

The position in Arabia is, therefore, in brief, that the governments or mandatory powers can count on strong support while their prestige is high and they show themselves able to adopt strong measures; whereas, if weak, they are in constant jeopardy. In Syria, the French authorities have enhanced their prestige by stamping out the insurrection and, in the reorganization of the administration, ensuring the protection—and, in consequence, the loyalty—of those Syrians who remained tranquil. In Iraq, on the other hand, the strength of the Mandatory Power has noticeably deteriorated through the establishment of a régime that makes possible, if it does not actually encourage,



the persecution of those who, in 1920, used the whole weight of their influence on behalf of the British Government.

Apart from the tribes and the irresponsible politicians, there remain to be considered the real intelligentsia, prosperous merchants and landlords, whose opinions, even if they do not take part in politics, are of considerable weight. They have an important stake in the prosperity of the country, and are not easily led by the chauvinism that makes so strong an appeal to those who, consciously or unconsciously, are influenced by the thought that the termination of foreign tutelage would be to their personal advantage. Their interests are naturally in favour of conditions giving definite security both for the present and for the future, since uncertainty is inevitably to their disadvantage. But, wherever their sympathies may be, it is a vain task to look for staunch supporters of Great Britain amongst such classes. Although their desire is for progress and security, they argue that the administration has been handed over to inept nationalists of various hues after the complete suppression of an insurrection which was not actually a nationalist rising; that the British Government has not guaranteed the integrity of the frontiers, but appears to have passed this responsibility to the League of Nations, already the perpetrator of a grave injustice to the Christians of Northern Iraq, who deserved Great Britain's protection more than any other people in the Middle East; that there is no certainty that Great Britain will thwart the increasing and wholly unjustifiable aspirations of the Zionists; and, moreover, that the British Government has refused to bind Iraq to a reasonable period of tutelage, but checked all possibility of development by deferring the settlement of this question to negotiations to be repeated every four years — than which a more unsatisfactory arrangement it would be impossible to devise.

It may be seen then that, although Great Britain's friends are numerous, her active protagonists are but few, and it is impossible to pretend that the state of affairs is satisfactory. The future will be chiefly influenced, no doubt, by the general policy of the British Government, not only in the Arabian peninsula, but in all its imperial and foreign relations, and the extent to which it is able to restore and maintain British prestige. The attitude of the Turkish Government is also a factor to be reckoned with, the more especially since its doubts regarding Italian intentions have been appreciably reduced. Complete autonomy for Arabia under Turkish suzerainty, when mooted, was found to be



not unacceptable to representatives of the Arab nationalists, and, to many Arabs who are genuinely anxious to see their country prosper, may appear to be more attractive than the uncertainty that seems an inevitable corollary to the principle of a mandate from the League of Nations.



## THE INDIAN PROGRESS REPORT\*

By A. L. SAUNDERS, C.S.I.

*INDIA in 1926-27* is the Statement or Report presented to Parliament under the Government of India Act. It fully maintains the high standard of the Government of India's official publications. Mr. Coatman, the Director of Public Information, is to be congratulated on an admirable report which is a storehouse of information on Indian conditions and affairs, lucidly stated and generally well arranged. In places, notably the Eighth Chapter, it seems statistically overloaded, and the chapter on Finance rather overlaps the financial portion of other chapters; but that is perhaps unavoidable, and hardly detracts from the general excellence of the work. There are some good photographs.

The period under review corresponds exactly with the term of Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty to date—namely, from April 1, 1926. In internal affairs his government was faced during this period with the most disquieting of all Indian conditions, the antagonism between Hindu and Muhammadan, which has alternately smouldered and blazed for a thousand years and seems as far from abatement as ever. Many causes are at work to revive this hostility at the present day. The partial and prospectively the still wider grant of self-government on a representative basis has caused great uneasiness to the Muhammadans in view of the vast numerical superiority of the Hindus and their greater political and educational advancement. The Hindus in return have felt threatened by the Khilafat and Pan-Islamic movements, by Turkish intrigues and Pathan raids from the north-west, and by the actual attack of Afghanistan in 1919. There is the standing irritation due to the drift of the Hindu servile classes to Islam. The more revolutionary nationalists ascribe this, as they do all the ills that flesh is heir to, to the British Government, a particularly absurd charge, for there is nothing that causes so much disquiet to that government and its officers. It has sought adjustment, with very little success, by the agency of influential non-officials. "Sir A. Muddiman . . . showed the House that it was in the power of every member to exercise influence

\* "*India in 1926-27*," by J. Coatman. (Calcutta: Government of India.) 3s. 6d. net.



on the ignorant and hot-headed masses in his neighbourhood." He was oversanguine. Hardly anyone, certainly not members of the Legislature, can control the fierce passion this religious quarrel excites in Indian mobs, chiefly in the large cities. The Government has taken power to regulate the two matters that mostly generate strife, cow-killing on one side and processions and music near mosques on the other. It is something of a labour of Sisyphus, for when one cause of quarrel is abated it is easy to find others, but the strengthening of the hands of government may count for something.

In Indian political movements it is often hard to distinguish the real currents under the froth they generate. The anti-Government parties are always oscillating between boycott, which is the more logical course but gets them nowhere, and constitutional opposition. The Swaraj resolution given in Appendix I. consists of six articles, of which the first three affirm the former, and the last three the latter policy. The Congress apparently did not perceive the inconsistency. There is an admirable description in Chapter II. of the Congress, Swaraj or opposition parties, whichever they are called. They are difficult to disentangle, and they have developed something like a political language of their own. But it is impossible to overlook the general craving for a real national life. Nor is it quite true that Indian politicians are entirely divorced from contact with the masses. It is hardly the case that there are very many villages to which new ideas cannot penetrate. The Indian educated class, even the very lowest stratum of that class, exercise an extraordinary influence over village feeling, an influence often ill directed, grotesque, and almost devoid of meaning, but none the less real. It recalls the description in mediæval European literature of the sayings and doings of the "scholars" of the time. There are many such in India at the present day.

Turning to more immediately practical matters the Government of India are to be congratulated on the practical ability and conspicuous success of their administration of India's finances, both internally and externally. The tangled skein of Imperial and Provincial financial relations has been more or less straightened out, taxation has been reduced, the revenues are productive and flourishing, the tariff seems to be working well with a reasonable but not excessive protection of industries, the public debt has been reduced, and no external debt is being incurred. For four years in succession the Budget has shown a surplus. In



particular Sir Basil Blackett has handled the currency and exchange questions with great firmness and ability. All currency questions ultimately resolve themselves into one, inflation or deflation. Sir Basil, true to his Treasury traditions, has held stoutly to a stable currency and refused to listen to Sir Parshotamdas Thakurdas and other inflationist sirens, charm they never so wisely.

India's foreign policy, the Report truly observes, has to deal with little else than the North-West Frontier problem. We are given an interesting history of this. One is impressed by the inevitableness with which a developed civilization swallows up the primitive life on its borders. Again and again Indian rulers have shrunk from dealing with the wild warriors of the border; they have been carried forward even against their will. Every year now for many years has seen Afghans and Pathans coming down to India in the winter to buy and sell, and every such visit means a breach in their country's isolation. In 1916, when the Amir entertained a German mission and meditated war on India, Southern Afghanistan, of which Jalalabad is the capital, openly threatened revolt. Their Indian trade outweighed any German offers. The frontier would now seem securely settled but for the Soviet Government of Russia. What the latter wants is known; what it will succeed in doing remains to be seen. Revolutionary efforts of the criminal type, whether associated with Russia or not, appear to have been but feeble. Communism was more active and more vocal than before, but that does not seem to be saying much.

Education, sanitation, and other such administrative activities are described in the last chapter under the somewhat inappropriate heading of "Nation-Building." There is a multiplication of such energies, and one general fact seems to emerge, that the frame of administration is undergoing great changes. Specialist departments are largely superseding the old system of districts, almost self-contained, each under its own officer, who was expected to be, and to some extent was, a jack-of-all-trades. The position of the district officer has not only been modified, for the worse, by the political changes above; it has been seriously impaired by the number of directing specialists for whom the district officer is but an executive subordinate. Education, however, can count on strong popular support. Health administration cannot. This is clear not only from the accounts of the attitude of local bodies; it is well known to all acquainted with the Indian people. "Why



do you Europeans make such a fuss about people dying?" It is not, perhaps, wholly irrational. Increase of births, decrease of deaths, improvement of health of pregnant women, of babies, and of children—all these make up a fine record, but over it hangs the shadow of overpopulation which will not be shaken off.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION

SIR,—The article on the future of India and the Statutory Commission in the April number of the REVIEW mentions the possibility that the future government of India may take some form other than democratic, but does not suggest what that form might be. Ever since the rise of the nationalist movement at the close of last century there have been many advocates of a purely Indian constitution for self-governing India, but no Indian publicist, to my knowledge, has sketched such a constitution even in the barest outline. Mr. Gandhi himself in "*Hind Swaraj*," written in 1908, propounded the question of the nature of the Swaraj to which Indians should aspire, but in his conclusions gives no more satisfactory answer than that "*Real Home Rule is self-rule or self-control*." A decade later a noted Swadeshi protagonist of the Partition days was repudiated by his party when he insisted that Swaraj should be defined. Recently an able Indian, a student of history and politics, wrote that he disapproved of the Westernized democracy to which India was being introduced, but could devise no alternative. Apparently for over a generation the most fertile Indian imaginations have been unable to visualize their avowed objective. Why is it? Surely, with all their talk of the superiority of Hindu civilization, the Swarajists should find a model in some phase of Indian history. But in which? The question intrigues. Certainly no Hindu statesman would recall the alien empire of the great Mughals, nor yet the despotism of a Chandragupta, as recorded by Kautilya in his "*Arthashastra*." Some may dream of the happy days of good King Harsha, hallowed by tradition even as those of King Arthur, but, like those, too obscure amid the mists of antiquity to afford safe guidance.

Or they may have in mind the local government in ancient India, where village and caste and guild normally managed its own affairs. Here they would be on firmer ground, for in those old slow-moving days interference from outside could be but fitful, and there was much real self-government in the villages. So there is still, despite rail and telegraph. Even in Eastern Bengal, distinguished by the comparative meagreness of ancient village organization, where even the Chauhkidar is an innovation, most local disputes are settled on the spot, either by the Panchayet established by Government, or by the "ten men," the assembly of the disputants' peers. Instances of local organizations on a larger scale are the Raizes, groups of villages peopled by Muhammadan settlers in the Cachari and Jaintia kingdoms. These were practically autonomous, subject to payment of the taxes and to the interference of the king's officers in cases of serious crime. Their people met under the leadership of their elders to allot revenue and land and to settle civil and criminal disputes. To this day the Raiz organization survives in the hunting of the tiger, and the people



assemble by Raizes for religious and other discussions. Surely such assemblies in Raiz, or Panchayet, or "ten men," are democratic. Still more so are the Khasi States, where the chiefs are elected on a basis of manhood suffrage, and have powers limited by association with a State Council. These instances, though drawn from a remote corner of the great continent, are stressed to show that democracy is not foreign to the spirit of India. Far from it. Islam is essentially democratic; and so may be Hinduism, subject to caste. If this be denied, we must deny true democracy to Greece, for the Athenian citizen recked less of the slave within his state than the Brahmin does of the pariah. Assam, indeed, is pervaded by the spirit of democracy, and Bengal is not without traces of it. Barriers of class as well as of caste are weakening. A striking feature of the last Council elections in the Surma Valley was that candidates from the plebs stood against patricians (Chaudhris), fought them, and won on the platform of class. The raiyat, too, illiterate, bigoted, slow of understanding, knows what he wants, and in its pursuit is capable of combination and endurance. Nor is he concerned only with his personal material welfare. Religion comes first, then pride of caste and of country.

He is far from being indifferent to the political cries of "Allah akbar," "swaraj," "bande mataram." No one who passed through the days of khilafat and non-co-operation and witnessed the amazingly controlled organization in the remotest villages, will doubt the raiyat's capacity for combination and action. True, his range is very limited; he cannot appreciate conditions other than his own or weigh the wider issue. Perhaps it was these characteristics that induced an ex-Lieutenant-Governor to advocate smaller, more homogeneous, provinces: an interesting theme, but it belongs to another chapter. Here we are concerned with foundations. It had long been held by friends of India, at least in the Eastern provinces, that the proper field for the cultivation of native political genius was the village, and that the future government of India must be based on sound local organizations. The old ones had withered under a strong and ever more centralized bureaucracy, and it was necessary to revitalize and extend them. A beginning was made with the towns; but these were too Westernized, too lawyer ridden, too divorced from the natural life of the peasantry.

The Local Self-Government Bill of 1883 would have based the fabric of district administration on village unions, but, unfortunately, the measure was profoundly modified during its passage through Council, and when it emerged as law the District Board was the main unit, and village unions were relegated to a very inferior position. A few such unions were formed, but there were only fifty-eight in all the province of Bengal as it stood in 1904, and their total expenditure was only 18,000 rupees. They languished, half-starved and inert.

Another line of experiment was the transfer, from 1870 onwards, of the village watch to the charge of bodies of village elders, panchayets, appointed by the magistrate. But the powers of the panches were few, their financial responsibility onerous; they received scant help, and were treated none too gently; their duties were unpopular and often neglected; their independence was curtailed, until at the beginning of this century they were little more than an agency for the collection of the chaukidari tax, and their few functions were commonly exercised by the collecting member, who was remunerated by a commission on the assessed rate.

Under the Savage scheme of 1905 the local jurisdiction of the panchayets was enlarged, their status raised, their functions widened. The Decentralization Commission of 1908 urged further strengthening of village authorities, and the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam began to advance cautiously on the lines suggested. The readjustment



of the provincial boundaries in 1912 checked progress until, in 1914, the Bengal District Administration Committee pressed for a bolder policy, combining in elected bodies the functions of *chaukidari panchayet* and village union, and giving them a local civil and criminal jurisdiction. The necessary legislation was enacted, and in the last decade substantial progress has been made, but the achievement falls disappointingly short of the high aspirations of the sponsors of the scheme, who hoped to cover the land with a network of local authorities, representative, self-supporting, dispensing cheap and summary justice, and responsible alike to Government and to their constituents for the peace and welfare of their charges. The reasons for the comparative failure are many and complex. There was work to be done; able and public-spirited men to do it. But the start came a generation too late. The initial failure of the *chaukidari panchayets* prejudiced the cause; the people, infected by the *swadeshi* agitation, were suspicious of all Government institutions; lawyers were hostile; police mistrustful; District Boards were jealous. Some magistrates were chary of giving wide powers to untried bodies of doubtful loyalty whose work they could not adequately control; for the sub-deputy collectors available for the supervision were far too few, and often lacked the status or the tact essential for dealing with touchy local magnates who neglected their duty. The *chaukidari* tax was unpopular, and at the outset the *panchayet* seldom had any other funds, except meagre and earmarked grants. Small wonder that, even where village factions did not make it impossible to find a *panchayet* that would act together and command the trust of all, the members often were apathetic, or allowed all their functions to be usurped by an energetic President or Secretary. Later, when some of these difficulties had been met and partially overcome, the village courts and benches came under the ban of the non-co-operators, who saw that the existence of influential local bodies deriving authority from the established Government would make it difficult to subvert the existing order. So they set up "national" courts, which, like the "national" schools, inspired little respect but injured the Government institutions. In fine, these village authorities have suffered from much the same evils as have affected the reformed provincial governments, and it is a matter for congratulation that they have done so well as they have in favourable circumstances. For there are villages where a real village life has been created, and where measures of real benefit have been carried through with enterprise and self-sacrifice. It is my firm conviction that organized village life is the only safe basis for representative government in India, and its promotion is far the most important task today before the rulers of India. With enthusiasm a great deal could be accomplished in a few years. When these authorities are established everywhere, it may well be that they, rather than the existing electorate, should send representatives to the provincial councils. Such a change would be unpopular with the carpet-baggers, and be vehemently assailed as retrograde, but it would be likely to afford more real representation of local interests.

I am tempted to write of the superstructure: but enough for the present. The foundations are the most important part of the building. I do hope, however, that the writer of the article which inspired this note will tell us what form of government other than democratic he contemplated, and what is the "unitary government" which he envisages as an alternative to complete provincial autonomy.

J. E. WEBSTER.



# DEMOCRACY IN CHINA: IS IT A FAILURE?

BY TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., I.S.O.

(Late Adviser on Chinese Affairs, and Assistant Secretary to the Government of Burma)

THE *fons et origo* of modern Republicanism may be ascribed to Rousseau's famous brochure entitled the "Contrat Social" containing the slogan of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which has rung through the centuries irrespective of geography, physical barriers, nationality, race, creed, or colour. In accordance with its teachings, the Republic of the United States was the first to be founded. Then followed that of France, which gave birth to Rousseau, its author. In the twentieth century, we saw Mexico, Portugal, Germany, Austria, Greece, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Persia, and China struggling to substitute a Republic for a Monarchy. In process of time, as the world gets older, and as Human Reason asserts its sway, there is a marked tendency for other countries to scrap their Monarchy and accept a Republican form of Government. Indeed, owing to the innate aspiration of Humanity for Freedom, that "Touch of Nature has made the whole world kin," and that kinship has been accelerated by the discoveries of Sciences which have practically shrunk the world's area, have annihilated Time and Space, and have provided us with such amenities of civilized life as steamers, railways, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, and the wireless. Politicians are inclined to differ in the interpretation of Rousseau's trilogy of catch-words. Liberty, in order to be a practicable quality of citizenship, should not be *natural* Liberty, which would degenerate into Licence, but freedom under the restraint of Law—religious, social, and legislative—which can only bind Society together; Equality is not Equality in social status, or Equality in equipment—physical, intellectual, and moral—but Equality in the eye of the State-made Law, which is expected to mete out Justice and Impartiality between man and man; and again, Fraternity implies sympathy, co-operation, and goodwill, and is but an echo of that Doctrine of Universal Brotherhood which is the goal of several systems of Religion. The difference in the interpretation of Rousseau's slogan has been so accentuated that in Turkey, where, in 1908, the political power, after a revolution, was transferred from



the Sultan to a group of men known as the "Committee of Union and Progress," it was modified to "Liberty, *Justice*, and Fraternity." The same trilogy has been adopted by the Kuomintang or "The People's Party" in China, where, in 1912, after a revolution, the Manchu dynasty abdicated its power and a Republic was set up. In Persia, a revolution broke out in 1925, through the prevalence of Democratic ideals, but the old-world form of the monarchical principle was retained through the intervention of the learned Sheikhs and Moulvies, who contended that the Republican ideal was alien to the injunctions of the Koran.

Some writers are inclined to urge that Democracy will never thrive on Asiatic soil because Asia is the home of Religion while Europe is the home of Democracy and Politics. In Asia we have an immensity of Natural Phenomena, before which man is awed and cowed, and the feelings of Fear, Respect, and Reverence are produced, together with their accompaniments, Religion and Autocracy. We have our strong destructive gales, like Typhoons and Hurricanes in the Monsoon, Mountains which are five miles high, like the Himalayas, and big, navigable rivers, which, in flood, resemble little inland seas, like the Ganges, Irrawaddy, and the Yangtze. Further, we have Malaria, Typhoid, Plague, and Cholera to decimate our population from time to time; and the expectation of life in Burma is only twenty-three years as compared with fifty-five years in Great Britain, while, owing to insanitation and early marriage, it is still lower in India and China, where human vitality is not strong and vigorous. In Europe, which enjoys a temperate climate, and where the menaces to health have been reduced to a minimum by co-operation and the discoveries of Science, and where human vitality is strong, cheerful, buoyant, and enterprising, Natural Phenomena are of a small compass and are just manageable: they are conquered and chained and are in bondage and have to minister to the wants and comforts of man. Windmills and water-power are used to grind corn; steam is employed to haul steamers and railway trains, and in flour mills and printing presses; and electricity is being substituted for steam as a motive power. Man in Europe is accustomed to conquering Nature, and from the conquest of Nature, and much braced and strengthened by the ordeal, he turns his attention to the conquest and management of his fellow-men. Hence in Europe we have Science, Democracy, and Politics, and a fully developed form of Government and administration, especially among



the Nordic race, which has learnt the Art of substituting Reason and friendly debate for caprice and physical force in all controversial matters. Human Nature as well as inanimate Nature being so insistent on the division of labour, difference of human effort, and discrimination of human aspirations, is it then reasonable to suppose that Democracy, as an exotic plant, will thrive and prosper and become a perennial plant on Asiatic soil?

There are a host of publicists, commentators, and writers of recent political events in China. Of these let us choose two—namely, Mr. Putnam Weale, the greatest living authority on China, who has written a most comprehensive library of books on that country, and who has succeeded the celebrated Dr. Morrison as the Political Adviser to the Chinese Republic at Peking. One of his most recent works is entitled "*The Vanished Empire*," and on page vi of his Preface he comments as follows on the form of Democratic Government now prevailing in China: "The importance of these things is becoming clearer every day. The chaos seems to deepen because the inadequacy of the machinery for controlling men is made ever more manifest by the fading tradition of the Throne, and by the growth of factors rooted in another civilization. From this it may be deduced that the control of all non-Chinese instrumentalities must be vested in a new agency during an interregnum which will last until a new philosophy and a new rule of life shall have been evolved, or that the monarchy will be reintegrated." The view expressed is rather pessimistic, and connotes that, for the present, Republicanism in China is a failure because the disorders and disturbances are due to exotic ideals imported from an alien civilization, which are not of indigenous organic growth, and suggest that only two alternative remedies are possible—namely, (a) the transfer of the work of reconstruction to a Mandatory Power, or (b) the restoration of the Chinese monarchy. The first alternative is probable, but the second is altogether out of the question. The Manchus have outlasted their power, and have exhausted the "Mandate of Heaven." Their restoration is utterly impossible. As regards the setting up of a new Chinese dynasty, it will take from thirty to fifty years to establish its authority in the "Eighteen Provinces" of the Empire; and the complexities of the situation are so great that we could not afford to lose so much time. The only course open to us is to consider whether the imported Republican ideals would not grow on Chinese soil.



The other author selected is Mr. Woodhead, C.B.E., the Editor of the *China Year Book* and of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*. He has been engaged in journalism in China for the past twenty-three years, and is a well-informed and authoritative writer on Chinese current political topics. His latest work is entitled "The Truth about the Chinese Republic," and on pages 31-33 he expresses the following considered opinion, which appears to be quite parallel to that of Mr. Putnam Weale cited above: "It cannot be questioned that foreign sympathizers with the aspirations of the revolutionaries for reform and progress view with considerable misgiving the prospect to form a Chinese Republic. To begin with, in the whole history of the world the experiment has never been attempted upon the scale involved in the proposal that an empire of about four hundred million inhabitants should so far break with the immemorial traditions of the past as to replace an absolute monarchy by a form of government which has not met with unvarying success in smaller and far more enlightened States. Laudable as the principles of Republicanism are, it would be idle to assert that this form of government has, upon the whole, proved a success. The ideal of the Chinese Republicans is said to be the government of the United States. But it should be remembered that America is at least a hundred years ahead of China in all that the civilized world regards as modern. Moreover, the American Republic is the growth of over a century of hard-bought experience, and, in spite of this, it can still be said with a great deal of truth that in no country is there more talk of the democracy and less effective control by it over the working of the Government. If a Chinese Republic be founded, we fear that it will not be long before the nation at large shows an unmistakable preference for the old régime."

Mr. Woodhead's views may be summarized as follows: (1) In setting up a Republic in China the scale involved is too gigantic, there being a population of 400 millions to be dealt with. (2) A sudden break from an Absolute Monarchy is impossible. (3) The Chinese wish to base their Republic upon the American model. This is equally impossible, because the United States is at least 100 years ahead of China, and because, even if the experiment is successful, it should be remembered that the American form of democratic government is not an unqualified success. (4) A Chinese Republic, even if founded, will not last long; the restoration of the Monarchy is inevitable.



I wish to offer the following remarks upon the above statements. Mr. Woodhead is a ready, able, and finished writer, but his lines of argument all lead to this: that the Monarchy is indispensable to China and must be restored. He cannot, by any means, escape from that predominating idea. (1) In his objection to a Republican experiment being made on a population of 400 millions, the writer appears to forget the homogeneity of the Chinese people as regards race, language, religion, custom, costume, inter-dining, and intermarriage—although marriage is exogamous, their powers of combination as manifested by their Clan and Trade Guilds, the efficacy of Public Opinion as a factor in their Governance, the Municipal and Judicial functions performed by Village Communities, the extreme lowness of Taxation, the paucity of functionaries, soldiers, policemen, etc. India has a population of 280 millions. Look at the diversities of religion, language, custom, and caste. There is no common script as in China, which is universally understood, and English has become the *lingua franca* among the educated Indian classes. The large and gigantic scale of the experiment is easily remedied by the homogeneity, intelligence, and virility of the Chinese race. (2) The Chinese form of Monarchy is Absolute in Theory, but Limited in Practice. Chinese subjects are, since the days of Confucius, justified in rebelling against an unjust and cruel King. A Chinese Emperor reigns, but does not govern, because so much latitude is allowed to the provinces, towns, and villages. If the Monarchy is abolished, the Government, which rests on a democratic basis, will still continue to function. (3) The Republican ideal has been introduced into China from the Universities of Harvard and Yale, and it is but natural that the Chinese leaders should desire to base their Republic upon the American model. The United States has a population of 120 million souls. The people are not homogeneous; they are drawn from every country of Europe. Before the recent Immigration Law was passed, the United States annually absorbed one million of settlers from Europe. All these heterogeneous elements are boiled, as it were, in a huge cauldron, in order to provide an accretion for the American nation. In China, as has been stated above, the 400 million of people are quite homogeneous, and are less difficult to deal with than are the Americans, with all their equipment and paraphernalia of complex modernity. The fact of the United States being at least 100 years ahead of China is discounted by Chinese homogeneity and Chinese



character. (4) The restoration of the Monarchy may be regarded as inevitable, but it is not possible under modern conditions and circumstances. A Monarchy cannot be restored without a prolonged upheaval, which means the destruction of Commerce with the Foreign Powers who look upon China as a valuable market for their manufactures. Before a Monarchy can be well established there must be Foreign intervention.

Mr. Putnam Weale and Mr. Woodhead, who have lived at least a quarter of a century in China, may be great experts and great students of public affairs. They are certainly "men on the spot," in whom, according to British tradition, we are to place our implicit faith and reliance. But they are specialists, who have confined their attention to Chinese affairs alone for a long period of their busy life. In their research and study they do not resort to the Comparative Method, which offers a wider outlook and a larger area for generalization, and which was created and set in vogue by Sir Henry Maine, Professor of Jurisprudence at Cambridge University. Let us, therefore, invite to our symposium two other authorities of different training, experience, and outlook, in order to find out whether Democracy has a bleak prospect before it in China, or whether there are yet gleams of hope for a successful, if not a brilliant, future in the decade or two that are before us. These writers are not "men on the spot," but they have made a life study of Democracy and Republican institutions in the different countries of the world. Their opinions stimulate thought and deserve consideration, and may assist us in coming to definite conclusions.

The first I would select is Sir Frederick Whyte, the first President of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. He is a keen student of the different forms of Democracy now prevailing in Asia. On pages 74-75 of his Page-Barbour Lectures of 1926 at the University of Virginia, entitled *Asia in the Twentieth Century*, he thus expresses his opinion on Democracy in China: "Let us note here, before leaving China, that if representative government may seem exotic, the democratic spirit is not; and what China suffers from today is not the medicine itself, but an over-dose of democracy in a Western prescription. China, in former times, proved that a nation may be democratic without democratic institutions. China, in our day, has proved that political democracy is a special condition requiring qualities which the Chinese do not possess. China, in the future, has to prove that these qualities, when they are not innate, can



be acquired." From the above extract it is clear that in China the spirit of Democracy has existed for more than 2,000 years—*i.e.*, antedates the birth of Confucius. If the foundation is already democratic, it would not be difficult to raise upon it a democratic superstructure, but the latter, to be permanent and acceptable to the people at large, must be of the indigenous variety or of a harmonious variant, and not of the alien American variety. The crux of the question is how to secure a harmonious blend of Chinese and American ideals regarding the special variety suited to the genius, custom, usage, and habits of thought of the Chinese race. According to Sir Frederick Whyte, Democracy in China is not a failure; there are still gleams of hope for its pronounced success as an achievement of human activity and human compromise.

The last witness to contribute to our symposium is Lord Bryce, whose opinion is the weightiest and soundest of all. From a professorial chair at Oxford he entered the House of Commons, and, through sheer ability, tact, and character, rose to be British Ambassador at Washington, where at close quarters he studied the American people and Democracy; and these two became the objects of his fervent worship and devotion during his subsequent career. In 1921, a few years before his death, was published his monumental work entitled *Modern Democracies*, in two volumes, which is encyclopædic in character and surveys the world from China to Peru, and contains his last and final pronouncement on the subject. On pages 557, 558, and 559 of Volume II. of this work he thus speaks of China in eulogistic terms: "Europe has been wont to think of the Chinese as semi-civilized. It might be true to say that they are highly civilized in some respects and barely civilized in others. They are orderly and intelligent. They have admirable artistic gifts. Many possess great literary talent, many observe a moral standard as high as that of the ancient Stoics. On the other hand, they set a low value on human life; their punishments are extremely cruel; corruption is general among officials; the most primitive superstitions govern the conduct of the immense majority. . . . But in some ways China furnishes no unpromising field for an experiment in popular government. Its people have five sterling qualities. Industry, independence of character, a respect for settled order, a sense of what moral duty means, a deference to intellectual eminence. They have the power of working together; they can restrain their feelings and impulses; they are highly intelligent and



amenable to reason. Weak as they have seemed to be in international affairs, they have plenty of national pride and a sort of patriotism, though it does not flow into military channels." China should certainly not be judged in terms of Western Civilization. She lacks a knowledge of Science and of Western methods of Administration, and when this deficiency is supplied she will get rid of her cruelty, superstition, and official corruption. Owing to the ethical qualities of her people, a sense of moral duty and independence of character, she offers a splendid field for the establishment of Democratic institutions. It is just as well to get such a genuine testimony from such a high and unimpeachable authority as Lord Bryce as regards China's political future.

Upon the evidence adduced and commented upon above, I pass my final judgment that "Democracy in China cannot yet be pronounced a failure, but that, under happier auspices, it may thrive and prosper and be conducive to the happiness and contentment of the Chinese people, so that China may take her proper and rightful place in the Comity of Nations at no distant date." In my judgment, I use advisedly the expression "under happier auspices," because China, under her present circumstances, cannot move hand or foot without the assistance and guidance of the "Big Five Powers"—namely, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—who, by signing the Treaty of Versailles in 1918, secured the peace and prosperity of Europe, and indirectly of the world in general. If that peace is required to be confirmed, solidified, and perpetuated, it behoves the same "Big Five" to come to the rescue of China. Above all, the United States, which has an overflowing Exchequer, and which is noted for her Generosity, Philanthropy, and Altruism in propagating Culture and Medical Science for alleviating human suffering, should take a prominent part in this humanitarian campaign in China.



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

## THE PROBLEM OF THE DOMICILED COMMUNITY IN INDIA

BY W. H. ARDEN WOOD, C.I.E.

[Paper read before the East India Association on April 13, 1928, with Sir Campbell Rhodes in the Chair.]

My title to address you this afternoon is that for thirty-two out of my thirty-five years in India I was intimately associated with the domiciled community through my connection with La Martinière, Calcutta, one of the three splendid foundations established under the will of Major-General Claud Martin, a French soldier of fortune, who died at Lucknow on September 13, 1800. I shall therefore speak as an old friend of the community, and regard them as my clients today.

I was present on March 23, 1900, when Lord Curzon delivered a memorable and exhaustive address to a deputation from the domiciled Anglo-Indian and Eurasian community, as it was then correctly described. Since then there has been a change of nomenclature. Domiciled Anglo-Indians have become domiciled Europeans—that is, English or other Europeans permanently settled in India. Eurasians have become Anglo-Indians, the change being first officially recognized at the time of the census of 1911. The term Eurasian had become discredited. It was too comprehensive. It not only covered those of mingled English and Indian blood, but also the offspring of unions between Europeans and Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatic peoples. It had also acquired a literary currency to denote any more or less Europeanized disreputable of doubtful origin throughout the Far East. The one regret for the substitution of Anglo-Indian for Eurasian is that it



spoils the point of Aberigh Mackay's half-serious suggestion in "Twenty-one Days in India" that the great Asoka, whose grandfather, Chandragupta, married a daughter of Seleukos Nikator, may have been a Eurasian.

It is true that the use of the name Anglo-Indian in a sense different from that in which it had been popularly used for many years was at first confusing, but it would seem that the people of mixed race had a prior right to the name, for they are invariably called Anglo-Indians by Sir John Malcolm in his "Political History of India," published in 1826, and he there says that this name, chosen by themselves, appears to be most descriptive and unexceptionable. These two classes, Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans, form a whole, known for convenience as the "domiciled community." As a minority community of European extraction permanently resident in India, they have the same interests, and for the most part, though not entirely, the same disabilities.

I have no time to dwell upon the origin and history of the community. An excellent and sympathetic summary account forms an appendix to the Calcutta Domiciled Community Inquiry Report of 1919 by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Pickford. I should like to see this appendix and some portions of the report reprinted, for, owing to the difficulties of the times following its publication, the report has not attracted the attention it deserved. A fuller history, with more rhetoric, will be found in Mr. H. A. Stark's "Hostages to India." Mr. Stark feels strongly that the attitude of the East India Company towards his community was generally unsympathetic and sometimes unjust.

#### ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNITY

There is, I think, some misconception, unfair to the Anglo-Indian community, as to the actual circumstances of the origin of the people of mixed race. In the early days of the British in India men of all ranks formed such ties as



were possible, sometimes—when the Indian women were Christians—those of regular marriage, but oftener not. But in very many, if not in most, cases those who contracted such unions accepted all the responsibilities of marriage; they gave their children their own names; the life they lived was domestic; the children of such families were brought up as Christians, and provided for in accordance with the social position of the father, which, of course, varied greatly. In course of time Anglo-Indians, as they lost touch with Europeans, and increased in numbers by intermarriage among themselves, became a separate class, though there was always hypergamy among the fairer daughters of the community, many of whom married officials holding high positions in the Company's service.

Much injustice has been done to the Anglo-Indian community by the assumption that persons of mixed blood inherit the defects rather than the good qualities of both sides of their ancestry. In the report to which I have referred Sir Alfred Pickford showed that such an assumption had no scientific basis. Good qualities are just as likely to be inherited as bad, and the predominance of either in the adult is largely a matter of environment and training. Speaking for myself, as the result of long experience, I hold strongly that, so far as Anglo-Indians are concerned, the colour of the skin is no guide to the qualities of mind and character possessed by an individual, and I look back with pleasure on the number of Anglo-Indians I have known who were estimable in every relation of life.

Sir John Malcolm, in his speech to the Proprietors of East India Stock in 1824, said: "There are men in this class of society whom I hold as dear as any friends I possess," and he names in particular that excellent man and famous leader of irregular cavalry, Colonel Skinner. In the latter's memoirs is given one of the many instances of loyalty and gallantry that Anglo-Indians have exhibited. The crushing order of the East India Company in 1791, precluding the appointment of Anglo-Indians to the civil,



military, and marine services of the Company, caused many Anglo-Indians to take service with native rulers, and one of them, Lieutenant Vickers, contributed greatly to Holkar's victory over the Peshwa at Poona in 1802. Later, when the Maratha war broke out, this officer, then a colonel, was, with two English officers, beheaded by Holkar, because he refused to take service against the English.

One other instance of a later date. On May 11, 1857, the mutineers from Meerut reached Delhi, and speedily got possession of the city and fort. "Happily," says Vincent Smith, in his "History of India," "a gallant telegraph operator was just in time to telegraph the news to Lahore, and so warn the authorities in the Punjab." That operator was Charles Todd, an Anglo-Indian, an old boy of La Martinière, Calcutta. He ended his telegram: "The mutineers are in, and I am off." He was killed in the telegraph compound.

#### LEAKAGES AND ADHESIONS

Before stating the problem of the domiciled community I must mention a difficulty touched upon by Lord Curzon. He asked, "Who are your clients?" Both the upper and lower limits of the community are fluctuating. It suffers in the first place from leakage at the top. Those members of the community who are successful in life make every effort to send their children to be educated in England for the latter part if not for the whole period of their education, and they themselves tend to become merged in the European community. This withdrawal of some of its most efficient members is a serious loss to the domiciled community.

The lower limit of the community includes Indian Christians, many of them brought up in Christian orphanages, who have adopted European dress and manner of life, and describe themselves in the census returns as Anglo-Indians. It includes also the depressed classes, almost more Indian than European, chiefly found in the slums of the great cities. Some of the latter are no doubt



degenerates, but they have been asserted to be, as a class, the descendants of slaves who were liberated, and then took English names, on the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833.

One can sympathize with the feelings of the Anglo-Indian leaders who protest against the inclusion of these people in their community, which they handicap and discredit. But it is difficult to see how the community can be relieved of the responsibility for persons who have always been classed with them, who can now be placed in no other category, and whose children attend European schools. It has been stated that these children are neglected and derelict, but inquiries lately made in India seem to show that the proportion of really derelict children is no greater than it is in the slums of most great cities. We must trust to the effects of better education, and improved conditions of living, to raise these unfortunates by degrees to a position in which they will no longer reflect discredit upon the domiciled community.

### THE MAIN PROBLEM

What, then, is the problem of the domiciled community? It is the problem of how its members are to maintain themselves as a self-respecting and efficient section of the population, enjoying a sufficient material prosperity, in the face of ever-increasing competition from educated and progressive Indians. And the competition is really only with this class of Indians, for the first condition that has to be fulfilled as regards any form of employment possible for the domiciled community is that it must receive a remuneration that will permit of a European standard of living. What is to happen to a man who, for lack of education or other reason, cannot command this income? He cannot, as in England, fall back upon manual labour. There is no place in India for the European ryot or coolie or for the European loafer. We have therefore a small



community, which labours under obvious disadvantages and disabilities, pitted against one of enormously superior numbers and obvious advantages.

Moreover, the members of the domiciled community no longer have advantages they once had. Owing to the fact that their vernacular was English they had, as Sir John Malcolm said in 1826, "almost a monopoly of the situations of clerks and accountants in the offices of Government as well as in those of public servants and private European merchants." Then for a time a certain practical aptitude and power of taking responsibility, no doubt inherited from their British forefathers, found them ready employment in railways and telegraphs. Indeed, it is not too much to say that without the help of the domiciled community the progress of railway and telegraphic communications would have been vastly slower than it was.

The Indian penetration into all fields of employment was inevitable, and is one of increasing success. The smaller community is not, and for a long time past has not been, holding its own, especially in fields of employment to which the entry is through competitive examination. In 1900 Lord Curzon asked: "Why do you allow the European and native employees to increase on the railways at the rate, during the past year, of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. respectively, while your numbers have only increased at the rate of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.?" He added, speaking of appointments to the Finance Department, the Accounts Branch of the Public Works Department, and the Traffic Branch of the Railways, that owing to the failure of sufficiently qualified candidates from the domiciled community the Government had been obliged to ask that a larger proportion of these appointments should be recruited from home. Today these appointments are chiefly filled by Indian graduates in honours recruited by open competition.

I remember when the highest places in the examination for admission to the Roorkee Engineering College were taken year after year by candidates from one European



school. This is no longer the case. And it has been lately stated that during the last seven years there have been only sixty candidates for one hundred and fifty places reserved in the medical colleges of India for military medical students from the domiciled community. The last quinquennial report on Education in India says that—the introduction of representative forms of government and the adoption of a policy of Indianization in the public services revealed the fact that, in spite of the considerable annual output from European high schools, the number of Anglo-Indians qualified for admission to the superior services or capable of representing the community in public life was woefully small. If Anglo-Indians are to compete on equal terms with other Indian communities, they must avail themselves of the opportunities for higher education afforded by Indian Universities.

“India in 1925-1926,” the annual statement presented last year to Parliament by the Government of India says:

It is unfortunate that very few European scholars in India go to the Universities. . . . Hitherto railways and Government departments have absorbed large numbers of domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but these numbers are bound to diminish in the future. The learned professions have not so far been very popular with Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but there is no reason why they should not be so in the future. The boys and girls of these communities should be encouraged, in order to fit themselves for the conditions of life in modern India, to regard University education as their normal objective, and to turn their attention to the professions and to business rather than, as in the past, almost exclusively to Government service.

But an inquiry lately made revealed the fact that the one remaining hostel for Anglo-Indian University students was not full, and that the scholarships offered in the various provinces to assist Anglo-Indian University students, though in most cases numerous enough, were not sufficiently valuable to tempt the poorer students to take a University course.\*

#### EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

These are disconcerting facts. What is the explanation? Is it that the public opinion of the community lacks driving

\* I see from “India in 1926-27” that there is a gratifying increase, especially in Calcutta, in the number of students from the domiciled community proceeding to University education.



power and fails to take long views? or that the community is too poor to meet the cost of a complete education which has to be largely given in boarding schools? or that the organization of European education is defective, and that there is room for improvement in both the kind and quality of the education given? What is certain, and it is admitted on all hands, is that if this small community is to succeed in its struggle against odds for an assured and satisfactory position among the peoples of India it must have every advantage of discipline and equipment that education can give.

I am afraid that the present circumstances of European schools are not such as to enable them to do all that they might for the domiciled community. The standard of education, for reasons partly unavoidable, tends to lag behind that of English schools of corresponding status. The last quinquennial report says that the funds at the disposal of school managers do not allow of any general provision for science teaching. There are appeals from all over India for assistance towards better school buildings and equipment, and the provision of higher salaries for teachers. Something is being done for the promotion of efficiency and economy by the abolition of small, weak schools and the concentration of effort in larger schools, and by the amalgamation of schools that are by themselves financially too weak to be efficient. The latest instance of this is the amalgamation of two long-established institutions in Madras that did excellent work in their day—the Bishop Corrie School and the Doveton College.

As for the curriculum of the schools, it is clear that no single curriculum is suitable for all pupils, and that any curriculum must have a secondary character because there is no employment for pupils leaving school at the age which marks the termination of the course in an elementary school in England. A liberal education of English public school type is required for the abler pupils, with an aptitude for ideas and knowledge for their own sakes, designed to



qualify them for the professions and the higher Government posts. A liberal education in terms of practice, in which scientific principles will be reached through applied science, is required for the abler pupils with a practical bent who will go on to technical training with a view to the higher posts in engineering and industry. And for the less able pupils, no doubt the majority, modified forms of these two courses with a definite vocational bias are required. The tendency to overload the curriculum, a manifest danger in these days, must be resisted in the interests of necessary thoroughness. An important place in any curriculum must be given to English and a provincial vernacular. A member of the domiciled community who is unable to speak, read, and write an Indian vernacular is in the position of a man who goes into a fight with one hand tied behind his back.

I should like to see European schools graded according to their fitness to teach one or other of the curricula I have indicated, and to see pupils entered in a school, or in one or other department of the same school, in accordance with their capacity to profit by the curriculum offered. European education has suffered seriously through the inclusion of boys of all sorts of capacity in the same course.

### THE TEACHING PROFESSION

European education in India owes a great debt to the devoted work for education done by the members of religious teaching orders, and by the lay teachers from England and America, both men and women. In my judgment it is a matter for regret that the great missionary societies which maintain colleges for Indian students have not done more for the education of the domiciled community. It cannot help the cause of Christianity that Indians should see a community in India, Christian by birth, suffering from want of education, and including a seriously depressed class which affords a very poor example of practical Christianity. It is difficult to visualize a time when it will be possible,



or desirable, to do without imported teachers, for they help to break up, as no others can, the inevitable cultural isolation of Anglo-Indian life, and to bring it into contact with a larger intellectual world. I do not suppose that Anglo-Indians themselves, with their strong tradition of a Western outlook—moral, mental, and social—would wish this association to come to an end.

Nevertheless, the domiciled community ought to take a greater and more effective part in the education of its own children. It does provide a large number of women teachers, and there are ten training classes for mistresses; but a recent report expresses the opinion that it would be desirable to replace the existing training facilities by one or more large central colleges with a first-class staff. As for masters, European schools have not hitherto commanded, except temporarily, or as the result of altruistic devotion, the services of the best men of the community; indeed, teaching has been called the refuge of the destitute. If a profession consists of a body of persons who have taken up work of a certain kind after an organized preparation for it, due safeguards being provided against the admission of the unfit, there is no teaching profession in the domiciled community.

To induce competent persons to undergo training, a profession must afford a career compatible with the performance of the full duties of citizenship, and hold out the prospect of satisfactory provision for sickness and old age. At present, European schools in general do not offer the necessary conditions of service; yet on their being enabled to do so depends the efficiency of their work for the rising generation of the domiciled community. The single training college for masters, the Chelmsford College at Sanawar, at the time of the last quinquennial report, had only fifteen students, and it was remarked that the maintenance of such an institution would only be possible in the future by co-operation between the provinces. I should like to see the staff of this institution strengthened by the addition of expert teachers in the chief subjects of the school curriculum,



and I have wondered if it would not be possible for these experts to divide their time between the training college and the schools, helping the latter by friendly co-operation to make the teaching of the subjects with which they are specially concerned more effective.

As things are, a beginning only has been made of building up a body of professional teachers, and, in view of the material for training which is available under present conditions, it is of the first importance that students in training should not only receive professional instruction, but should, concurrently with this, continue their own education to a point at which it could be described as liberal. It would mean much for European education if the men who left the training college had a clear understanding of what education is, and had fully realized that no teaching is worth the name that does not create interest in the pupils. The pupils must be made to feel that the work is reasonable and has contact with reality. Dean Inge, in his latest book of essays, says: "The capacity for real intellectual interest is only latent in most boys. It can be kindled in a whole class by a master who really loves and believes in his subject." And Mr. Aldous Huxley, in his "Proper Studies," observes that while mistakes in physical education are exposed by resulting in pain, the distortion of a mind is not painful.

A child may grow up into a mental cripple or paralytic without suffering anything more than boredom or fatigue. . . . If children suffered agonies from the process of mental distortion . . . if the stupid and mechanical teaching of German grammar or arithmetic actually made them scream with pain, we should by this time have learned something about right education. If the best way of teaching mental deficients is to interest them in what they have to learn, then that is also the best way of teaching the normally and abnormally intelligent.

#### COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION

How does the domiciled community form and give expression to its views upon the questions that concern it? Every friend of the community must note with satisfaction



the increased vitality of its associations and their educative effect upon the community; the evidence that the community is increasingly behind its associations; and the live interest of its journals. The fact that the community has representatives in the provincial councils and the Legislative Assembly, and that it has thus been definitely brought into the political field and is a political entity, has doubtless had an awakening effect. But it is not easy to frame a constitution for the central organization of a community scattered over a subcontinent that will function efficiently without infringing upon the independence and autonomy of the provincial associations, and it is not surprising that there has been a certain liveliness of disagreement upon this subject. At the moment there are two all-India bodies, the stronger of which has in Colonel Gidney, the leader of the deputation to this country in 1926, and the present representative of the community in the Legislative Assembly, a President of great energy and driving power. There are also in some provinces more than one provincial association. No doubt these differences, which often turn upon relatively unimportant personal issues, will eventually be composed, and it is satisfactory to know that they are not to prevent united action before the Statutory Commission.

It is fortunate at this juncture that the community has an independent Anglo-Indian Association in London, which is in touch with all the Indian associations, and with friends of the community in this country, both in and out of Parliament. It has done and is doing excellent work. It is able to look at Anglo-Indian questions practically and without being unduly affected by sentiment, and escapes the danger of not being able to see the wood for the trees. I have to thank Mr. H. A. Gibbon, its honorary secretary, for much help in verifying statements made in this paper.

#### ANGLO-INDIAN STATUS

The community has been disturbed about its status in the body politic of India. It is certainly not one that can be



readily expressed in a clear definition, as was shown by the reply of the Under Secretary of State for India to a question on this point put in the House of Commons two years ago. The reply was: "For purposes of employment under Government and inclusion in schemes of Indianization, members of the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community are statutory natives of India. For purposes of education and internal security, this status, as far as it admits of definition, approximates to that of European British subjects." The latter designation has at times found favour with the community because it emphasizes their British connection; but if it were legal it would debar them from appointments to which, as statutory natives, they are eligible. The *Madras Mail*, which takes a practical and common-sense view of Anglo-Indian questions, advises the community to recognize the logic of facts, to drop all claims to have a peculiar status, and to be content with being natives of India. As such they would have all the advantages they now have as "statutory" natives, and would avoid the implication that while they are entitled to all the rights of natives of India, they possess something that natives of India have not. Nevertheless there is a danger that those who accept this apparently logical view may lose sight of factors that must be given due weight in dealing with the problem of the domiciled community. To be a native of India is not the same thing as to be an Indian, and the position of a minority community in India which has such strong British affinities as the domiciled community has, and will continue to have, is, and must remain, exceptional. Such considerations as these must be taken into account in any attempts to define the status of the domiciled community.

The Under Secretary of State added, in the reply referred to, that membership of the auxiliary force in India is "open to European British subjects, a term which for this purpose is held to include Anglo-Indians." As a matter of fact, this force has hitherto been composed mainly of Anglo-Indians,



and as members of it they have rendered valuable service to law and order. They have certainly profited in many ways by inclusion in this force, and the community values the opportunities thus afforded. But there has been some nervousness of late lest their employment in the preservation of order should, in certain circumstances, lead them to be regarded as "strike breakers," and thus compromise their position as railway employees with Indians, and make them more out of favour with political Indians than they already are. It is obvious that their position is not altogether easy.

#### ARMY SERVICE

Another question which has long aroused strong feeling, and which is still agitated today, is the question of service in the ranks of the regular Army. It must be galling to a gallant and loyal people that they cannot be admitted to a British regiment as a matter of right (though sometimes they get in by a window when they cannot by the door), and one must sympathize with their anxiety to have what they regard as a stigma removed. Proposals for an Anglo-Indian regiment have been made and rejected again and again by the military authorities during the last half century, on the general ground that such a regiment would be more expensive and less efficient than a corresponding European force. This attitude has made members of the community at times "boil over," as Lord Curzon said, "in a rather superfluous manner." I find the editor of an Anglo-Indian journal, in April, 1927, proposing that "a strenuous propaganda should now be undertaken to have the military defence of India . . . made over to our people, and, if necessary, to insist on the removal of all European troops. We are willing to take their place, and it is the right of sons of the soil to defend their country. . . ."

I wonder if the community has thought out the question in all its bearings? No one who has seen its boy scouts



and cadet companies, or watched its boys and young men playing games on the Calcutta maidan, would doubt that a regiment could be formed from the domiciled community that could go anywhere and do anything. But an Anglo-Indian regiment that would do credit to the community (and nothing less than this would be satisfactory) would have to be recruited from the pick of its young men, and I do not think that the community can afford to give up to the Army, which, after all, in times of peace, offers but a sterile career, men who would certainly find openings for a satisfactory career, and would render their community better service, in civil life.

It is significant that the Anglo-Indian corps that were raised in the Mutiny were all disbanded between 1860 and 1870 because sufficient recruits were not forthcoming to maintain a total strength of 700 men. And, at the height of the late war, with all the excitement of the time to intensify enthusiasm, there were only 521 old boys of European schools in Bengal in the ranks. I feel sure that the maintenance of a thoroughly efficient Anglo-Indian regiment in times of peace would be too great a charge upon the vitality of the community.

#### GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The shock which the first application of Indianization gave to the community, when it was already suffering from a wave of unemployment, has made some of its leaders inclined to claim for it a fixed percentage of appointments on the railways and in other public services. Claims for fixed percentages when circumstances are changing are dangerous things, and I cannot think that it would be to the advantage of the community to press any such claim. If it were dealt with on the basis of the numerical strength of the communities forming the Indian population the domiciled community would fare worse than it does now, and if the claim were that the present proportions of the communities now employed in these services should be



fixed, which is surely impracticable, it would amount to a claim to be treated as a privileged class, a claim which the community no longer makes.

What does seem equitable is that there should be no sudden disturbance of existing conditions, so that the community may have the opportunity of adjusting itself to changing circumstances, on the assumption that employees will, in the future as in the past, obtain or retain appointments on their merits. I take this to be the view of the Government of India, for in the recent "Railway" debate in the Legislative Assembly the Railway Member, replying to a violent attack on the alleged excessive employment of Anglo-Indians and Europeans on the railways, said that as Anglo-Indians had attained such a position in the railway service that it formed an important element in the economic organization of their community, the Government must give that fact their cautious consideration.

#### EDUCATION GRANTS

In a recent issue the *Anglo-Indian Citizen* said: "Who does not realize that in education, and yet more education, academical and vocational, lies the salvation of the Anglo-Indian community?" The community has shown in the most practical way that it believes this. Nearly all, if not all, the Anglo-Indian associations maintain scholarship funds for the assistance of poor scholars. And, as the last quinquennial report on education pointed out, the bulk of the cost of European education (about 65 per cent.) is met from school fees and private sources, the corresponding figure for Indian education being only 35 per cent. The balance of the cost of European education (about 35 per cent.) is met from Government funds, and it is about these Government grants that the community is now most anxious. Whatever the reason there is a disposition on the part of provincial councils to look askance at them, inadequate as they already are, and although, as the late Bishop Copleston pointed out, when speaking for the deputation to



Lord Olivier, the total sum involved is a trifling one in the finance of India. What both Indian and European schools in India require is a much larger and more generous system of Government grants.

The number of endowed European schools can be counted on the fingers, and it is discouraging to find that some recent benefactions for the improvement of these schools have been urged as a reason why the Government grants should be reduced. Such an attitude is unlikely to encourage pious founders, and must have reactions on Indian as well as European schools. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the leaders of the community have been looking about for possible ways of stabilizing and strengthening the financial position of European schools.

#### SUGGESTED CENTRAL CONTROL

With the object of securing relief from dependence upon education grants which have to be voted by provincial legislatures, Anglo-Indian leaders have urged, not for the first time, that European education should be made an all-India subject and maintained by Imperial grants. Whilst the reasons often advanced for this change are open to practical and political objections, it can be argued that the present tendency, in the interests of uniformity of standard, efficiency, and economy, is to make the training of teachers, and the inspection and examination of schools, an all-India matter, and that there are reasons, which did not exist ten years ago, why it would be to the advantage of European education to centralize its whole administration. I certainly think that a case can be made out for a full inquiry, after the fashion of the inquiries held on the whole educational systems of some of the great English cities by Sir Michael Sadler, when he was the Director of Special Reports and Inquiries. These inquiries brought about marked improvements in the co-ordination and correlation of education, and greatly aided its efficient and economical administration. The education of a small community spread over the whole of India must



be organized very completely if the maximum of efficiency and economy is to be secured, and I doubt if this can be the case under existing arrangements.

#### PROTECTION, NOT PRIVILEGE

The community, on whose behalf I have spoken this afternoon, is chiefly composed of the descendants of men who served a British trading company which, in the pursuance of its proper objects, obtained an empire as a by-product, and added a splendid page to English history. I think we owe these kinsfolk of ours something—some help and co-operation in their efforts to hold their own and “make good” in trying circumstances. Sir John Simon, in a friendly speech to the Anglo-Indians at Lahore a few weeks ago, impressed upon them the necessity of self-help and self-reliance. It is good advice, and it has often been given to the domiciled community. But for some time to come something more will be required—protection without privilege—such a guarantee of fair treatment in the matter of employment as would be afforded by an impartial and representative Appointments Board, and some arrangement that would prevent the financial starving of European education.

No doubt the domiciled community will continue to have some representation in the legislative chambers of the future, and it is possible for a small representation, given the proper representatives, to exercise a moral effect quite disproportionate to their numbers; in any case, the right of free speech and of interpellation will enable them to cry out loudly if they are hurt. But ultimately the only satisfactory solution of the problem of the domiciled community must depend upon the growth of a real goodwill, based upon mutual respect and a common patriotism, between Indians and their fellow-subjects of British descent. Is it too much to hope that statesmanship, and a wise magnanimity, will make Indian politicians see that a domiciled community generously treated, and given the opportunity of realizing



the best that is in it, would be an asset that it is not worth the while of India to throw away?

No scheme of self-government for India can be regarded as entirely beneficent which does not afford protection to its minority peoples so long as that protection shall be necessary. And for Anglo-Indians a specially striking claim can be made—a claim which has already been made by our Chairman on another occasion—that they alone among the minorities of India can be said to be the blood relations of all its peoples.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 13, 1928, at which Mr. W. H. Arden Wood, C.I.E., read a paper entitled, "The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India." Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Arthur R. Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Sir Alfred Pickford, Sir Cecil Walsh, K.C., Sir Claude de la Fosse, C.I.E., and Lady de la Fosse, Sir Edward E. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. G. Sykes, Mr. E. F. Harris, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. J. W. Roger, Pandit Shyam Shankar, Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., and Mrs. Boalth, Mr. W. P. Milne, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. W. G. George, Rev. S. F. Streatfield, Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Tydeman, Colonel and Miss Dowden, Rev. F. W. Marten, Mr. W. R. Butterfield, Mrs. Lawrie, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. W. A. Shilstone, I.S.O., Mr. and Mrs. Claude Ismay, Mr. N. K. Agarwala, Mr. A. B. Kunning, M.B.E., and Mrs. Kunning, Mr. M. P. Rodrigues, Mr. J. Royal, Dr. and Mrs. Quick, Mr. and Mrs. Brandon, Colonel and Mrs. G. V. Holmes, Major Gilbertson, Mr. C. Kirkpatrick, O.B.E., Mr. H. A. Gibbon, and Mrs. Gibbon, Miss H. M. Bacon, Miss Gravatt, Mr. K. Fink, M.B.E., Mr. F. J. Richards, Mrs. Foy, Miss Collis, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. W. E. De Monte, Mr. J. Lewis, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Miss Corfield, Mr. E. Patuck, Mrs. Martley, Miss T. Drake, Mr. J. C. Vyse, Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Chandra, Mrs. Lowday Randall, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Parr, Mr. and Mrs. E. Palmer, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject before us this afternoon is one that has been discussed in very great detail for many years, and it would almost seem to be superfluous to go on discussing it, but I think it is desirable, if we can, to sum up the position, especially at this time when the whole constitution of India is in the melting-pot.

In the past we have gone, perhaps, too much into detail, and we have not been able to see the wood for the trees. I am very glad we are to have the opportunity today of both hearing and seeing the "Wood." (Laughter.) I know no man better qualified than my old friend Mr. Arden Wood to speak on this subject. He spent a great part of his life in educational work in India; he knew the Anglo-Indian boy from the time he left his mother to the time he started out in life; he followed his career later and was the constant adviser of the Anglo-Indians in Calcutta, and finally, as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, he was able to take a statesmanlike view of the whole position and to gauge exactly where they stood.

The LECTURER then read his paper.



The CHAIRMAN : We have had a very clear survey of the Anglo-Indian problem, the difficulties that surround it, and a hint at the solutions which will have to be found. The position of the Anglo-Indian community in India is rendered exceptionally difficult by the fact that the Government itself is such a large employer of labour. In my unregenerate days in the Assembly I fought hard against the nationalization of railways, as likely to produce what I think is coming about—namely, a greater scramble for Government office amongst all communities in India. I lost then and I now accept the position as I find it. When a country is striving for new political powers, I think there is always a danger that the communities making up a country may strive for privileges rather than for responsibilities, and I think, perhaps, the Anglo-Indian community has also lapsed a little in that direction. But if they have done so, it is because undoubtedly other communities have threatened their very livelihood. I hope to see a growing spirit in which all communities will feel a responsibility towards other communities, rather than grasping after privileges for their own ; for surely, no community stands to lose if other communities become more prosperous and better educated. A great mistake is often made in thinking that if one man succeeds, he must succeed at another man's expense ; that is entirely wrong. (Hear, hear.)

Our lecturer has rather stressed the educational side of the question, and some of us here may think that because he is an educationist he has seen only that side of the problem. I should not agree to that. The root of the whole trouble is education. The members of the community have done all they can ; it is useless to talk about self-help to a community that has already provided 65 per cent. of its educational facilities from itself and from its friends. No educational system in the world, not excepting Eton and other public schools in England, can be self-supporting by fees ; and there is no question that the Government could very wisely spend larger amounts on education, both for Indian and Anglo-Indian schools. Mr. Arden Wood and I are respectively Secretary and Treasurer of the European Schools in India Improvement Fund, and every year we have requests, many of which we have to refuse, for grants up to probably ten times what we have to offer. There are many other ways in which the Anglo-Indian community have recommended that their community can be helped. I regard them all as palliatives, necessary at present, but I think in education we have the real root solution of the question, and to that I think all who are connected with the community should direct their efforts.

May I say, before I call on other speakers, that I have been a little pained occasionally to see in Anglo-Indian journals and pamphlets statements that we English are not alive to our responsibilities to the Anglo-Indian community. I do not think that is correct ; I do not say we do all we can, but I do think we are interested in our kinsfolk in India and are anxious to do everything we can to improve their lot in life. I have worked with Anglo-Indians all my business life ; I have never had more loyal subordinates, and I have never had men that I could better trust—(applause)—but after all, if some of us have done what we can for the



Anglo-Indian community, we are only doing what I think is our duty as well as our keen interest to do.

SIR CECIL WALSH said that, as he was a member of the High Court of India, it would be improper for him to deal with questions of a political character; but the Anglo-Indian community had no politics, or had but two items in its political creed. The first was to do their public duty conscientiously, and the second was a belief that, in the changes which were coming, the British Government would not allow their community to sink into gradual degradation and extinction. The speaker had understood Mr. Arden Wood to suggest that it would be well for members of the community to ask not for privileges but for responsibilities. He would like to say that he had never found them in any degree lacking in a sense of responsibility. He ventured to utter a slight criticism of the paper. He thought that the lecturer had understated the deep obligation which the British people were under towards the Anglo-Indian community, and had also failed to present any practical proposal for dealing with the situation which would have to be dealt with in a statutory provision after the Commission had made its Report.

The lecturer had referred to Mr. Stark's book as containing rhetoric. He (the speaker) had long lost his love for rhetoric, but if passionate belief in the justice of their cause and a justifiable fear of the fate in store for them was rhetoric, then the more rhetoric we had the better. He pressed all present to buy Mr. Stark's book, the proceeds of which would go towards propaganda on behalf of the community. A perusal of the book would convince everyone of the great obligation which British people lay under towards the community. He thought there was no lack of recognition of it in high places, but the question was how the obligation should be fulfilled and applied to the immediate necessities of the case. He thought the general public were not fully acquainted with these matters, but politicians were sensitive to popular pressure, and if public opinion were convinced on a subject it would not be long before politicians became convinced too.

He referred to the results of action taken by the East India Company in relation to marriage with Indians. When the Portuguese went out to India they married Indian women and they were left to themselves; their own country ceased to take any interest in them. God forbid that the Anglo-Indian community should ever reach their condition; high-sounding aristocratic titles of Portugal were found today among the menial servants in India. When the servants of the Company went out to India it was impossible for English women to go, and they married Portuguese women. As a direct result of interference during the Puritan era in this country, pressure was brought upon the directors because the Portuguese women were bringing up their children in the Roman Catholic faith, so that the directors encouraged their servants to marry Hindus and Mohammedans. The result was a directors' minute in 1687, which stated that marriage with native women was to be encouraged, and that a certain sum would be paid for each child born of any such future marriage.



He himself did not hesitate to disagree with Mr. Arden Wood that it was unwise to ask for some sort of privilege. It seemed to him that the community was entitled to ask for the preservation of the privileges they had enjoyed. He pointed out that the number of employed amongst the Anglo-Indian community is very small. He was astounded at the lack of statistics in the case which would have to be presented to the Simon Commission. Before he came to this country he tried to obtain statistics, and was astonished to find how difficult it was to do so. The total number of the community in 1921 was roughly about 120,000, and out of that number of Anglo-Indians throughout the continent there were 80,000 dependents, leaving the actual number of Anglo-Indians employed only 40,000, and about one-third of those, he believed, were engaged upon railways, posts, and telegraphs. To his mind it was absolutely essential to the existence of the community in India, and for the protection of the British Raj, that the present level of employment of the Anglo-Indian community in the railways, posts, and telegraphs should be maintained. (Applause.) The cry of Indianization, if left to mere administrative action, would, he believed, result in a great diminution of employment.

The speaker recalled that when the Prince of Wales was going to Delhi Indian politicians determined to have a railway strike; they wanted to spoil the Prince of Wales' visit to Delhi. They began with the East Indian Railway at the big junction at Allahabad, where the speaker lived. The strike lasted there for nearly three weeks, and was a serious matter, but eventually it was broken down, largely by the voluntary assistance rendered by young Anglo-Indians. He would not attempt to say how those Anglo-Indians were rewarded and compensated for that. The Allahabad Association sent up a petition on their behalf, and had the typical reply that there was nothing in the rules authorizing a grant of money for voluntary help; but there were men who lost their jobs, and did not get employment from the railway. ("Shame!") He was satisfied that the Labour movement in India was becoming a very real thing, and it was not in any way discouraged by Labour Members of Parliament who came out from England from time to time and held meetings. If Indianization became a real thing on railways, places like Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Agra could be starved out by a strike in a month. The same danger existed not only on the railways, but on the posts and telegraphs.

Sir Cecil Walsh proceeded to give figures showing the great decrease in trade in Allahabad during the last seven years. To his knowledge, among Anglo-Indians and domiciled English, there had been the following failures: Two motor businesses, two restaurants, a grocery store, a boot-shop, a jobmaster, two chemists, and a confectioner. The big firm, now closing down, had produced figures to him, showing that, in Allahabad, their turnover of Rs. 100,000 per month had dropped to Rs. 35,000; in Lucknow, from 69,000 to 35,000; and in Jubbulpore, from 45,000 to 30,000, between 1920 and 1927.

Mr. KUNNING said that Mr. Arden Wood had given a good deal of



prominence to the educational side of the problem, and it was with diffidence that he expressed any difference of opinion. The lecturer had pointed out that in the curriculum an important place should be given to the vernacular. The speaker's Association was responsible for securing the extension to India of the Empire Scholarship offered by the Loughborough College of Engineering, and the great difficulty they found was that many lads were unable to compete because they had not a knowledge of a second European language. He thought, therefore, that it would be better in European schools to teach a second European language, and when a youth was posted to a service he should then qualify within a given time in the vernacular of the province to which he was posted. With regard to teachers, he agreed that it was the duty of teachers to break up the isolation of the cultural life of Anglo-Indians, and to bring them into touch with a larger intellectual world; but his experience had been that teachers seemed to feel that after dreary hours of driving youth along the difficult paths of knowledge, they sought their relaxation away from the school and with their friends in town. They had not got the "house" system in India that obtained in England. He feared, however, that education, even more intensive and proficient than had hitherto been provided, was not in itself a panacea for the ills from which the community suffered. The lecturer had said that there were not enough scholars qualified for the Services, and enough did not go to the Universities; but, on the other hand, there was a feeling among members of the community that even those who had qualified themselves had not always been fairly treated in the matter of appointments.

He did not need to eulogize the services which the community had rendered to the Empire, or to expatiate on their claims on the Government. He thought that if these were sufficiently realized by the people of this country, the Englishman's love of freedom and sense of fair play would prevail to secure justice to the community. Unfortunately, little was known of them here, and whatever could be done to enlighten this nation, arouse its interest in the Anglo-Indian, and awaken a genuine desire to consider the claims of a people whom he might aptly call the indigenous Christians of India, was most welcome to the community. The lecture was a step in that direction, and he desired to thank the East India Association under whose auspices the paper had been read.

He felt that if there was any hope of an honourable place for the community in the new orientation it lay in the lecturer's plea for protection—protection without privilege perhaps, but, nevertheless, real and secured by statute. Provision already existed for their protection, for in the Instrument of Instructions, which all Governors of provinces received on their appointment, the protection of minority communities was expressly enjoined on them, and the authors of the reforms of 1919 had specifically mentioned the Anglo-Indian community as one whose interests needed safeguarding. But such executive injunctions had not proved effective, and needed to be supported by statutory rules; for if the Anglo-Indian had in the past received what Sir Michael O'Dwyer once described as "step-motherly treatment," there was not much chance of their getting any better treatment with a weakening of British control in India.



Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK said that he could endorse all that the Chairman had said about the trustworthiness of Anglo-Indians. The only exhortation he would make to the Anglo-Indian community would be never to lose the particular characteristic which had procured them the appointments they had held in earlier days. A high standard of trustworthiness was the most valuable asset that such a small community in India could possess. He agreed with much that Sir Cecil Walsh had said about the difficulties of the situation of the Anglo-Indian in India and he felt that justice could not be done unless special safeguards were insisted upon for the protection of so small a minority of the people. He remarked that a Labour Member of Parliament had gone over to Burma and stirred up the Burmese to agitate against a single European good high school at Maymao; that Labour M.P. gave very great assistance to those Burmese who were quite willing to be stirred up, and a lot of trouble and political agitation was caused. When that Labour M.P. returned to England he wrote to a well-known newspaper and said that the majority of the pupils at these schools were bastards. That was a discreditable statement to be made by a Labour M.P., who in five days in Burma stirred up as much mischief as most men could do in as many years. The speaker agreed as to the enormous importance of education for the Anglo-Indians, and said that in a small community of this kind scattered all over India it was necessary that the handling of the matter should rest in the hands of the Central Government, as no local Government could possibly deal adequately with it, owing to the Legislative Councils reducing grants.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said that on this occasion he was glad to find himself again in complete accordance with the judiciary. It had always been his pride when in India that no point of difference had ever arisen between himself and the High Court. (Laughter.) He agreed with Sir Cecil Walsh in his criticism of what the lecturer had said—namely, that it was hardly necessary at this time for a minority community in India to claim guarantees. In the case of a small community with a great historic past confronted with the varying claims of different creeds and races pressed with great insistence, it was essential to insist that in the future provision for the better government of India its position should be unassailable. There was nothing unusual in such a claim. It had been accepted in the case of all the reconstituted States of Europe that came into being after the Great War—Greater Serbia, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Austria, Poland, and other States. In all these cases there were admirable fundamental provisions laid down in the post-war treaties to guarantee the civil and religious rights of the minorities, and provision was made that if their rights were infringed those minorities should be able to appeal to the League of Nations. If such safeguards were needed in Europe with its advanced culture, civilization, and religious tolerance, how much more necessary it was to have similar guarantees for the Anglo-Indian and other minorities in the future constitution of India, with an appeal to the impartial Central Government—taking the place of the League of Nations—in the case of a minority if it complained of being oppressed by having its rights disregarded by the majority. The great



disturbing factor in Central Europe today was the oppression of racial minorities by majorities. It was absolutely essential to provide against this in India where the danger was even a more real one.

The Rev. S. F. STREATFEILD, Principal of St. George's Homes, Madras Presidency, said that before he went to Madras he was chaplain of a large industrial district in Bengal, and a very large number of men came to him about employment in the mines and factories, and it was very noticeable how the men for whom he was able to get positions and who *kept* them came from good schools. The result of a good education was very noticeable in regard to obtaining appointments, and he would like to stress that point because the question of education had been stressed in the paper which they had heard. There were two dominating factors in the Anglo-Indian problem, Indianization and poverty; both were increasing, and both had gone very much further in South India. Preferential treatment had vanished in South India as far as Anglo-Indians were concerned. Schools could not expect very large fees from people getting fifty or sixty rupees a month with four or five children!

With regard to the question of the Indian Army he thought they should press for a *company* of Anglo-Indians, perhaps officered by Englishmen, though that would be a detail to be considered. To press for an Anglo-Indian *regiment* was not practical politics. Another thing that they might stress was that they had a very strong claim to extra-Government assistance in regard to children of soldiers who married "off the strength." The Government made magnificent provision for children of soldiers who married "on the strength," or who brought their wives out from England, but there was no such provision made for children of men who married Anglo-Indian girls in the country and then left the Army. We sent out vast numbers of young men to India at an age when they needed to marry—there was no home-life in the barracks—and men craved for feminine society, and it seemed to him inevitable that a large number would marry in the country, and there should be some provision made for them. If this were done it would make a great deal of money now being expended upon such children—who were a big percentage in our schools—available for other sections of the community.

There were two other such points: The amalgamation of Bishop Corrie School and Doveton College in Madras was not, he thought, due to financial weakness and inefficiency, but to the fact that the population had moved, leaving Bishop Corrie School as an oasis in a desert of warehouses and business premises. Mention had been made in the paper of the Chelmsford Training College, Sanawar. This college had now been moved to Ghora Gully, and the principal had told the speaker that the Government had been most generous in the buildings, equipment, and establishment.

Dr. PARANJPE referred to the observation of the lecturer, with regard to grants, that while Anglo-Indian schools got only about 35 per cent. from the Government, Indian schools got 65 per cent. from the Government, and supplied only 35 per cent. from private sources and from fees. The speaker pointed out that statistics can prove anything, and he thought



this was a case in point. What they had to consider was not percentages, but the actual amount per child spent from Government sources on Anglo-Indian children and on Indian children. If they looked at the figures in that manner, they would find an enormous difference. Talking of percentages, they might say that a child grew 100 per cent. in weight in his first year, but a person at the age of twenty probably grew in weight at the rate of 1 per cent., and that therefore a child was a hundred times as healthy as a young man of twenty. That showed that percentages were not a fair method of comparison. The speaker said that although he had nothing to do with Anglo-Indian education, he used to get applications from various schools for grants in aid, and he made a point of always seeing what was the actual provision for education made by the institutions; he was ready to give a certain amount from Government sources per child educated, and then anything extra or special should be met from private sources. Similarly he thought that a public school on modern British lines in India, although it might get a certain amount of help from the Government, should mainly be maintained from private sources or from fees paid by the children. After all, one had to see that all subjects of the State were treated fairly. In this afternoon's debate they had discussed a curious inversion of ideas on the part of Sir R. Craddock and Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose *bêtes noires* were Brahmins and educated Indians. These gentlemen had always stressed the point that educated Indians should not have any special treatment, but that all Indians should be treated in the same manner; now the same gentlemen had come here today and asked for the creation of a new class of Brahmins by granting special privileges for one particular class. If Anglo-Indians had a privileged position, the result would be that they would become very unpopular with the vast mass of the Indian community, and the community had really to choose one of two alternatives—viz., considering themselves as real children of the soil, in which case he believed Indians in general would treat them fairly, or leaning on the support of Government and consequently incurring unpopularity with the vast mass of Indians on account of their special privileges.

Sir ALFRED PICKFORD said that they wanted to bring up the average of efficiency of the community by dealing satisfactorily not only with the higher elements in it, but by tackling boldly and completely the elements in the community that were not desirable. It was for that reason that one felt that education had to be regarded from a very wide point of view. He noticed that Mr. Arden Wood had said very little in his paper about the character-forming side of education; that was no doubt because he presumed it would be taken for granted that that was a vitally important side of education. The speaker said that his connection with the Anglo-Indian movement was chiefly through the Boy Scout movement. Therefore, in view of this discussion, he had looked up the progress of the Boy Scout movement amongst the domiciled community in Calcutta, and he found that while in 1913 there were 736 Boy Scouts in Calcutta, the number had declined, and in 1927 there were only 603. He mentioned these figures merely to suggest to those who were leading the destinies



of the community in India that they had ready to their hands something which would maintain their reputation for trustworthiness among the higher elements of the community and would diminish any inefficiency that there was in the least desirable parts of the community, and that it was well worth supporting the Boy Scout movement with all their power. The speaker referred also to the valuable organization called Toc H, from which he believed a great deal of help could be obtained. He referred to what a previous speaker had said on the question of percentages in connection with the cost of education. The educational budget alone was not a complete statement of the case; other parts of the budget must be looked at. For instance, it would be found that the Army cost in India had been considerably lessened on account of the voluntary service that Anglo-Indians had given, and he believed that if those two parts of the budget could be put together, the domiciled community would be willing to accept the percentage per child test instead of the percentage per community.

Mr. T. G. SYKES said that, sixty-two years ago, after a voyage of 123 days round the Cape, he went to Madras, and there had the pleasure of meeting members of the domiciled community—Eurasians, as they were called in those days. Amongst them was an old prisoner-of-war who had been in the Napoleonic Wars, and who was a domiciled European at that time. Since then he had very much increased his knowledge in every province in India, and the opinion he had formed was that Anglo-Indians could hold their own in every respect with men of other communities. He gave, as examples, details of successful cases which had come to his notice, where competition had been very keen. He had received a letter only last month from one man who was both a C.S.I. and C.I.E., who went to the top of the tree in the Central Provinces, and he could multiply these instances, as they were not isolated. If he took ten boys in one form they would not all be geniuses, but out of those ten probably nine would take the highest places. It was his pleasant duty to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer, his friend and colleague Mr. Arden Wood, whom he had known for many years, and for whom he had the very highest respect, and also to the Chairman, whose moral and material aid to the community was well known. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am much obliged to you all for the kind vote of thanks you have given, and I am going to call upon Mr. Arden Wood to acknowledge the vote you have so deservedly given to him, in the shortest possible compass; he has come here physically rather unfit, but he did not want to disappoint you.

There is only one word I should like to say. In his closing sentence Mr. Arden Wood said: "No scheme of self-government for India can be regarded as entirely beneficent which does not afford protection to its minority peoples so long as that protection shall be necessary." I heartily agree with Mr. Arden Wood, and I do not know why some bricks have been thrown at him this afternoon on the score of what has been called "privilege." I do not think the Anglo-Indian community have ever asked for privilege; at any rate, they do not do so now. What they ask for is equipment for the battle of life, and a fair deal when they start on that life.



Mr. ARDEN WOOD: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very much for your vote of thanks. I think my paper has been successful to this extent, that it has done what I wished it to do—it has promoted discussion. I will not add anything to what Sir Campbell Rhodes has said about the use of the word "privilege." It reminds me of so many occasions in which different people have gone different ways, and have disagreed because they did not first of all define their terms. I rather think that some of those who have used the word "privilege," meant by privilege, elementary justice. (Applause.)

Mr. ARDEN WOOD writes :

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Hon. Secretary for the opportunity of adding something to the little I was able to say at the close of the meeting.

As often happens in the discussion of a paper read at a meeting, I have been debited with things I did not say, and with things I did not mean. I think some apparent disagreements will disappear if I explain what I understand by "protection" and "privilege." I advocated protection without privilege. Statutory provision is necessary for the protection of minority communities which differ in race, language, and religion from the majority of the people of the country in which they live, especially when the civilization of that country has developed along different lines from the civilization with which by ancestry the minorities are associated. So long as they are good citizens, and identify themselves with the interests of the land they live in, minorities have the right to preserve the characteristics of their own civilization. Indeed, it may be to the advantage of their adopted country that they should. Further, they have the right to be safeguarded against sudden changes of internal policy that would affect adversely their material welfare. In short, they have to be safeguarded against oppression by a dominant political party. Sir Cecil Walsh complained that I made no constructive proposals, but he did not say what he would require in any such proposals beyond what I have just said, and provision for the maintenance of European education in full efficiency.

Privilege in the present connection would imply a favoured race, and such privilege, as Dr. Paranjpye pointed out, is inconsistent with the domiciled community regarding themselves as "real children of the soil," and cannot eventually be to their advantage. A concrete instance of what I call privilege is the fact that Anglo-Indian candidates for admission to a certain department of Government service used to have an examination of lower educational standard than the Indian candidates. I am sure that this was not really good for the Anglo-Indian community.

I do not understand why Dr. Paranjpye objected to my statement by percentages of the incidence of the cost of European education, unless he wished us to be shocked by the difference between the actual amount per child spent from Government sources on Anglo-Indian children and on Indian children. I think we should be shocked by the small amount



spent on the education of Indian children, rather than by the amount spent on the education of Anglo-Indian children, of which, as I said, 65 per cent. (I believe it is now more) is met from non-Government sources. The actual cost of European education in India, when I last compared the cost of education per head with the cost in similar schools in England, was by no means excessive. What is really important is that the expenditure upon the education of any particular class, whether Indians or Anglo-Indians, whether they are being educated in primary schools or in Presidency colleges, should be such as to make that class as useful to the country as possible.

I need hardly say how completely I am in accord with what Sir Alfred Pickford said as to the supreme importance of the character-forming side of education. I supported in such ways as I could the Boy Scout movement when I was in India, because I believed in its valuable effect upon the development of character. I venture to suggest to young Englishmen going out to India that they have the opportunity of doing great good by sympathetically associating themselves with the domiciled community in the furtherance of the Boy Scout movement.

May I add that I believe the Girl Guide movement to be of equal importance, and for the same reasons. I hope it is prospering as it should in the girls' schools of India.



## INDIAN REFORM AND THE SIMON COMMISSION

BY THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR OF BURDWAN,  
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

I APPEAR before you today in a rather dubious position, for your lecturer was to have been a very distinguished man with wide experience in England, who presided over the Legislative Assembly when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. Sir Frederick Whyte's knowledge of constitutions, based on the principles of democracy as understood by the British public, would have been of greater help in a discussion of this nature than any exposition of my own experience and opinions. Moreover, I am well aware that extreme public opinion in India, and that of the majority of Indian Nationalists, clashes with my own, for my motto for political advance in India on the lines of British democracy has always been *Festina lente*.

Before coming to the question of the future of Indian Reform I invite discussion as to what political India really aims at. To many of us in this Hall today the thought must be uppermost that whilst India should, perhaps, eventually achieve responsible self-government on the lines followed in the great Dominions, such an achievement is made most complex when we look at the white population in India *vis-à-vis* the indigenous population; when we consider that in safeguarding the vested rights and interests of that population we have to allow the majority to shape their own policy in dealing with trade, with world commerce, and in deciding upon Imperial preference; also in the wish to remain within the Empire, for this cannot be forced upon India when she becomes a Dominion. You can then only rely upon the good sense of the Indian people to realize the enormous advantages there would be



in continuing the British connection, and in India's remaining a part and parcel of the British Empire.

#### OPPONENTS OF BRITISH RULE

It is no good shutting our eyes to the fact that there is in India today a volume of opinion, small, perhaps, but yet not negligible, and which is growing every day not only in strength but in intensity, which desires to get rid of British rule at all costs. Lothrop Stoddart's book, "*The Rising Tide of Colour*," perhaps loses perspective by his fear of the supremacy, due to numerical strength, of the coloured races over white arrogance. But it should be noted that he writes as follows with regard to India :

India is today governed by an English Civil Service whose fairness, honesty, and general efficiency no informed person can seriously impugn. But this no longer contents Indian aspirations. India desires not merely good government, but self-government. The ultimate goal of all Indian reformers is emancipation from European tutelage, though they differ among themselves as to how and when this emancipation is to be attained. The most conservative would be content with self-government under British guidance, the middle group asks for the full status of a Dominion of the British Empire like Canada and Australia, while the Radicals demand complete independence. Even the most conservative of these demands would, however, involve great changes of system and a diminution of British control.

Such demands arouse in England mistrust and apprehension. Englishmen point out that India is not a nation, but a congeries of diverse peoples spiritually sundered by barriers of blood, language, culture, and religion, and they conclude that if England's control were really relaxed India would get out of hand and drift towards anarchy. As for Indian independence, the average Englishman cannot abide the thought, holding it fatal both for the British Empire and for India itself. The result has been that England has failed to meet Indian demands, and this, in turn, has aroused an acute recrudescence of dissatisfaction and unrest. The British Government has countered with coercive legislation like the Rowlatt Acts, and has sternly repressed rioting and terrorism. British authority is still supreme in India. But it is an authority resting more and more upon force. In fact, some Englishmen have long considered British rule in India, despite its imposing appearance, a decidedly fragile affair. Many years ago Meredith Townsend, who certainly knew India well, wrote :

"The English think they will rule India for many centuries or for ever. I do not think so, holding rather the older belief that the empire which came in a day will disappear in a night. . . . Above all this incon-



ceivable mass of humanity, governing all, protecting all, taxing all, rises what we call here 'the Empire,' a corporation of less than 1,500 men, partly chosen by examination, partly by co-optation, who are set to govern, and who protect themselves in governing by finding pay for a minute garrison of 65,000 men—one-fifth of the Roman legions—though the masses to be controlled are double the subjects of Rome. That corporation and that garrison constitute the "Indian Empire." There is nothing else. Banish those 1,500 men in black, defeat that slender garrison in red, and the empire has ended, the structure disappears, and brown India emerges, unchanged, and unchangeable. To support the official world and its garrison—both, recollect, smaller than those of Belgium—there is, except Indian opinion, absolutely nothing. Not only is there no white race in India, not only is there no white colony, but there is no white man who purposes to remain. . . . There are no white servants, not even grooms, no white policemen, no white postmen, no white anything. If the brown men struck for a week the 'empire' would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not move himself or get water."

Mr. Stoddart wrote in 1920, when the whole of the West was still at sixes and sevens after a period of unlimited destruction and inroads made against all modern appliances of comfort, and against the life of modern civilization, by the great carnage of the War; but it is quite true that an independent India is the aim and the pious wish of a number of Indian political reformers, political thinkers and patriots of today—more so than it was in 1920.

#### NECESSITY FOR THE BRITISH CONNECTION

In the very thoughtful article in the *Observer* of Sunday, April 22, entitled "Rebirth in Asia," Sir Frederick Whyte brought out very forcibly the consideration that it cannot be denied that whilst Asiatic countries, including India, want to throw off the yoke of the dominance of the white race or races, they cannot overcome the maxim that "Might is Right." Whether the modern machineries of war by land, sea, and air, or the scientific progress in the West, will still make it possible for Western nations to continue in the march of dominance and in the march of supremacy over Eastern countries is a question that cannot be overlooked in nation-building in Asia and India. Nor can we ignore the fact that there is a growing discontent among non-white races against being ruled by the white races.



Let us now apply this fact to India. The days of Asoka, the days of Harshavardhan, the days of Chandra Gupta, the days of Lord Buddha, the days of Prithi-Raj, even the days of Man Singh and Sita Ram in Bengal, are but things of the dim past, and they read more like fairy tales than realities. We have, therefore, to take the condition of India from the time of the Moguls, and then take a lesson for the future ; and that lesson, briefly, is this : If India is tired of white rule, and if the British be tired of ruling India, then India must be prepared either to be ruled by the yellow races, or by those brown races whose religion is other than Hinduism, or by Soviet Russia. Let India choose. I may be called unpatriotic, or even a traitor, by those who, in their idealism, want an independent India, which geographically and racially cannot, alas ! so easily crystallize ; but I take the British connection as the only solution of India's problems, and from this standpoint I will discuss the future of British reforms in India. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 have been so much talked about, and have been so much before the public, that the less one dilates upon them in detail the better for the purpose of our discussion here today.

I shall only take up three points as to the future of the Reforms :

1. Are there further subjects which could be transferred in provincial Governments to be entirely at the mercy of the vote of the different provincial legislative bodies, and if so, what are they ?

2. Should there be Upper Chambers in provincial Councils, and, if so, is there any necessity to have two legislative bodies with the Government of India ?

3. Should we make an endeavour to get a unified form of government by doing away with dyarchy, in name at least, if not in actual practice ? Can we achieve this ?



## HEADS OF PROVINCES

Before I deal with these three questions, I wish to say emphatically that in any recommendations that the Simon Commission may have to make, they must put the question of the official position and the personal comforts, not only of the Viceroy, but of all the provincial Governors, above and beyond criticism, and beyond the ken of the vote of legislative bodies, if these high dignitaries are to continue to maintain their prestige and position as representing the Crown in India.

It may be amusing, even to an Englishman who likes a joke, to hear the question discussed in the Legislative Councils whether a Governor should have a travelling saloon for himself, or a new carpet in the Government House which he may happen to occupy for the term of his office; whether he should appear on a race-course or at a Durbar accompanied by his bodyguard; or whether he should have a band of his own to entertain his guests, which his official position enforces; but it certainly does not add to the prestige of the British Government that the King's representative, whether at Simla, Delhi, or at any provincial capital, should be ridiculed for such things when they are not personal but attached to the appointment. To my mind it is disgraceful when, in provincial Councils, some non-official Europeans, who want to enlarge their importance by coquetting with members of the Labour Party or with Socialists here, encourage Indians in such discussions. They forget that India is not England; that the East is not the West; that the Indian *izzat* is not quite identical with British prestige, and *vice versa*; and that, therefore, it is derogatory for a Viceroy or a Governor to be subjected to such petty pinpricks at the hands of pettifoggers. The sooner that everything appertaining to the position of a Viceroy and of a Governor is made non-votable, the better for the administration of India, and the better for the prestige of the King's representative in that country.



## TRANSFER OF SUBJECTS

Now let me turn to the three points which I have enumerated. In provincial Governments you have what is known as the Executive half of the Government, and on the other side the Transferred half. The members of Government belonging to the Executive half are called Members, and those belonging to the Transferred half Ministers, the former being responsible by the Government of India Act to Parliament, and the latter to provincial Governors and to the provincial Legislative Councils. This is what is known as "dyarchy."

There would have been no difficulty, perhaps, in the actual working of dyarchy had not people had a grievance against the Financial Settlement—that is, the settlement for which our Chairman, Lord Meston, has been held responsible, and which has now come to be known as the Meston Settlement. In consequence of this settlement, some provinces were harder hit than others, for in some, Ministers had sufficient money with which to satisfy their supporters in the Legislative Council and in the country, whilst in other provinces shortness of funds was a distinct handicap, as no Minister wanted, in starting a new form of administration, to bear the brunt or odium of imposing new taxation.

Financial stringency was largely responsible for the failure of dyarchy on the Transferred side. Some Ministers were able to make a splash with schemes before the public gaze. Other Ministers, however, found it difficult to accustom themselves to the common, everyday red-tapism, which meant submission to them of schemes of education, sanitation, etc., which had been examined and passed by Government experts, and they were not able to introduce straight away items of expenditure for which their supporters clamoured and on whose votes their Ministries depended.

Now let us see what are the subjects which are really under the control of the Executive half of Government. My list may be incomplete, for purposely I have not examined the Transferred subjects in the different provinces ;



as, for example, in some provinces forestry is a Transferred subject, in others it is not, although the Reforms Committee of 1924 recommended that it should universally be a Transferred subject. I shall outline to you the subjects which were reserved when I was a member of the Bengal Government or rather Presidency, which has got the Permanent Settlement and all its peculiarities, and whose population is, perhaps, the most intelligent, as well as fostering the best agitators in India.

In Bengal, in my time, we had emigration, European education, land revenue, irrigation, forestry, appointment, political, judicial, and police on the Reserved side ; whereas the main subjects relating to local self-government, sanitation, medical, the majority of commerce, industry, and agriculture and other subjects were Transferred. Now everyone will agree that the head of a province must be directly responsible for law and order, therefore anything relating to the military and the police, or to the administration of civil and criminal justice would be better in the hands of the Executive rather than in the hands of a Minister on the Transferred side. Unless there be anything special in the way of grave political reasons, I should think that in all provinces forestry and irrigation should be Transferred. The lists should also include the purely administrative functions of land revenue, safeguarding, however, in the hands of the Governor and his Cabinet the policies of land revenue, the terms of settlement, tenancy legislation, and vested rights and interests. European education may have to continue to be in the Reserved side, but if non-official Europeans had a chance of becoming Ministers (and some of them would be able to administer the departments of education and sanitation just as well, if not better, than some of their Indian colleagues), I do not see why that side of education should not become a Transferred subject, in some of the provinces at any rate. In fact, in time, all that needs to be Reserved will be the maintenance of law and order, the safeguarding of land



revenue systems (based on laws and regulations which have become no less sacrosanct than the "scrap of paper" for which England went to war with Germany in 1914), matters relating to the political department and the appointment of Europeans to the statutory services of India, which must remain in the hands of the Governor and his Executive Council. There seems no reason why all other subjects should not ultimately be put under the popular control of the Ministers.

## SECOND CHAMBERS

Today, however, it would be essential, I think, to have a revising or second chamber in provincial Councils, in which there should be, in the beginning, a nominated majority over the elected majority, but an overwhelming number of those nominated should not be Government officials. This upper chamber should have the right to control the vexatious question of new taxation or other matters about which a lower chamber might have erred, having been carried away by popular demands or party considerations.

If such an upper chamber were possible, to my mind there would be no need whatsoever to continue the Legislative Assembly at headquarters. The Government of India could work with a Council of Elders or the Council of State with perhaps a larger number of men on it, but men with more or less the same qualifications for membership as at present.

On the qualifications for the second or revising chamber in provincial Councils, I should not like to hazard any opinion, but I think that a standard between the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in the Government of India would be a good model upon which to work.

My proposals are purposely very sketchy, and I have scrupulously avoided the much talked of provincial autonomy, which bristles with difficulties, for there has been a volume of opinion already expressed by witnesses



before the Reforms Committee of 1924—a body on which I had the honour to serve—as well as by those who have already submitted views to the Simon Commission. I do not think, therefore, that I should be justified in giving anything but the vaguest outline and suggestions with regard to the second chamber for provincial Councils and for doing away with the Legislative Assembly altogether.

### UNITARY GOVERNMENT

Now let me come to the question of a unified form of government for the provinces. Here also I shall be very brief. I shall begin by quoting from an article in the *Saturday Review* of April 21 :

The Simon Commission has returned after a preliminary enquiry in which a good deal has been done to weaken extremist opposition to its composition and procedure, and Sir John Simon is so far justified in optimism. His firmness and patience will secure him all the co-operation needed for thorough investigation of the Indian problem. But if we are to understand that he is hopeful of a solution which will both protect vital interests and satisfy the left wing of Indian Nationalism we cannot share his hope. The wisest policy in India would be one, not of advance along the way marked out in 1919, but of return to unified government followed by progress along another route. Dyarchy ought to be scrapped, not in the interests of sheer reaction, but in order to permit of a political development more accordant with the spirit of Indian life. But who has the courage to propose scrapping dyarchy? The probability is that whatever the final enquiry reveals of its defects, dyarchy will be preserved, though modified. Few love it, but abandonment of it would be represented as vicious retrogression. Yet courage and imagination in politics are nowhere better rewarded, in the long run, than in India, and a bold policy would be accepted, after some initial protests, when a timid compromise would only increase agitation.

I endorse every word of the *Saturday Review* about dyarchy. We could easily scrap dyarchy by first of all abolishing the Executive Council of the Governor and by giving him a small Cabinet to deal with general matters of administration, and secretaries to administer with him departments relating to those subjects which I have already outlined and which should be in the hands of the Governor direct. The Governor could recommend names from the



members of the legislative bodies (both elected and nominated, as this would give him a larger field for selection) to be Ministers, and the Ministers could be appointed, at the recommendation of the Governor, by the Crown. This would at once give them a greater importance than they now have : the knowledge that they were responsible to the British Parliament, and that India desired to continue the British connection, would give them a greater sense of duty than they possess at present, and to my mind party politics would get a greater impetus than it now has in India. In other words, there would be nothing but Ministers, and there would be no Reserved and Transferred sides actually before the legislative body. Certain powers of certification by the Governor would be continued, but they would be simpler and less arduous than at present.

These are outline suggestions which I hope may be found to offer food for thought to those interested in the future of India, and which I wish to put forward for consideration and discussion. So far as a dual machinery of government is concerned I may have to modify my views, should I be called upon to give my opinion on details ; but I think that the sooner we do away with the causes of jealousy now found among the Ministers against the Members of the Executive half, and the cause of irritation it is to Ministers to think that they have not been appointed by the Crown, or are not treated with the same confidence and courtesy as the Members, the better for the progress of the country and the better for the development of the spirit of responsible self-government in India.

#### THE ELECTORATES

There are two important questions on which the Simon Commission will have to decide outside those matters : namely, the present franchise and electorate, and the communal question.

With regard to the first, I hold views diametrically opposite, perhaps, to those revealed in Indian aspirations.



I am not only whole-heartedly opposed to any extension of the franchise, but in certain respects I consider that the franchise is too wide rather than too narrow, thus opening the door to bribery and corruption, having regard to the relative increase in the standard of education in the country itself.

The British will continue to be accused of being at the root of all communal troubles, so long as they, in their desire to protect minorities, or in their desire to safeguard Moslem interests as distinct from Hindu interests, continue the system of electorates as they exist in India today. A mixed electorate requires a good deal of courage, forethought, and statesmanship. So long as there remains in the minds of the British and British administrators the fear that a Hindu-Moslem coalition would mean an untimely end of British rule in India, so long will there be a suspicion in the minds of political thinkers in India that England, whilst on the surface she desires progress and desires to make India realize responsible self-government, is not sufficiently earnest in the effort to unite the two great races and religions of India. It seems to me essential, therefore, to equalize the proportion of Muhammadan members on legislative councils with that of Hindus, and without altering in any way the numerical strength of either community. The sooner an electorate can return an equal number of Muhammadans and Hindus on a legislative body, the better for the political advance of India. I believe that this step would lead to the welfare of the two great communities in India. No one can accuse me of any bias in favour of Hindus, for I consider that a Muhammadan is just as much my brother as a Hindu.

I think that Indian Moslems, if they desire a united India under the British connection and British protection, must, in future, look to India herself for their political aspirations rather than to their neighbours and co-religionists across the borders of India, or to Turkey. Whether or not the discarding of the fez or doing away with taking the



oath on the El-Koran means the doom of Islam as a State religion in Turkey, is not of so much concern as the abolition of the Caliphate, by which the Turks have ceased to be the religious arbitrators, at any rate, of the Indian Moslems. If the latter were patriotic enough to realize this, then all communal strife would disappear in no time with the march of the material spirit of progress under British rule.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, May 14, 1928, a paper was read by The Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., on "Indian Reforms: Past and Future." The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and those present included :

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Viscount Burnham, The Right Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, The Hon. E. S. Cadogan, The Right Hon. George Richard Lane-Fox, M.P., The Right Hon. Sir John Wallis, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Prabashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E., Sir Stuart M. Fraser, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir James Mackenna, C.I.E., The Maharaj-Kumar of Burdwan, The Maharaj-Kumaris of Burdwan, Lady Norton, General Sir Bindon Blood, G.C.B., and Lady Blood, Mrs. Robert Ware, Miss Andrews, Mr. J. E. Webster, C.S.I., C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel S. B. A. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Mr. D. H. Lees, C.S.I., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. A. P. Das Gupta, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Mr. V. V. Chowdhry, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. Herron, Commissioner F. Booth Tucker, Mrs. Eckstein, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Sister M. R. Carter, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Miss Corfield, Mr. L. M. Das, Mr. A. K. Sharma, Mr. F. J. Richards, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. R. K. Sorabjee, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, O.B.E., Mr. Syed A. Rafique, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Mr. R. S. Mehra, Mr. N. S. Gill, Mr. G. S. Chattra, Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mr. W. Jones, C.I.E., Mr. G. W. Chambers, Mr. N. D. Majumdar, Mr. H. A. D. Wathen, Mrs. Chambers, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. S. Omar, Mr. M. A. Rashmi, Mrs. and Miss Barnes, Mr. P. R. Bose, Mrs. Dorothy Chaplin, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. B. N. Ghosh, Mr. E. A. Foreman, Mr. H. R. Pardiwalla, Mr. H. L. Varma, Dr. Shah, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. Jaipal Singh, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. Roopnarain Kanungo, Mr. W. G. Wells, Mr. S. Rasul, Mr. W. G. Bason, Dr. Macdonald, Mr. K. V. Apte, Mr. W. P. Milne, Mr. W. Kraus, Mr. M. A. Khan, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: We meet this afternoon to hear a paper from the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan on a subject upon which he is admittedly one of our greatest authorities, and not only admittedly but deservedly.



The Maharaja to those few of us (and I think I might say that in this room there are very few) who are not familiar with his history and his personality, may be introduced as one of the greatest landlords of Bengal, who from a very early age indeed devoted himself to justifying the high position in which Providence had placed him by a continuous and zealous devotion to the working of his own estate and the people under his care. From that by a natural transition he moved to the higher or at least the wider and more responsible, duties of a public career in Bengal. He filled offices which up to that time had very rarely been held by compatriots of his. He filled them with universal approval. He has the great and rare gift of making no enemies, and his career up to that point was consummated by his being selected to represent India at the last of the great Imperial Conferences. He was placed in a position which had never before been held by a citizen of British India in preference to one of the great ruling chiefs. That piece of work being over, the Maharaja has now come to England for a short time, where he is engaged with his charming family in co-operating with us in making London brighter until he is again required for still higher and more responsible work, as we all sincerely trust, in his own land. In the course of a career such as I have briefly sketched the Maharaja has had rare and unique opportunities of studying the situation in British India. He served under the transitory institution which was known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, and he has held throughout and taken an active and vigorous part in what has since been known and is now described by the name of dyarchy. All through his varied career the Maharaja has been a patriot; and he is not only an ardent but also a discriminating patriot.

From all these points of view he has a message to give us such as few others could give.

THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF BURDWAN, in introducing his paper, said: I am fortunate in having as the Chairman at this meeting Lord Meston, who happens to be not only a very old and valued friend of mine, but who, in spite of the very highly coloured picture of me which his Lordship has been pleased to draw, has known me in the different spheres of my activities in India. He was also responsible for the beginning of the Reforms which existed in India and over which the Simon Commission have to decide what should be the future of those Reforms.

A lecture written beforehand and in print is very often uninteresting, and I do not for a moment suppose that when I read it what I have to say to you today will be anything out of the ordinary. But knowing as I do that most of you here, especially those of you who have been in India, have considered Indian problems from various aspects, I hope you will find that there are some remarks worth your while to think about.

The Lecturer read his paper.

At the conclusion of the paper the Maharaja said:

I know when criticism of this paper is vented, it will be put forward that my scheme in practice will bring the Muslims under the heel of the Brahminical rule in India, but may I remind the Englishmen that they are



considered by us Hindus as the greatest Brahmins of the *Kali yuga*, and therefore the dominance of other Brahmins might well be left out of serious consideration.

Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK in opening the discussion said that they would all be with him in saying how much the Maharaja of Burdwan's address was appreciated; it was a bold expression of his views in which he had not sought to side with any particular party, but had given reasons for the faith that was in him. The Maharaja had quoted to them Lothrop Stoddart's book "*The Rising Tide of Colour*," which again quoted from an older book written by Meredith Townsend. The extract from Townsend's book was written in striking language and talked about the removal of 1,500 men in black, and of the relatively small garrison. But what it really amounted to was that if Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement had been observed by everyone of the three hundred millions in India, no doubt British rule would come to an end. As a matter of fact, he did not think they could all agree with Meredith Townsend for the reason that, speaking for himself after his forty years in India and from all he knew of the people in the country, he emphatically affirmed that the British Government was there by the consent of the vast majority of the various peoples in India. (Hear, hear.) There were minorities, and no doubt the Maharaja was correct in saying that the number had increased. There were very small minorities of people anxious—and it was quite natural that they should be anxious—to take over powers and positions which would gratify their ambitions as Indians, or as Hindus or Muhammadans or Brahmins or whatever their particular designation might be; but as far as he could see they alternated between having hot heads and cold feet. The great point he wanted to make was that those people did not represent the opinion of the great masses. He was not speaking about what people said, but about what they thought and what they did; he judged them not by the speeches which they made in public or by articles in newspapers, but by what he would call the unguarded observations of the multitude to which he had listened for many years, and by the actions they took when emergencies arose. It was by that which he judged the people of India, and it was from a long knowledge of all classes from the aboriginal up to the extremist politician. He had met them and heard them speak in confidence, and it was from them that the best opinion could be sought. British rule would last as long as the majority of Indians wished it to last.

Although the Maharaja did not trespass voluntarily upon the controversial field of provincial autonomy, as a matter of fact he was laying emphasis on the great powers of the Central Government and the restricted powers of what might be called the popular side of the Local Government. There could be no question that that policy was the correct one so far as the Central Government was concerned, because the Central Government was engaged on a task of correlating and co-ordinating the co-operation of what might be almost a number of separate countries, and that task was one which required a firm Government, a Government that



had an overruling power over any unusual or extraordinary action by various Local Governments.

With regard to the question of dyarchy, he, among others, was always opposed to it. It was said to be based on the principle that in no other way could that particular kind of responsibility which prevailed in a democratic system between the people, who returned the member, and the member, who becomes the Minister, be established. As a matter of fact, if the Minister of the present day was called to account it was not by a body of intelligent electors, but by the speeches or the newspaper articles which deal with the interests of a comparatively narrow section of the people. (Hear, hear.) His feeling was that responsibility could not be created in the sense that was wanted—namely, that mutual responsibility between electors and elected which marked a democratic system. That kind of responsibility could never be reached—by that he meant for a very considerable number of years—for the reason that if anybody was displeased with a Minister, the blame was not usually ascribed to the Minister himself but to the British Government. If you referred to dissatisfied people among the less intelligent classes, and were to say: "Well, it was the Minister who threw out this proposal or could not do this or could not do that," they would show you a coin and say to you: "Whose image and superscription is on this coin; whose is the flag that flies over the country? Who are the ruling persons holding the largest command and authority? If the Minister had any power it was you who gave it to him, and if you are foolish as to give to a Minister who is not competent powers of this kind, then the responsibility is yours and not his." That, in his opinion, was the great reason why so long as the British Government was present there this particular kind of responsibility between electors and elected was so difficult to establish. It was for those reasons that he agreed with the Maharaja entirely as he agreed with the article in the *Saturday Review* saying that dyarchy should be scrapped. They had come along the wrong road; it was no good persisting along a road which proved to be wrong. They did not want to go back to the pre-Reform days, because they had grown accustomed to privileges which could not now be withdrawn from the people of India; but they wished to advance along a more correct and more hopeful road, and that, he took it, was the general meaning of the policy which the Maharaja of Burdwan had so well put before them. (Applause.)

Mr. YUSUF ALI said he felt at a very great disadvantage in the short time at his disposal in continuing the discussion on a paper which had touched upon the most important and vital issues now before the country in India. However, he had one advantage—namely, that he had only just arrived from India. He also had another advantage, that on his way from India he had seen and studied a number of new countries in the Near East. These were setting up Parliaments which were no Parliaments, Courts of Justice which were like juries or advisory committees, and administrations which worked with closed doors. He had thought to himself that if even a respectable fraction of the 320,000,000 of people in India could



only travel and see for themselves what happened when they placed simulacra in high places and glorified them and piled epithets and epithets upon them and claimed them for their ideals, then perhaps some sobering light of actuality might be thrown on these big questions. He was not going into that very wide region. It would be very interesting to follow the great issue which the Maharaja Bahadur had raised, and he was sure that the conservative radicalism which the Maharaja had shown in his paper was deserving of the most thoughtful consideration. He thought his best course would be to touch upon one point on which he could speak with some recent knowledge, and that was the question of the Mussalmans and the minorities. He fully agreed that the vital question on which all progress hinged in India was the Hindu-Muslim question. If they went on breaking each other's heads as they did in Lahore last year, or as they were doing in other towns even now, there was no hope either for democracy or for representative institutions or for good government of any kind whatever. But if the two great creeds of India could sit down and work out some amicable understanding to work together and to co-operate under the British flag for the realization of the great goal which he thought was indissolubly bound up with the British flag—namely, constitutional government—then there was every hope and every chance that they would be able to work gradually towards an ordered form of complete self-government. He had been in touch with nearly all the Mussalman and Hindu leaders in India, and although one might wish it otherwise, they were bound to recognize that great mistrust and suspicion existed on both sides. It would not do merely to ignore that suspicion. On the contrary, the august body in whose hands the hammering out of the future Constitution had been placed would have to devise some practicable means by which trust and confidence could be created and fostered between the two great creeds in India, and as also between them and the Government. He fully realized that the atmosphere in India, especially amongst his own advanced friends, was not enthusiastically in favour of the British connection; but he would also remind them that when untoward occurrences ending in violence and a reign of terror happened, every side was willing to call in the assistance of what they called "the third party." In the circumstances, in his opinion, the only solution of these problems was for the leaders on both sides, if there were leaders—he had searched for them but had not yet found them—to meet together and make a sincere effort, not to "best" each other or to snatch personal or party triumphs, but to discover practical paths of advance. The solution was to discover leaders who would be followed, and make them sit together and evolve some *modus vivendi*.

The Maharaja had put forward a suggestion. He said: Give the Mussalmans in every province 50 per cent. of the seats on the Legislative Council. He wondered that so conservative a man as the Maharaja could put forward so revolutionary a proposal. Let them just think of it. The Central Provinces had a Mussalman population of about 4 per cent., and Burma had even less. Madras had 6½ per cent. Various other provinces had small Muslim minorities. Was it conceivable that the Hindus would



consider it practicable politics to concede to the Mussalmans, who were 4 per cent., 50 per cent. of the seats on the Legislative Council? Or take the other side of the shield. There was the North-West Frontier Province where the Mussalman proportion was over 91 per cent. Was it proposed to give the Mussalmans only 50 per cent.? Or, again, if they took Bengal and the Punjab, the Mussalmans had majorities of 54 and 55 per cent. In the Punjab, with which he had been most intimately associated for the last three years, the Mussalman 54 per cent. was virile and alive, both in agriculture and industry. Would the Mussalmans be satisfied if they gave them only 50 per cent. of the seats? Or did the proposal mean: Give the Mussalmans 50 per cent. of the seats where their population was only 7 per cent. or 4 per cent., but give them 54 per cent. or 55 per cent. or 91 per cent. of the seats where they were actually in the majority? He would very much like the Maharaja to work out that part of the scheme. He did not wish to criticize a spirit of such generosity, but it did strike him that a number of questions would have to be answered before they could consider it in the field of practical politics.

There was another question: The Maharaja had said that he represented no one except himself. That was a position in which he could also accompany him, but if they were to make any proposals out of their own individual instincts of chivalry and generosity, was it likely that those proposals would go through? Would they command the assent of a sufficient number of people in India to make them practical politics? He did not pretend to know the minds of the members of the Simon Commission, but he supposed if he appeared before them (very much in fear and trembling) that the first question they would ask would be: Whom do you represent? Even the Maharaja might be asked the same question, and they must necessarily put forward a scheme which had been the subject of consultation with the large interests with which they were concerned. Under present conditions some sort of safeguard for Mussalman minorities and other minorities, Sikhs and so on, was necessary. However unpalatable it might be for them to envisage the fact, some protection was necessary; but the man who was able clearly to define the form in which it would be practicable, adequate, and acceptable to all parties concerned had yet to be born. He would like the Simon Commission, after they had examined the large mass of conflicting evidence which would be sure to be placed before them, more or less to appraise the evidence on its qualitative side, and work from their experience of Indian conditions as interpreted by their experience in other countries, and give us a lead as to what was likely to help in the evolution of Indian society. He felt conscious that he had trespassed a little more on their time than he had intended, and he would only close his remarks with an appeal to common sense and practical patriotism. The great questions of Indian policy at the present moment could not be decided in a discussion of five minutes or five hours, but would require very close study, not only close study by oneself from the point of view of a scholar or statesman or man of affairs, but also close study from the



point of view of those whose interests were directly affected by the questions which were discussed. (Loud applause.)

Mr. N. D. MUJUMDAR said that he must admit the paper which they had listened to was very well intentioned. But it was well intentioned for the landlords of India and for the British interests, or, to make it more precise, it was well intentioned for the ruling classes of Great Britain in India. One always heard all sorts of talk of leaders claiming to be leaders in India who had been flirting with Government here as well as with the Labour Party. But those flirting with the Labour Party had been disillusioned, and they had gone back to respond to the real needs of the country. The existence of the British Government in India was by strength of force, and the continuance of the army of occupation in India was justified by these people. The Lecturer had spoken about Bolshevik Russia; they had heard about Brahminical tyranny, and that was repeated over and over again not only in that place but in other places. The scheme put forward boiled itself down to this: Transfer certain of the offices to Indians and give the Governor certain powers and leave the rest to the Council, the executive function of which was to be carried out by the Cabinet, to be composed of members to be nominated by the Government. The Lecturer had not claimed to represent anyone, but he represented interests which he wished kept in the hands of the Governor, and had asked that the revenue policy of India should be continued as it was today.

The real issue between Great Britain and India was the aspirations of the Indians. Indians today were not in a position to resort to violence; otherwise it would have been legitimate for them to do so. There should not be British connection with India any more than there should be French, German, or Russian.

Mr. G. W. CHAMBERS (Madras) said, being a member of the mercantile community in India, he would like to put forward one or two views. That community, of course, was not one of the depressed classes, but it had had its apathetic contentment stirred by the events of the last few years. There were three points which the Maharaja had set forth. The first was whether further provincial subjects could be transferred. The Maharaja used a rather significant phrase, "entirely at the mercy of the Provincial Legislative Councils," and it was suggested that this could be done provided that law and order, the land revenue system, statutory appointments and foreign relations—which he hoped included relations with the Indian Princes—were preserved. In view of their experience of the defects of dyarchy such a policy, amounting to an extension of dyarchy, would require a very careful examination and very cautious acceptance. In his opinion dyarchy had failed because Ministers had not sufficient control of the finance which pertained to the department they had to administer. Thus Ministers could not be expected to accept the full responsibility for the success of their departments, and perhaps what was more important, Legislative Councils and Assemblies on many occasions had proved that at present they were not entirely capable



of political responsibility. It seemed hardly necessary to ask where India would be if the Viceroy's powers had not been used more than once; in other words, the main defect of dyarchy was that it did not develop or encourage responsibility. Again, there was an overlapping in dyarchy. Friction arose, and delays in legislation occurred. In the South of India, to the best of his belief, the important department of Public Works was under dual control, partly Reserved and partly Transferred. It would thus be seen that an extension of dyarchy in the provinces would be a great experiment. Whether it was the right road or not he did not know, but the present system would never foster responsibility.

In dealing with the second point, he said there was no real case of analogy with other countries as regards second chambers, since conditions in India at present were not suitable for the creation of second chambers. If the second chambers were chosen in anything like the way the present legislative chambers were chosen, they were faced with the same difficulties. If a second chamber was chosen largely by nomination, a lot of people would say it was the creature of the Government, and it would lose its influence. As regards the Maharaja's third point, which was a suggestion to modify dyarchy, he had not had the time quite to make out where the suggestion differed from the present system. In conclusion, he said that no scheme of government in India would be given a fair chance of success on its merits until there was a vigorous, united, and fearless party in India composed mainly of Indians who were ready and able to put in their proper places some of those who at present improperly claimed to speak for India.

Mr. RAFIQUE said he considered there were much more important and weighty matters to be considered than such things as were referred to by the last speaker—namely, the privileges enjoyed by the Governors or the Viceroy in India. They all knew that they enjoyed certain privileges which were necessary for the maintenance of their dignity. The paper which they had heard referred to Reforms, past and future, of India, and the introduction of such a trivial subject as he had mentioned was not at all necessary. He did not deny that there was something to be said about the necessity of giving the Viceroy a saloon, and a Governor-General a few horses, but it was far less interesting than the subject which was of much more vital importance, and that was the Muslim and Hindu question in India. The Maharaja had referred very casually to those subjects which he thought might have been dealt with with greater force. The size of the political units in India should be reduced, and the newly formed units should be given entire self-government. The elected body should be completely responsible to the Legislature.

The question of Hinduism could not be solved by a mere stroke of the pen or by dividing a line through the middle—a hundred cut into two and making it fifty-fifty. It needed much more and deeper thought shed upon it than that which had been given by the honourable speaker. In his experience at Cambridge University he found Indians could pull along together in a thing, however small or however significant, if it was run entirely by them. (Hear, hear.)



With regard to the question of the system of communal representation, the Muhammadan had to return a Muhammadan, and the Hindu had to return a Hindu. Was it not possible to have an electoral system which would cause less friction among the Hindus and the Muhammadans than there was today, so that the Muhammadans could work with and for the Hindus, and the Hindus could work with and for the Muhammadans? The segregation of the two communities, in his opinion, was one of the most awful mistakes committed by any Government in any country. He submitted this point, which had struck him, for elucidation by the distinguished lecturer.

Mr. WOOLACOTT said that he was very glad to hear that the Hindu and Mussalman got on so well together at Cambridge, but what was more important was, how did they get on at Kohat? He was much interested in the violent speech from his friend at the other side of the room, because he had made violent speeches himself in his youth. He was afraid, however, that at the time he did not listen to the facts that were put before him in reply to his rhetoric. They had heard it said that British rule in India rested on bayonets. Was that true? (Cries of "Yes.") If that were so, then 320 millions of people, including millions of virile men belonging to the martial races, could be kept in subjection by a few hundred British civilians and 60,000 British troops. Who were the people in India who were demanding the British should go? They were generally pundits from Allahabad and other parts of Northern India. They were the very men who, if the British did go, would have no concern with any other question than the sailing of the next P. and O. boat for England. They knew that perfectly well themselves, and they also knew that the British did not intend to leave India. He was in India at the time of the attempted Afghan invasion a few years ago, when it was necessary to mass over 300,000 men across the frontier. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which was not a British paper, then said: "Indians must drop all their differences; they must cease their attacks on Government; they must stand together, because if the Afghan invasion succeeds it will affect the lives of people in Bengal yet unborn." That was the attitude that would be adopted if it were seriously suggested that the British were going to leave India. He invited them to look at the Indian Army, notably in the Punjab: one of the finest armies in the world. How many men from India went to the Great War? Why, about twenty times as many as the British troops in India. There were millions of fighting men in India at the present time, and it was obvious that British rule continued because it was by consent of the people. The facts were obvious, and all the windy rhetoric of the pundits and others could not affect them. In conclusion he desired to say that it was highly satisfactory that Indian questions were being more and more discussed in London. They wanted to hear all sides. The more the facts could be hammered out the better it would be for India. British interests and Indian interests were identical, and as long as the British remained in India their policy would be aimed at improving the social, political, and moral condition of the people at large. (Hear, hear, and applause.)



The CHAIRMAN: It is now five o'clock, and under the traditions of your Association the meeting should come to an end; I am afraid I am under the unhappy necessity of being unable to call upon quite a number of gentlemen who have sent in their cards as desirous of speaking, and I trust that they will accept my apologies for not calling upon them. It is merely on account of the lateness of the hour and not from any lack of desire to hear their contributions to the discussion.

We have had a most interesting afternoon. My old and close friendship with the speaker, and my long knowledge of his habits and of his mind, made me confident from the very outset that we should hear a remarkable pronouncement, and we have had a pronouncement which is indeed remarkable as well as wise and weighty. He has succeeded in putting the problem in its true proportion. He started with certain assumptions which obviously are not universally accepted in this room, but in order to get down to practical questions he had to start with certain assumptions. Then he proceeded to deal with the practical questions which are now before that body which we are proud to see represented in this room tonight; I refer to the members of the Simon Commission. It is a pleasure to hear those propositions and to hear them practically discussed in a reasonable way. It was a pleasure even to hear the criticism of the financial settlement which was referred to, and with which I occasionally see my name associated. I suppose a day will come when an opportunity will be given of defending both dyarchy and that much maligned settlement. But it would be unfair this afternoon that I should lay any burden on your patience. We have listened tonight with advantage, and no doubt a certain amount of instruction, to many diverse opinions. If we can lay those opinions aside in our minds, and turn them over during the next year, we may be in a position—and that after all is the most important position (I am speaking for the old Indians mainly in this audience more than the young ones)—in which we can most suitably and profitably help to brigade public opinion behind the Report of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, when that Report comes to be written. Never has a more difficult proposition been laid before public-spirited men than the reference made to that Commission. When they do pronounce their verdict, that verdict I am fully convinced will have the fullest consideration by the thinking public mind in this country. But in order to give it intelligent study, and in order to give it the support which it will require, we have first of all to know something about our subject and then to help others who are not so familiar to appreciate the facts and the grave decisions which will have to be taken. I now invite the Maharaja to reply to the discussion.

The MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF BURDWAN: The discussion has been very fruitful if only in the sense that we have had a remarkable speech from my old friend Mr. Yusuf Ali. I am exceedingly grateful to him for the lucid explanation of the difficulties regarding the Hindu-Muslim question in India. However, before I deal with his points perhaps I had better make short work of my friend Mr. Mujumdar. I met him at Sandown, and he put some



pertinent questions to me regarding the duties of a landlord. I believe when he reaches the sun-down of life he will realize that it is better to have the British connection than to pay a pilgrimage to Leningrad.

Now, with regard to Mr. Yusuf Ali's comments, they deserve the closest attention by all those who desire the real cementing of differences between the two great communities of India. In my lecture I purposely put down fifty-fifty as a basis for discussion. It is perfectly clear that in certain provinces it could not be fifty-fifty. But I am not concerned so much with the percentage. Let it be 55 and 45 in certain provinces, or even some other proportion. What I am concerned with is this: The accusation which is made day after day that the British will divide and rule. Let those provinces which are ripe for the experiment have a mixed electorate for the Legislature, so that each member of each community would be careful to avoid treading on the pet corns and idiosyncrasies which are engrafted in them. That is the main point on which I have made the suggestion. My point is that if there are real differences of opinion between the Hindus and the Muhammadans they will come out in a mixed electorate much more than in any other kind of electorate we may devise. As regards the protection of minorities, be they Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs, or be they Christians, in those provinces where that protection has to be given it must be continued because we have to protect the minorities. That is what the British are there for—to be fair to every community in India. (Hear, hear.)

There is one thing more I should like to tell my friend Mr. Yusuf Ali, because he and I were close friends when he was still in the Indian Civil Service. What we have to realize as Hindus and Muhammadans is that if we are going to have a British India we have to remember that we are Indians first and Hindus and Muhammadans after—(Hear, hear)—and to get at that we shall have to introduce sooner or later these mixed electorates where we can get the best opportunity of intermingling and at the same time reducing to the minimum our little susceptibilities. It is with this object that I have introduced the question of mixed electorates and no other. I say again, as to the fifty-fifty, you can put it 70 and 30 if you like, but what we want is that the Muhammadan should feel that the Hindu has just as much a right as the Hindu must feel that the Muhammadan has a right. The Muhammadan is just as much a brother of the Hindu as the Hindu of the Muhammadan. We have nothing to do with pundits or Brahmins, or any other caste. All I am concerned with is believing in British traditions and British fairness. I desire that a fair trial should be given in seeing whether mixed electorates can or cannot work in certain provinces. I think from that point of view I have met Mr. Rafique's point. As to whether Governors or Viceroys should have their *issaf* safeguarded or not I do not wish to argue any further, for there are others who would not allow such things to be mentioned. As regards the point that was mentioned by Mr. Chambers as to whether or not I had really asked for an extension of dyarchy, I do not think he has been able to quite grasp my idea. What I said was: Let there be, with the excep-



tion of a few subjects, everything votable by the Council, let those subjects be under Ministers and let there be no dividing line as to being Ministers or Members, and thereby dyarchy will automatically fall to the ground. There was no question of an extension of dyarchy. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you all for the patient hearing you have given me. (Applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE, in proposing a vote of thanks both to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, said that no doubt another occasion would be provided by the Association for those whose contributions to the discussion had been precluded by the lateness of the hour. He would like to point out the present state of affairs in India rather reminded one of the position of Germany after the Franco-German War. The Germans were very competent people, and it might be well worth the attention of the Association and even of the Commission to consider how they set about managing after the Franco-German War. The Empire consisted of large self-governing countries like Prussia and Bavaria with legislative bodies on a more or less representative basis, smaller States with independent internal jurisdiction, great free cities and tiny chiefdoms. They created a Council of State, the Reichsrath, consisting of delegates from all the bodies constituting the Empire in proportion to the size and importance of each unit; and it was this Reichsrath that was the real high governing body of the Empire, and only measures approved by it could go to the larger Assembly or Reichstag. Some similar arrangement might suit the present stage of developments of the Indian Empire and enable us to meet the equities of the position of the Indian States, whose existence and even whose further expansion, as he had often urged, was desirable and even necessary for the effective maintenance of that Empire.

He was sure that he was voicing the sentiments of them all when he thanked the Chairman, Lord Meston, and the Lecturer, the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, for sparing some of their very valuable time to be with them that afternoon. (Applause.)



## BOMBAY TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

BY SIR STANLEY REED, K.B.E., LL.D.

THE subject chosen for my address this afternoon is "Bombay To-day and To-morrow." But how can we think of Bombay present and future without recalling the Bombay of the past? And when I think of the city I first knew, and soon learned to love, in 1897, and that which I left in April of this year, I long to meet the particular idiot who coined that phrase—"The Changeless East."

It was a tearing day in July when I landed in Bombay thirty-one years ago; and Lovat Fraser, who came to meet the ancient tub in which I made the voyage, was blown to Mazagon before he could make the ship at her moorings in the harbour. We landed in the docks and drove with the monsoon floods lapping the floor of a decrepit buggy to the frowsty tank which rejoiced in the name of the Great Western Hotel. My room looked out over Mother Tincom's boarding-house. The kindly friend who took me in hand drove on the first Sunday to Colaba cemetery, which reminded me of the grim churchyard where Scrooge saw his tombstone, and a week later to Sewri, where he gloated over the monuments of those who had died early and unpleasant deaths. The tents still rose like mushrooms on the Cooperage and in Marine Lines every cold weather, and it was from one of these that a fertile Frenchman, entangled in an unwelcome engagement, used to write to his impatient fiancée telling how every morning he had to remove the heaped plague corpses before he could emerge.

From Malabar Hill, in the dawn, you could look out over the glorious sweep of Back Bay, and see the Rajabhai Tower rise like the Campanile of Venice, with the blood-red sun beginning to illumine the harbour—still to my mind the most fascinating view of Bombay. But from Malabar Hill you looked down on a palm grove which was Gamdevi;



if you climbed the tower of the mansion David Sassoon builded but never lived to occupy, and gazed northward, Mahim and all the lands to the north were fields of palms and paddy. The business quarter of Bombay was huddled into Elphinstone Circle and Apollo Street, and I can recall the miserable shanty which was the home of *The Times of India*, and the air of resignation with which Thomas Bennett asked me one day if he could finish his work in my own room, as the cloth ceiling of his had fallen in. To visit Vihar was a day's adventure, with a change of horses at Bandra or Sion; mean and tortuous lanes provided the only means of escape to the north; and the quickest way from Malabar Hill to the docks was by way of Churchgate Street and Frere Road. Those were the days of plague; I can recall with horror the appalling congestion and filth of Second Nagpada and Oomerkhadi; the rabbit warrens of Lohar Street, where, except in the monsoon, the men slept in the streets to make room in their close-packed hovels for the women and children.

#### THEN AND NOW

A friend asked me if a Rip Van Winkle who had slept for thirty years could find any landmarks whereby to recognize the Bombay he knew. Yes; the High Court stands, the University Buildings, and the Secretariat; also Victoria Terminus, with the fretful decoration which we used to regard as the highest expression of Indo-Saracenic architecture. Few other of the old landmarks remain. Where the Gymkhana kept their boats, and whence I have often taken a whiff to scull to Mazagon, there is the tremendous pile of the Taj Mahal Hotel. That Apollo Bunder, where the White House stood so lonely and forlorn, is now a solid mass of flats, and the graceful little shed, with the curved roof which was reminiscent of a Mongol tent, has given place to the noble gateway, which is one of the many monuments to the genius of George Wittet. Generations of Anglo-Indians braved typhoid,



gulping oysters by the dozen in the low-verandahed restaurant of Green and Reed, and courted Sewri by copious draughts of Bass from the long bottles which have passed into the limbo with many another institution ; they would not know themselves in the towering palace which now bears the name of Green. The palms of Gamdevi have given place to the flat-bordered Hughes Road, where the gold mohurs and peltophorums are splendid in May, and I rejoice that one of the side roads radiating from it bears the appropriate name of Laburnum Avenue.

Who could believe that where the broad sweep of Sandhurst Road cuts right across the Island from west to east there was a generation ago a plexus of mean streets so complex that none dared to enter it in any more expensive vehicle than a ticca gharri, or where Princess Street now runs into Girgaum Road, and bifurcates to the Market, was the close-packed lane which bore the name of Lohar Street ? The mean and tortuous way which led from the end of the Vellard to the north, and the narrow old Purbhadevi Road, along which I used to motor in fear and trembling before the dawn to the hunt at Santa Cruz, have been swept aside for the broad highway which with Cadell Road and the new Lady Jamsetji Road are bringing Bandra as near the Fort as was Malabar Hill in the days of which I am speaking. Where Thomas Withey Cuffe used to manœuvre the Bombay Light Horse in the care-free days when I was a trooper, at muddy Antop Hill and Wadala, there is now a network of railway sidings.

When I think of the breezy offices of Wallace and Home Street, and the new business quarter which has grown up on the Ballard Estate, my thoughts go back to the plague-haunted rabbit warrens in which the merchant princes of my time used to pass their not unhappy days. The Bombay chawl can never be anything but a chawl, and that is not a lovely thing ; but contrast the chawls of to-day, whether at Agripada or Ferguson Road, with the dreadful back to back abominations, without light or air, looking out



into fetid sweepers' gulleys, which drove Lord Sandhurst into the passing of the Improvement Trust Act, and we win some idea of the changes which in this brief span of time have passed over Bombay.

#### BOMBAY IN TRANSITION

And whilst I am on the subject of topography, and the reconstruction of the city which is proceeding at such a furious pace, may I glimpse the morrow? In some respects Bombay is passing through the most uncomfortable stage of transition. When the Development Scheme was launched I ventured to remind Lord Lloyd that there were three stages in all great improvement works of this character—the enthusiasm of launching, the cold fit of construction when everyone was uncomfortable and toes were being trodden on, and the final stage of completion when everyone had forgotten the creators. We are now in the intermediary stage, and the mere mention of the Development Scheme is sufficient to raise sardonic laughter or furious protest. Let us try and look a little ahead. If you stand on the sluice-house above the Hanging Gardens which gives a convenient eyrie for an examination of the island, you can see the thin line of the wall and staging, with a gap in the centre, which outlines the future area of the Back Bay Reclamation. The ululations of those who said the engineers were going to ruin Back Bay are then seen to be of no account; the area taken is so small a part of the whole that a sweep of incomparable beauty will remain.

Let me take you to what used to be Colaba Point. Where once stood the low rocks—and many an hour have I spent there on the rifle range—is the greatest expanse of open land Bombay has seen for half a century. Much of this will be preserved for all time as an open space, for although it is in the hands of the military they cannot mask the fire of the forts. Moreover, we owe some duty to our soldiers, and when we contrast the spaciousness of their



new quarters, with some field for training and recreation, with the dreadful cells at Paltan Road, and the scarce better barracks in Marine Lines, whatever the cost we are doing something for the men to whose protection we owe so much. But if we are going to talk about the Development Scheme, let us cast our minds back for nine years.

### LAND VALUES

It is easy to be wise after the event, but consider for a moment what were the conditions when this scheme was launched. For as long as I can remember the Back Bay Reclamation hung over the growth of Bombay like a nightmare. Whenever any scheme of public utility was proposed, the answer was always the same—"Wait for the Reclamation." I believe it is correct to say that this work, which was in the doldrums of reaction after the Share Mania, was first revived by a committee which sat in 1898. Certainly throughout the governorships of Lord Lamington and Lord Sydenham it was constantly in men's thoughts.

Then came the War, and with it the greatest boom in land values the city has ever known. I believe it is correct to say that a small plot of land in Esplanade Road was sold for nearly Rs. 3,000 a yard, and I know from painful experience that the question of those in business was not where they could get office accommodation, but whether any was to be had at all. The city was so desperately crowded that the Municipal Commissioner, who ought to know, estimated that 60,000 tenements were imperatively required. I was chairman of two committees appointed to inquire into the settlement of industrial disputes, and every witness who spoke with authority declared that housing was at the root of all industrial ills. Plans were being matured for the electrification of the railways, but there was no single authority responsible for the developments of the lands to the north; indeed, some parts of Salsette (I am thinking particularly of the malodorous village of Khar) were really slums in the country. The Improvement Trust had dealt



resolutely with the lands to the north-east, but in an evil moment Walter Hughes, then the chairman, was debarred from scheduling Mahim and confusion worse confounded was being created there.

Certainly, the business men of Bombay were under no illusions on the subject. Two separate syndicates, comprising the best brains in the city, were anxious to reclaim Back Bay as private ventures; when they coalesced and sent in a joint application, the Government of the day, on the advice of the shrewdest judge of land I have known, came to the conclusion that the scheme was likely to be so profitable that Government should keep it in their own hands. If Lord Lloyd erred, it was in uncommonly good company.

#### OPEN SPACES

If you want to appreciate what the Reclamation will ultimately mean to Bombay, look at the map. You will then see that from Colaba Point to Bellasis Road, it is a city almost without open spaces. The Oval and the Maidan are just little blobs of green; there is no real recreation ground until you reach the racecourse and the new park which is being made beside it. For all that dense-packed mass of humanity, lying between Back Bay and the Harbour, there is no recreation ground at all, and no possible chance of clearing one, owing to the tremendous value of the land. And yet how our Bombay folk love the open air and the sea! That little strip of sand at Chaupatti is alive with people every evening, and to look down upon it on a festival is to gaze on a flower garden of turbans. One of the cardinal features of the Reclamation was to furnish in what is known as Block One, on the westward side of the railway between Marine Lines and Churchgate, a generous park where Girgaum, Bhuleshwar, and Mandvi could breathe the air, and whatever be the fate of the work, I sincerely trust that none will allow this project to be marred.

Another matter: Bombay has the finest sea face in the



world. It has made no use of it. South of Cuffe Parade there was nothing but the rocky foreshore; north, the Ride, the narrow footpath, feebly protected from the encroachments of the sea by the decaying crib-work constructed by the original Back Bay Company; and at Chaulpatti those who walked the sands had to dispute place with the pie dogs worrying the offal left by the fishermen. As for Worli, the less said the better, and even Mahim, with its noble stretch of sand, was captured by dyeworks which spilt their effluent over what should have been the golden strand. Bombay cries aloud, certainly for eight months in the year, for the open air; that is the one thing Bombay has been denied. If you want a cup of tea outside one or other of the Clubs, the chances are that you must take it in a stuffy shop in Churchgate Street or Rampart Row.

Although the re-housing plans have been arrested, and scores of the new chawls lie empty, I believe that this is only a passing phase. It is not only in England that the slum mentality exists and a considerable section of the community which would rather herd in a hovel than pay a little more for a decent room. But times are changing, the community will not indefinitely tolerate the slums which remain, and as they are razed—and may it not be long—shall find these new tenements none too many.

#### BOMBAY OF THE FUTURE

When I think of the Development Scheme, I feel inclined to pray that we may forget it for ten years, and abandon the practice of appointing committees so numerous that none can keep tally of them, and leave the engineers to do their work. The errors committed and the mistakes made—they are many—belong to the past; neither will be undone by witch-hunting. I want to try and realize the Bombay of to-morrow. And first, that park near Marine Lines where the unfortunate dwellers of Bhuleshwar and Mandvi may have a chance of the open air, and the facilities for games which will harden their bodies for the



struggle in life. Then that great Marine Drive and walk, which is to stretch from Chaupatti to Colaba Point—the reservation will run right round the military area—where all Bombay can take its walks abroad. I like to think of this great promenade, through which Bombay will for the first time in its history make use of its unsurpassed sea-front, bordered with cafés and clubs, where men can meet their friends in a better atmosphere than that of the sodden bar or heated card club. There is only one new house on the new area which the Improvement Trust has laid out where once Worli stank, but already folk are beginning to flock to the Marine Drive. I think of this reasonably occupied by new houses, so that we shall no longer pile flat on flat, until Malabar and Cumballa Hills are in danger of being as crowded as Chaupatti. Then at long last the dying stench from Love Grove shall expire, and the Willingdon Club no longer be in danger of gusts of sewage-laden air.

That amazing survival of the days when Bombay was huddled for protection within the walls of the Fort—I mean the extraordinary dwellings round about Gunbow Street and Parsi Bazaar Street—has been cut through by the fine road hewn by the municipality between Hornby Road and Ballard Pier, and the day may not be far distant when the Fort fulfills its true purpose, a place of business, not for impossible dwellings. And when the axe of the reformer falls on the remaining slums, and a new generation forgets the slum habit in the better tenements, robbed of some of their present prison-like air by the growth of trees and signs of life, we shall see a still healthier labour force, and one which by greater steadiness of work and less drinking will not be content with single rooms, but will throw two or three into one decent habitation. That day may not be as far distant as it now seems, if we have a little faith, and concentrate on the promise of the future instead of gloating over the errors of the past.



## MAKERS OF MODERN BOMBAY

When I think of Bombay, yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow, I like to recall not only the beautiful city itself, but the men who made it. How rich we have been in great men? Gerald Aungier and Elphinstone in the formative days; Bartle Frere in the constructive stage, which was entered upon during the American Civil War, when the city ran with silver; and Jamsetji Tata, Walter Hughes, and Pherozechah Mehta in our own times. Perhaps I shall not carry all of you with me if I say that one of the greatest of them was Walter Hughes. He was a dry man, secretive to a degree—I always called him Mr. Nagett—with peculiar methods of his own. If Walter Hughes had not lived and worked in Bombay, should we have had to-day the best-equipped port in Asia, if not in the world?

I can remember the day when he asked me to come to his office and discuss the plans for the Alexandra Dock. His room was papered with plans dating back for fifty years. I can recall that one proposed that the main entrance to the dock system should be at Chaupatti, running to wet docks on the east side by a canal. Another was for a canal from Worli to the basins. He pointed out that even in the sixties Malet said that the real site for the docks was in Mody Bay—a remarkable instance of prevision. Perhaps Hughes deliberately underestimated the cost, knowing well that too big a scheme would frighten the Trustees and Government of the day. Perhaps he planned big, leaving his successors to find the money for the complementary works, knowing that they were bound to come. Look at his handiwork! The twenty-thousand-ton liners of the P. and O. lie easily alongside the mole at Ballard Pier. North stretch unbroken his chain of docks, then the grain and cotton depots and the railway sorting yard—links in one great chain. Those of you who can recollect the ceaseless stream of bullock carts and motor lorries which painfully carted north the cotton which had been as painfully railed



south, can realize something of the change which Walter Hughes wrought.

He was for only a brief period Chairman of the Improvement Trust, but long enough to plan nobly streets and roads broad enough to allow the population to be diffused, instead of frittering away its resources in unrelated "improvement schemes," which could only have cleared one slum to make another. The name of Jamsetji Tata suggests to me above all things courage. I can recreate now his strong figure, and almost hear his voice, as he discoursed on the hydro project, the ironworks, and the Institute of Science, which I believe was nearest his heart, and wound up by saying, "Burjorj will give you details." Pherozechah Mehta let me leave until I come to the Bombay of the future.

You all recollect Lord Morley's story of the young journalist who came to ask for a job. When Morley inquired what was his particular qualification, the youth replied "Invective." If I were asked what was the dominant characteristic of Bombay to-day, I should say "Depression." Truly we have passed, and are still passing, through anxious days—the harder to bear because they follow the golden sun of the late war and post-war boom. Those were, indeed, glorious hours; fortunes were made in a year and lost twice over in the twelve months which followed. It was worth something, even the agonies of the surfeit, to have lived through them. Truly, we have all passed through lean times, and the pressure of life on the middle classes to-day is grievously heavy. But when I look back on the days of plague and famine, when grass grew in Abdurrahman Street, and Lord Northcote had to refuse an application to whitewash the walls of Elphinstone College for want of funds, I ask myself whether we have not rather lost heart. Our present depressions arise from general and special causes.



## THE MILL INDUSTRY

In Bombay everyone is interested in the mill industry ; it is part and parcel of our lives. That industry is passing through very hard times. It shares in the stagnation of the textile trade in every part of the world ; it suffers in an acute degree from competition from the Far East and in India itself. We older folk can recall the days when Bombay ground out vast quantities of low-grade yarn and shipped it to China and Japan. That trade has gone ; there are few merely spinning mills left. But it is not easy to switch mills constructed for yarn-spinning over to the production of cloth, and though it is being done, it is not easily done in competition with mills in the up-country centres which were laid out for cloth production from the first.

We have to meet high rates and other charges, and electricity has not brought the cheap power anticipated. We have to deal with a very fluid labour force of limited efficiency. And I think we have something to complain of in the stepmotherly attitude of Government. The scandal of the cotton excise duties lingered until it was partly bought off, and finally disappeared because a bitter strike promised the Government neither excise revenue nor income tax. We criticize—I think reasonably—the attitude of the Government towards the competition of a country which evades the obligations of the Washington Convention to which it set its seal and thereby obtains a preference in our market, estimated at 4 per cent. on the lowest computation, and at 10 to 12 per cent. if a reasonable allowance is made for profit. No easy task or lies will bring us to our goal, but a good deal of iron sacrifice.

Unless wages are to be reduced—and no-one wants to see wages brought down—labour must, especially now it is so much better housed, give a fuller return for the wages it draws. The industry must be treated as a national



enterprise, demanding the constant support of the Government, the local authorities, and the public. Shareholders must take to heart the advice which Mr. Baldwin gave to Lancashire. Capital which is lost cannot be regained by regarding the figures printed on share certificates as sacrosanct, though shareholders betray an invincible reluctance to recognize it, and some of the practices associated with the system of managing agents must go. Given these premisses, I am no pessimist in regard to the Bombay industry; nothing was more heartening on my recent visit than to remark the energy and courage with which some of our millowners were adapting themselves and their industry to the changed conditions.

No; when I look abroad my thoughts of Bombay are not greatly concerned with its material future; that is assured. We seem to have lost something of the spacious political days of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale and Ranade; there is a note of acrimony in our politics somewhat foreign to the days when Bombay was the political lighthouse of India, towards which all turned in time of difficulty. How far this is induced by experiments in currency I will not this afternoon attempt to determine. But let me make one matter clear. Behind this political veil the heart of Bombay beats as warmly and generously, and it is as rich in friendship between all communities as ever, as none has more reason to know than myself.

#### BOMBAY MATERIALISM

What does rather depress me is a note of materialism in our daily life. We miss the intellectual stimulus of men like Campbell, Enthoven, and Edwardes; of Ranade, Bhandarkar, Jackson, and Chandavarkar, and the robust Victorianism of Pherozeshah Mehta. We are in a little danger, I sometimes think, of the stage visioned by the cynic who said that no seaport can have a soul. Although times are hard, it is difficult to find signs of real economy, and the scale of expenditure on the racecourse and in the clubs is



not a good thing. Although one can motor from Malabar Hill to the Fort in fifteen minutes, and Juhu sands on a Sunday are reminiscent of Hampstead Heath, when I see the change the motor has made in the scale of expenditure, I wonder whether the car is a blessing or a curse.

Gone are the days when I was young, and we were not only content with a salary of Rs. 300 a month, but had an uncommonly good time on it. True, the cost of living has vastly increased, but then people want so much more. They insistently demand a car where we were content with a bicycle or a ticca gharry and thought it a bit of an extravagance to launch out in a country-bred tat, or a three-hundred-rupee Arab. Looking on these things, it seems to me that the greatest service the leaders of opinion can render to Bombay is to set the ginger-beer standard from the highest to the lowest, and to illuminate the materialism of the hour by a revival of the culture which was vivid in my early days. As I say this, I can almost hear our young folk saying, in the words of the Slav in Kipling's story—"Get away, you old people." The times have changed; new men are wanted to deal with them; but I often think regretfully of the simple, happy days we had.

#### BOMBAY OF THE FUTURE

Mr. Chairman, I have no fears of the future of Bombay. It is a magnificent city. Even after more than thirty years I can never drive unmoved from the Apollo Bunder to Malabar Hill on a moonlight night, when the very houses seem asleep and all that mighty heart is lying still. It is going to be more magnificent still, as all may see who will wander in its bazaars and try and visualize the tremendous change which will be wrought when the Back Bay Reclamation is completed, and the remaining slums are razed to the ground. It is more alive than ever, and I wish I could take my audience to the wonderful curative centre which, on the grounds of Old Government House at Parel, has raised one of the noblest groups of hospitals in the world



round the nucleus of the memorial to King Edward. Nothing can impair the security of its geographical position. Nothing seems to weaken the currents which course through its generous heart, and we have a new generation of business men growing up to carry on the tradition of Jamsetji Tata, Dinsha Petit, and Nusserwanji Wadia.

I thought when, stricken almost unto death, I looked over the stern of the outgoing mail steamer five years ago, that I was taking my last sight of Bombay. I have seen its splendid panorama unfold every year since, and it will tear my heart from its roots when I see it for the last time. For we who come from Bombay are citizens of no mean city, richest of all in its kindness, its generosity, and its friendship.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 18, 1928, at which a paper was read by Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., LL.D., on "Bombay To-day and To-morrow." Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G. (Governor-designate of Bombay), was in the chair; and the following amongst others were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and Lady Lamington, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Thomas and Lady Strangman, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Thomas Smith, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Amberson and Lady Marten, Sir Rustom Jehangir Vakil, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., and Mr. Kenneth Keymer, Sir Evan Cotton, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs. Cadell, Lady Tata, Lady Reed, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., the Hon. Mr. Justice C. P. Blackwell and Mrs. Blackwell, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Shantidas Askuran Shah, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. Syed A. Rafique, Mr. J. Sladen, Colonel D. Warliker, Mrs. Dewar, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. S. K. Engineer, Mr. N. K. Agarwala, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. S. D. Pears, Colonel and Mrs. G. V. Holmes, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. H. L. Varma, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Herron, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr. Manorama Sheth, Mr. L. Lulbhai, Mr. M. D. Shah, Mr. N. J. Yusuf, Mr. A. J. Yusuf, Mr. H. Royal, Mr. J. Royal, Mr. S. A. Strip, Mr. Stubbs, Rev. Dr. H. W. Stanton, Mrs. Hartley Perks, Mrs. J. R. Reid, Mrs. and Miss Barnes, Miss Loxtor, Mr. S. S. Muhamedi, Mr. R. A. Bartholomew, Mr. Holford Knight, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Miss Lorimer, Mr. H. J. Bhabha, Commissioner F. Booth Tucker, Miss Ashworth, Major and Mrs. W. J. Kendall, Mrs. Brisley, Mrs. Drake, Miss Colborne, Miss Lucas, Mrs. Atkins, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

LORD LAMINGTON: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I propose to present to you, and not introduce to you, Sir Frederick Sykes, because I am sure he needs no introduction. He is well known to you as one-time head of civil aviation, and he has kindly consented to occupy the chair this afternoon in the absence of H.H. the Aga Khan. I am sure I envy him



very much, not because he is going to occupy the Chair, but because of the fact that he is going to Bombay. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will not stand between you and the lecturer, so I will at once ask him to speak upon this great subject of "Bombay To-day and To-morrow."

The lecturer read his paper.

The following letter from H.H. the Aga Khan was read by the Hon. Secretary:

"I had every hope, notwithstanding my recent serious illness, that I should be able to fulfil the engagement previously made to preside at the lecture by Sir Stanley Reed on 'Bombay To-day and To-morrow.' I left London when convalescent with the full intention of returning to take the Chair, but my doctors have interdicted the journey, and I must bow to their decision. It would have been a great pleasure to have presided at this lecture by one of the most distinguished of the citizens of Bombay on the past, present, and future of a city where my family and I have had our home during the last seventy-five years. Sir Stanley Reed will have given a brilliant description of the Bombay of to-day and a prospect of the great future that lies before it. I have no doubt that as a beautiful city built on the sea it will hold its own for all time with Naples, Rio de Janeiro, Sydney, and Melbourne, the only other cities I know which can claim comparison with what Kipling has so rightly described as 'The Queen of All.'

"I have had the advantage of perusing a proof of the paper, and I regret that I am not able to agree entirely with the optimistic expressions of my friend Sir Stanley Reed regarding the economic future of Bombay. I see little or no hope for the mill industry unless the Imperial Government, with the support of public opinion throughout India, recognizes the necessity to adopt definitely protective measures for a few years, so that the industry may be readjusted to the changing conditions of the time. (Cheers.) No doubt the further opening up of the agricultural resources of the great hinterland served by the port will go far to maintain the business of the city. The immense docks and maritime works to which Sir Stanley has referred will ensure its continued and increasing importance as a great port. But when all is said, the cotton mills cannot be replaced as the staple industry of the 'Town and Island.'

"Many valuable subsidiary measures can be taken. Much can be done, especially during the winter months, to develop luxury trades, and to draw to Bombay fairly well-to-do people from the interior. We have in India only the cities of Bombay and Calcutta to play, on a more limited scale, the rôle that London, Paris, and Rome play in Europe. The provision of furnished flats, of a satisfactory taxicab system, good theatres and cinemas, new clubs of the Willingdon Club type, racing, polo, and sports generally, also fêtes such as those which were so successfully organized by Lord Willingdon and Lord Lloyd, and only last year by our deservedly popular Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson, will go a long way to encourage development. The tourists who visit India in increasing numbers in the cold weather will do much to develop the luxury trades beyond anything that has so far been realized; but in this matter also we



depend on our agricultural hinterland and the surrounding country for a steady and constant demand from visitors. While the foreign tourist trade must inevitably increase in importance, it can never play so large a part in a city with the climatic drawbacks of Bombay during the greater part of the year as in such centres as Cairo or Rome.

"Cheap electricity may go a long way to meet some of the economic difficulties of Bombay, but the present prices cannot be regarded as cheap in comparison with the cost of the supply of electric current in more fully developed countries.

"In recent years there has been a marked tendency for development northwards of Bombay, and this is likely to be a prominent feature of the progress of the 'Town and Island' in future. It may well in the end have a greater influence on the prosperity and progress of our city than the Back Bay Development Scheme, even on the assumption that the full programme of the latter is carried out.

"At every point, however, the consideration I mentioned at the outset of this letter crops up. If the capital, energy, and enterprise sunk in the mill industry is crippled, I see no great future for the developments, whether seawards or landwards, which are taking place, nor do I see anything to replace the mills as the backbone of Bombay prosperity. I can advocate their cause with detachment, for I have never put a penny into the mill industry and I own no mill shares. I sold the four or five small holdings of these shares I inherited when I came of age. The question is not to be regarded only as one of local importance. It is not for Bombay alone, but for the whole of India, to see to it that what has been for two generations at least the prime industry of the second city of the British Empire should not be maimed by a blow from which it can and should be protected." (Cheers.)

Sir AMBERSON MARTEN, in opening the discussion, said in the first place, on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, he would like to extend a very hearty welcome to their Chairman, the Governor-designate of Bombay, and to express the keen pleasure that it gave them all that he had been able to come there to preside at that meeting. Those who were at the Bombay dinner a few days before would remember that they were tantalized by Mr. Haig Brown's statement that he had hoped the Governor-designate would have been at the dinner; but the appointment had not been announced, and he did not even know the name of the Governor-designate. But that afternoon they were very fortunate in getting their Governor-designate in person.

With regard to the address which they had listened to, he would like to say that they were most fortunate in having Sir Stanley Reed to speak on the subject. Nobody knew more of present-day Bombay, nobody was a greater lover of Bombay, than Sir Stanley Reed, and, therefore, he was sure that all Bombay men were extremely pleased to know that it was Sir Stanley Reed who was to speak to them that afternoon.

He would like to touch on one or two points in the address. He was satisfied that in Bombay they had to think large, and must not be frightened by big schemes; they must not be frightened by what Sir



Stanley described, and very truly described, as the depression through which they were now passing. They must think of Bombay from two aspects: one, the place, and, secondly, the people of Bombay. As far as Bombay itself was concerned, he appreciated to the full the vision which Sir Stanley had brought to them of a future Bombay where they could have a glorious sea-front for miles with cafés and other enjoyments. Speaking of the depression, it was natural that those of them now living in Bombay were bothered by temporary drawbacks such as the noisy dredger which works in Back Bay at night. Fortunately he was on the other side of the hill, so that he could only hear it with great difficulty. So, too, in the High Court they had at times much hammering on the pipes from the dredger. He did not quite know how many men were hammering at the same time, but he had had many complaints of the trouble which the noise caused in some of the Courts, although the hammering was some 700 or 800 yards away. They also knew the depressing effect the Back Bay scheme had on the finances of Bombay and the unfortunate answer it provided to a large number of legitimate demands for Government financial aid in other matters. But he would like to think that they were only suffering for a great future. And it might be said that in order for Bombay to be beautiful, or rather more beautiful, it was necessary for those who were living at present in Bombay to suffer.

There was a matter with which Sir Stanley had not dealt and which he personally was particularly fond of—that was the harbour. He had a vision in days to come of the development of their glorious harbour for more yachting, and with steamers for the people across the harbour, up the harbour, and down the harbour to the numerous beauty spots or future towns. He was sure that yachtsmen would bear him out that they had in the cold weather as fine a place for yachting as they would find in any part of the world, and they could rely upon having good weather—and the sun.

Passing from the place to the people, he thought perhaps the principal characteristic of Bombay was its cosmopolitan nature. They had representatives of almost every race in India working together, they had all creeds, and almost all nationalities. It was a great pleasure to see the way that they all shook down together in Bombay, both in their work and in their play. His own view was that, so long as they could keep that spirit in Bombay, all would be well; and they need not be frightened of big schemes even when some of them did not go altogether right. Sir Stanley would bear him out in the fact that the Willingdon Club, which Sir Stanley had helped to found, had undoubtedly been a great asset in Bombay, as both Europeans and Indians could come together there for sport and also socially. Similarly there were other institutions in Bombay which Sir Stanley had materially assisted. Speaking for himself, he desired to lay the greatest possible stress on the fact that they must all go hand-in-hand for the future of Bombay. For instance, on the Willingdon Club Committee, composed as it was of European and Indian gentlemen, they had not had a single disagreement on any point during the eight or nine years which Sir Stanley and he had been associated with it. So, too, as



regards the High Courts of India. They were a good example of how Indians and Englishmen and Englishmen and Indians could work together. Their Division Benches, with two Judges sitting together, he believed could show a larger proportion of agreed judgments than would be the case with similar Benches in England. It was very rarely that such Benches in Bombay differed.

In conclusion, he desired to thank Sir Stanley Reed for his speech, and he hoped that those present would agree with the optimism Sir Stanley had expressed as regards the financial side of Bombay rather than with what His Highness the Aga Khan, a great lover of Bombay, had expressed in his letter. Perhaps His Highness's comparative pessimism could be traced to the illness which he had unfortunately had, which they were all very glad to hear he was recovering from, and he hoped he would return to Bombay fully recovered. (Applause.)

Sir THOMAS STRANGMAN said that Sir Stanley Reed as editor of the *Times of India* and afterwards as a very live director of the Bombay Tramway Company, had had unexampled opportunities of becoming acquainted with Bombay, its peoples, and its problems. From the extremely able and lucid address that he had given, it was obvious that he had taken the very fullest advantage of those opportunities.

It was a singularly happy idea on the part of the Committee on the occasion of that address to secure as Chairman Sir Frederick Sykes, who was about to assume the position of Governor of Bombay. All who had been associated with Bombay—and looking round the room he saw a great many like himself who had spent a very large part of their lives there—wished their Chairman God-speed in his new venture; their wishes were the more sincere in that they realized that so far as the Presidency town was concerned, the conditions were far from propitious. He entirely agreed with both the last speakers that the importance of Back Bay was liable to be exaggerated. But there was something very much more important than the legacy of Back Bay, and that was the continued depression in the cotton trade. The prosperity of Bombay entirely depended upon the prosperity of the cotton trade; a depression in the cotton trade meant a depression throughout. The Prime Minister in Manchester the other day had delivered an exceedingly thoughtful and helpful speech: practically everything he had said in regard to Lancashire applied to the mill industry in Bombay. He was very sorry to say that when he went out to India last cold weather he did not find that spirit of confidence which had been referred to by Sir Stanley Reed; on the other hand, a well-known mill agent had summed up the position to him in this way: he had said it was a case of faith, hope and charity; for the last six years they had been living on faith; this year they were living on hope, and who knew but what next year they might not be living on charity. (Laughter.) However, it was a long lane that had no turning, and the best wish he could think of was that the turning might be attained at a very early stage in their Chairman's Governorship of Bombay. (Hear, hear.)

The Chairman, no doubt, had heard during the last few weeks of the



proud claim of Bombay to the *Urbs prima in Indis*. Those who had been associated with Bombay had no doubt whatever as to the justice of that claim; there were two respects, however, in which Bombay was not only *prima in Indis* but *prima* throughout the Empire, neither of which had been referred to that afternoon. One was the landing arrangements at the Ballard Pier, and the other was the racecourse. With regard to the landing arrangements in Bombay, as the ocean passenger neared the city he was allotted a distinctive number; he was also presented with a Customs declaration form, which told him exactly what was dutiable and exactly what concessions the Customs were prepared to allow; there was no uncertainty whatever about these things. To take a specific instance, with regard to tobacco, the passenger was told that he might take in one pound free, or 100 cigarettes free, or 100 cigars free. That was a very great advance over this country, where the amount that could be taken in free appeared to vary from port to port and from day to day. If the passenger were travelling by the mail steamer his ship would in the ordinary course tie up at 6 a.m. No matter how crowded the ship might be, by 8.30 a.m. or thereabouts all the baggage, both cabin and hold, would be transferred into a spacious Customs shed on the Mole, and not merely transferred into the shed but sorted accordingly to the allotted numbers. The passenger had merely to step ashore, collect his Customs declaration form, pay what duty might be payable, pay some small dues to the Port Trust, and take delivery of his baggage. By 9.30 a.m., with reasonable luck, he could be in his residence or hotel. He ventured to think that every ocean-port authority in this country would obtain the very greatest advantage by sending an official to Bombay in order to learn how passengers and baggage should be handled. (Applause.)

Then in regard to the racecourse, that at Bombay had been constructed in a most unpropitious place, certain dirty mud flats as he remembered them thirty years ago. The flats had been filled in, and when you go there now you could never believe they had existed. The course itself and the stands had both been designed by experts, and he had been told that the grandstand was larger than any in this country. In front of the stands were vast lawns, and behind them again were vast lawns and pleasantly laid out pleasure grounds. Spaciousness, convenience, and beauty were the prevailing features. Every visitor could enjoy the races in the greatest comfort and at a most moderate cost. When one compared the conditions there with the discomfort and expense attendant upon a visit to an English racecourse one marvelled, first of all, at the long-suffering nature of the people of this country, and secondly, why it was that the racing authorities in England had not taken a cue from the other side of the Indian Ocean. All the advantages to which he had referred were due to the totalisator.

He did not know how their Chairman had voted, or indeed whether he had voted in the House of Commons on the Bill which was now in committee, nor did he know what the Chairman's views now were regarding the totalisator; of this he was confident, that when the Chairman returned from Bombay he would be an enthusiastic supporter of the totalisator: firstly, because it encouraged racing, and gave the people who attended



the races a good time; and secondly—and this was perhaps a point that would interest their Chairman most—because it was an exceedingly valuable aid to the Exchequer.

MR. SHANTIDAS ASKURAN SHAH said they were fortunate in having as their lecturer to-day a gentleman of high accomplishments who had played a most influential part in the development of the life of Bombay in the last quarter of a century. He wished to speak only on one matter dealt with in the paper, and he did so as a business man having close links with the cotton textile industry. He entirely agreed with Sir Stanley that the attitude of the Government of India towards that industry has been step-motherly. Take, for instance, the excise duty. Though condemned from its imposition in the early nineties by all shades of Indian opinion, it was maintained for more than thirty years, and much longer than seemed to him to have been consistent with the pledge of Lord Hardinge's Government during the War that it should be abolished immediately financial conditions permitted.

Again, they in Bombay were keenly disappointed that the Government took such inadequate action on the report of the Textile Tariff Board in face of the grave injury the industry was suffering and still suffered from Japanese competition. The reluctance of Government to grasp this particular nettle has led people in Bombay to ask whether there is some undisclosed understanding between Whitehall and Tokyo which stands in the way of State action to conserve one of the greatest of manufacturing industries in Indian hands and maintained by Indian capital. The most-favoured nation treaty provisions could not be pleaded, for fiscal arrangements made within the Empire were outside their scope. In response to strong protests the Government amplified their first meagre proposals to the extent of imposing a graduated import duty on yarn. What they now needed was strong protective measures by the Government.

Without State assistance in one form or another, how could Japanese millowners buy their raw material in India, pay freight and insurance charges to and from Japan, and yet undersell local cloth in the Bombay market? They know that one form of support has been the dilatory tactics of Japan on the question of ratifying the Washington Conventions of 1919 on the hours of labour and the employment of women at night. She, like India, was a signatory, but had allowed years to go by, pending the fuller development of the industry, before ratification, whereas effect was given to the Conventions by the Bombay millowners even before the prompt amendment of the Factory Act by the Legislature in India. To add to their troubles a strike in the Bombay mills (without justification arising from any conditions of employment) had gone on for more than two months. He hoped that this would be no more than an unhappy memory when their distinguished Chairman went out to Bombay in November to succeed their popular Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson. But the greatest of Bombay problems, the revival of the prosperity of its premier industry, must be faced without delay, otherwise there would be grave risk of the collapse of a very considerable proportion of the mills of the town and island of Bombay.



Mr. CADELL said his only excuse for adding anything to the praise which had been justly accorded to Sir Stanley Reed's speech was that he had been fortunate enough to be both chairman of the Port Trust and Municipal Commissioner of Bombay. Sir Stanley Reed had done full justice to the work of the Port Trust, at least as personified by that great man Sir Walter Hughes ; but perhaps a little more mention might have been made of the work of the Municipality, and would doubtless have been made if Sir Stanley had had unlimited time. Bombay would not have reached its stage of development if it had not had a comparatively effective municipal administration. The success of that administration was largely due to the delicately poised framework devised by that great citizen whom Sir Stanley Reed had mentioned, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, and also to a very distinguished civilian, Sir Charles Ollivant. The future prosperity of Bombay must depend very largely on the continued efficiency of the large public bodies, and particularly of the Port Trust and of the Municipality.

The cheerful optimism that permeated Sir Stanley Reed's paper was largely based on a correct estimate, as the speaker believed, of the ultimate benefit of the development schemes. Many of the difficulties of the schemes arise from the fact that they were, if not mutually antagonistic, at least difficult of simultaneous execution. Bombay had often been compared with New York. It was like New York as regards its physical configuration, but it was unlike New York and every other great city in that much of its population of all classes and most of its clubs and important educational institutions were situated either in or very close to the business centre of the city. People living there were very unwilling to move themselves or their schools or clubs, or even to go outside for purposes of recreation. There must be a certain change of heart and habit if the advantages of the Bombay developments were to be fully realized.

As regards the gloomy views expressed in respect of the Bombay mill industry, perhaps a shred of comfort could be derived from the fact that that industry had always been in difficulties even when prosperous. One of the speaker's earliest recollections of Bombay was the application to that industry by a distinguished Bombay citizen of the line of Shakespeare, "This is a bloody business." (Laughter.) Yet the industry had survived, and many fortunes had been made from it. Here again lack of efficiency, whether of management or of labour, was a far greater danger than foreign competition.

The best ground, however, for sharing Sir Stanley's optimism was the manner in which Bombay's citizens have held together from the days of Sir Gerald Aungier to those of Sir Leslie Wilson, and, it may be hoped, of Sir Frederick Sykes.

SIR STANLEY REED : Everyone has been so kind that I have only a few sentences to say. One of them is that you will gather from Sir Thomas Strangman's eulogy of the magnificence of the racecourse that I was not entirely inaccurate when I said I did not see much sign of serious, unbending economy in Bombay. Mr. Cadell was perfectly correct in saying that I should have paid tribute to the work of the Municipality.



That has never been carried on with greater vigour and success than in recent times, nor with greater benefit to all classes in the city. But when I sent the first part of my paper to the Honorary Secretary he reminded me that there was a time limit, otherwise I should have sought to do justice to the great work of the Municipal Corporation. Some have expressed the thought that I take too optimistic a view of the future of the city. I base that optimism not only on its geographical position and established industries, but on the unconquerable energy of its people. I believe we have the most virile and progressive community in India. We still have lean times ahead of us in the mill industry, and the tide of depression will not turn to-day or to-morrow. Nor will relief come from protection alone, because the mofussil industry is a severe competitor with Bombay. The flow will set in when the industry is reorganized, a work to which the millowners have set their hands; but I hold strongly that the industry is entitled as a minimum to protection equivalent to the advantage obtained by the competitor which has not implemented the Washington Convention. Apropos of Sir Thomas Strangman's praise of the racecourse, may I say one thing? It is that the highest service anybody can render to Bombay, in whatsoever position he may be, is to set the ginger-beer instead of the champagne standard in our administration and public and social life. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I feel sure that I represent you all when I express our sincere regret that His Highness the Aga Khan is not able to preside here to-day, and our even greater regret at the cause of his absence. I know you will desire our Honorary Secretary to send him a message, on behalf of those present, expressing our sympathy and every best wish for his speedy and full recovery to health. Personally, much as I should have liked to attend this meeting under his chairmanship, I must confess that, as that was not possible, I am very grateful for the opportunity of presiding here to-day, and of meeting some of those whose interests I am to be allowed to share.

I should like to thank Sir Amberson Marten and Sir Thomas Strangman and others who spoke so kindly about me for the words they have used and for the way you have received them. Your President, Lord Lamington, this year celebrates, if that is the right term, his twenty-first year as a retired Governor of Bombay, and, as one who is to be privileged to follow him, I regard it as a very happy omen that, as a humble subaltern, I had my first view of that great gateway of India in the year that he became Governor of the Bombay Presidency. As we know, his interest in India and Bombay has not abated by one jot or tittle, and I can only hope that if I am here in twenty-six years' time that I shall be as full of enthusiasm for Bombay then as I anticipate I shall be in the near future. Your President's Governorship brings me to refer also to our addressor (not our lecturer), for Sir Stanley Reed, then a rising, if youthful, journalist, was amongst those who met Lord Lamington when he arrived at Bombay all those years ago. I do not think my youthful entry into Bombay is noted in the annals of that city, but I, at all events, have the consolation of knowing that it led me to some of the most strenuous and interesting years



of my life—years when I began to realize the vastness and fascination of India, and when I was encouraged and helped by the many friendships I received, amongst them being that of your Chairman of Council, Sir Louis Dane. It was there too, perhaps, that my thoughts towards speedier communications between home and India were moulded; towards securing not only a facilitated interchange of commodities, but a facilitated, and therefore a greater, interchange of visits between these two great units of our Empire, and towards a facilitated interchange of thought, sympathy, and understanding. In 1910 I returned to England, and took a part in developing the—shall I say?—stick and string or stick and wire air contraption in which men were then beginning to take the air, and which now promise to be the forerunners of the instruments of that speedy communication. I have, therefore, every reason to look forward to seeing Bombay and India again and trying to help in their future problems.

Sir Stanley Reed has told us of the wonders of Bombay to-day, of the immense changes in the past few years, and the furious pace at which change is taking place. He has also, being a very experienced and, as we know, a bold man, told us from his intimate knowledge his views of the Bombay of to-morrow. He has certainly fascinated us with his visions of the future, based upon the unique geographical position which he has so clearly described, and perhaps, as he has said, even more upon the great men who have had the vision and spent their energies in building up that magnificent city. I think we must inevitably agree with him when he says that if these basic advantages, the geographical and the human, both continue as they have in the past there can certainly be no fears for the future of Bombay.

Finally, I would add that there is one feature of life in India as I knew it twenty-five years ago, and as I look forward to experiencing it again in the next few years, which cannot well be developed because it is already inherent, it is the rich endowment of India with kindness, generosity, and friendship. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Lord LAMINGTON proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman, which was carried with acclamation.



## EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

## Papers and Discussions

1925

"Unemployment—A Lead from India: The Calcutta Educational Colonies Movement and its Principle," by Professor J. W. Scott, D.Phil., M.A. Chairman: J. St. Loe Strachey, Esq.

"India's Gifts to England," by Stanley P. Rice, I.C.S. (ret'd.). Chairman: The Right Hon. Lord Amptill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

"Frontier Problems and Defence," by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine B. Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Chairman: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

"Indian Students in Great Britain," by F. H. Brown, C.I.E. Chairman: The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

"The Problem of Rural Life in India," by Professor Nagendra Nath Gangulee. Chairman: The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E.

"Recent Progress in India," by Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. Chairman: Sir Charles Armstrong.

"Village Panchayats in India," by C. A. Silberrad, I.C.S. (ret'd.). Chairman: Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

"The Warp and the Woof of the Fabric of Indian Life," by R. K. Sorabji, M.A. Chairman: Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

1926

"The Indian Legislature," by Edwin Haward (Editor of the *Pioneer*). Chairman: Sir Joseph Nunan, K.C.

"The Position of Indian States," by K. M. Panikkar. Chairman: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

"Some Views of an Indian Ruler on the Administration of an Indian State," by Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Luard, C.I.E. Chairman: Sir Robert H. Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O.

"The Criminal Tribes of India," by Commissioner F. Booth-Tucker (the Salvation Army). Chairman: Colonel Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

"The Lay Work of Missionary Societies in India," by the Rev. C. E. Wilson, B.A. Chairman: Sir Frank Dyson, F.R.S., Astronomer-Royal.

"Some Points of Difference in the Criminal Law of England and India," by F. G. Butler, I.C.S. Chairman: Sir Francis Oldfield.

"Opium in China and India," by Sir Richard M. Dane, K.C.I.E. Chairman: The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I.

"Post and Telegraph Work in India," by Sir Geoffrey R. Clarke, C.S.I., O.B.E. Chairman: Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E.

1927

"Indian Forest Administration," by W. F. Perrée, C.I.E. Chairman: Sir Robert Warrand Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

"India's Cotton Problem," by H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S. (Indian Trade Commissioner). Chairman: Sir Frank Nelson, M.P.

"The Romance of the Indian Army and its Future," by Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. Chairman: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

"Western Influence on Bengal Life," by Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E. (Member of the Council of India). Chairman: Sir William H. Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

"The Exploration of the Himalaya," by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. Chairman: Colonel Charles H. D. Ryder, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O.

"The Indian Navy," by P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret'd.). Chairman: Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, K.C.B.

"Dyarchy in Indian Provinces in Theory and Practice," by Sachchidananda Sinha (late Finance Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa). Chairman: Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Resumed Discussion on foregoing Paper. Chairman: Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

"Political Views of Orthodox Hindus," by Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A. Chairman: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.



# THE OBJECTS AND POLICY

## OF THE

# EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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THE object of the East India Association is to promote, by all legitimate means, the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. To attain this object the Council earnestly invite the co-operation of all those who, by their position, influence, knowledge of India or administrative experience, are able to render effective assistance, and without whose active and liberal support the work of the Association cannot be adequately accomplished.

The Association specially appeals to the Ruling Princes of India, and to all classes of influential and educated Indians. It values the co-operation of the commercial and non-official community in India—British and Indian—and of retired and present members of the Government Services, civil and military, who have consistently laboured to advance the best interests of the people, and have helped to consolidate, maintain, and defend the Indian Empire.

The East India Association is essentially non-official in character, avoiding any connection with English party politics, and welcoming as members all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of India, whatever their political opinions. Its policy on Indian questions is progressive, while maintaining a due regard for the conservative traditions of the Indian Empire. It desires to encourage all wise and well-considered projects of reform, but at the same time to protect the people of India from rash and hasty experiments opposed to the customs of the country. It endeavours to regard all questions of political, administrative and social progress from the point of view of the interests of the inhabitants of India, whose wishes, sentiments and prejudices should be respected, and whose legitimate aspirations should be sympathetically upheld.

The objects and policy of the Association are promoted—(1) by providing opportunities for the free public discussion, in a loyal and temperate spirit, of important questions affecting India; (2) by constituting a centre for the friendly meeting of Indians with Englishmen interested in India; (3) by lectures and the publication of papers or leaflets correcting erroneous or misleading statements about India and its administration; and (4), generally, by the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the many weighty problems which confront the Administrations in India, so that the public may be able to obtain in a cheap and popular form a correct knowledge of Indian affairs.



## FAR EAST

## RECENT BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST

(Reviewed by Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce)

BEFORE inviting the consideration of readers to these books upon China and the Far East it may be advisable to emphasize their contents. The purpose of the author of the first of the three books reviewed has been primarily to explain the clash of Western with Eastern civilization, also to outline the main difficulties which have hitherto prevented any fusion of the two. The authors of the second and third books reviewed have set themselves to give, and have given, life-like presentations of the state of China today, but from two entirely different points of view.

Before endeavouring to follow these explanations and presentations there is one question it is essential we should ask ourselves, and it is this: Are we clear in our own minds not what we mean by "Civilization," "Imperialism," or "Nationalism," but what interpretation is given to these three terms by Chinese minds? It may be correct to urge that no definite implication can be expected from the millions of Chinese minds, for the most part wholly illiterate, who are being taught to think in these terms. But until the difference between their interpretation and ours is clearly grasped we are not in a position to pronounce judgment between the two.

To discuss at length the conventional meanings of these three terms is here out of the question. Taking for example only the first, "civilization" can be thought of in as many forms as there are standards of "advanced" and "backward" peoples and races. We in the West might define it as the coming of democracy, of universal suffrage, of parliamentary government, of industrialism, railways, motor-cars, aeroplanes, telephones, and electric power. To the vast majority of Chinese such things in no way imply civilization. They are still only very dim realities. To their minds they have enjoyed for 3,000 years and more a civilization second to none, nor do the masses desire any other. To those who may have heard of "Imperialism" it merely represents the economic exploitation and penetration of their country by outsiders whom they call foreigners—with a suffix. These latter have forced trade upon them against their will, exacted treaties from them derogatory to their self-respect, and have placed them in the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the sole benefit of the self-same foreigner—with a suffix.

"Nationalism" as interpreted by the Kuomintang is the reaction of China—indeed of all Asia—to what they call Western "domination." Real "Nationalism" has yet to be evolved, and will be granted favourable conditions.

That these interpretations of the Chinese mind are merely broad generalities is all that the reviewer claims. But without some such



standard no reader unacquainted with China and its millions can begin to grasp their mentality. It may be that the "vociferous minority" in power will continue to lead and misrepresent the at present inarticulate millions in their resistance to Western "Civilization." So much the worse for China; for in its highest form Western civilization, diluted to suit Chinese requirements, can give China what she so badly needs and is groping after so blindly. Strange as it may appear, for many are themselves Western educated, it is this minority and the "Militarists" who are preventing any re-orientation of the situation between Great Britain and the "Chinese People."

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CHINA AND FOREIGN POWERS: AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THEIR RELATIONS. By Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.S. Second and revised edition. (*Oxford University Press.*) 3s. 6d. net.

To what are known as "old China Hands," reared, mentally, upon the leisurely pages of Wells Williams, Alexander Michie, or H. B. Morse, Sir Frederick Whyte's "Historical Review" may savour somewhat of knowledge in tabloid form. It might, by them, be considered almost as a desecration of ancestral tombs. Yet it speaks a language the most ignorant student of things Chinese can understand, provided, that is to say, he is prepared to do some serious thinking in the perusal of its ninety-odd pages.

The actual review consists of only forty pages, and into this brief résumé are packed over one hundred years of China's relations with Foreign Powers. It is no exaggeration to say that this record is one of the most extraordinary in the history of any nation or people, so far as concerns the kaleidoscopic changes which have occurred in these foreign relations. Consider for one moment the state of China, her practical isolation from the rest of the world, and the hatred of foreign interference in the reign of the Emperor Chien Lung. In the light of future relations it would be unwise to forget that the old spirit is still there. As it appears in the Mandate of the Emperor Chien Lung (Appendix I.), so this spirit remained up to the Nanking incident of March, 1927, and must still be reckoned with. In this intense craving to be left alone to live their own national life lies the key to much of the present misunderstanding in China. It is fundamental in Chinese character, though more often than not it lies dormant.

For the purpose of his narrative Sir Frederick Whyte divides his "China and Foreign Powers" into four main periods, though whether the years selected best suit the purpose may be open to argument. As the author allows, these periods are arbitrary and overlap. Would, for example, the Chinese consider that "The Period of European Aggression" commenced only in 1873? Again, is not the fall of the Manchu Dynasty with the disappearance of the rule of semi-divine Emperors in 1911-12 one of the most momentous periods in the 4,000 odd years of China's history? Does it not mark the start of an entirely novel period?

Of the four arbitrary divisions, that described as "The Period of



Chinese Revolt"—presumably against Western encroachment—is naturally the one most readers will turn to for enlightenment upon present-day affairs. Nor will they be disappointed, for to those who have neither the inclination nor the time for detailed research the fourth period is a storehouse of well-arranged facts. It is, too, a record upon which great care and much skill in compression must have been spent.

Though attention is specially called to Period IV., there is a great deal that should be carefully read and assimilated in the earlier periods by anyone not familiar with the past history of China's foreign relations. By now all the world is more or less familiar with the circumstances leading up to the first China War, the miscalled "Opium War"; also how and why the "Arrow War" was forced upon the British Government. These incidents are all links in the chain of circumstances which eventually, and against her will, opened up China to the rest of the world. They are also examples of the spirit which *au fond* still animates the race—i.e., that there is some inherent superiority in them to the rest of the world.

The beginning of the third period deals briefly with the challenge by Japan of China's predominance in Korea. But the China-Japan War of 1894 was far more than that. It stands for the psychological moment when Japan's "Elder Statesmen" made up their minds to challenge China's national position in the Far East. It is easy today to be wise after the event. Up to 1894 the whole world had accepted China at her own valuation. A few, only a very few Europeans were aware how entirely false that valuation was.

In Period IV. (p. 10) we are told something of more modern events connected with Russian diplomatic action in Manchuria. To those who took part in the suppression of the Boxer Rising of 1900, and who during those fateful years watched on the spot the play and counter-play of Russian and Japanese moves on the Manchurian chessboard, the coming struggle was already clearly indicated. Already the shadow of the Russo-Japanese War loomed large. Although since then the pieces have been rearranged, for Russia has exchanged extreme autocracy for ultra-extreme democracy, to make use of a somewhat mild term, the play continues. Manchuria may be the rock upon which the future peace of the Far East is shattered. Recent events there forecast a fresh triangular struggle on the part of the three chief protagonists, the rightful owners of the soil, and the two claimants to its exploitation. For Japan at the present time (April 15) the Manchurian question is a supremely embarrassing one. The "Nationalist" advance upon Peking directed against Chang Tso-lin may force Japan to interfere in North China, or at least to make momentous decisions which her leading statesmen would prefer at almost any price to postpone.

Reference is then made to the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and to Japan's action in the early portion of the Great War. In his comments upon the former, Sir Frederick gives a clear summary of the pros and cons of the Alliance. Of how deeply the abrogation, at the behest of the United States—as Japanese consider it—hurt Japanese national feeling, or of the overwhelming loss of face to Japan over



America's treatment of the Japanese immigration question, little mention is made. It is as well to remember that both happenings are irrevocably inscribed upon Japanese mental tablets, and must be reckoned with in any judicial summing up of peace prospects in the Pacific.

Sir Frederick Whyte's reflections upon China's behaviour at and after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles are entirely correct, even if sufficient emphasis be not laid upon the bitter blow to China's *amour propre*.

That the late President Wilson failed to act up to his avowed principles upon that occasion, and that he misled the Chinese representatives, is today a matter of history.

In Chinese eyes, once more, the West had wittingly deceived them.

The Washington Conference of 1921 is fully dealt with (pp. 23 *et seq.*), and (p. 28) Sir Frederick Whyte records his approval of the results of the (pp. 27 and 28) "Four" and "Nine Power Treaties." With reference to the Report on the subject of extra-territoriality (p. 28) signed at Peking in September, 1926, by thirteen Powers, he adds: "This Report represents the first constructive step taken collectively by the Powers and, though it cannot come into full operation for an indefinite time, it is none the less a feature as novel in their behaviour as it is important." Unfortunately, there is so far no sign whatever that the signatures of these thirteen Powers to a report drawn up by their accredited agents represents united action; and this is the only thing that counts.

Dealing with the Kuomintang and Dr. Sun Yat Sen's position after failing "to secure any encouragement for the Cantonese movement from Britain and America," the author refers to the entrance of the Communist section into the Kuo Min Tang Party. Without Russian "Staff" work it is safe to say the "Nationalist" advance from Canton could never have taken place. During its progress to the Yangtze and down that great waterway to Nanking the "Nationalist" party exposed to the world its worst side. It left in its wake a destructive record hardly equalled in modern times. It has so far shown no glimmer of constructive statesmanship, though by the Powers it has been given every possible chance. With Peking in its hands (June) a further chance has been given it; yet the Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang, is represented by three jarring factions—Feng Yu-hsiang, the Russian nominee; the Shansi Tuchung; and in the background, Kiang Kai-shek.

The brutal and uncivilized behaviour displayed at Nanking has once again been repeated at Tsinanfu. No such party, even in China, can survive a like record and pretend to represent the nation as a modern government. Chiang Kai-shek, like many previous ephemeral military leaders, has been hailed as the saviour of his country. Others have played the leading rôle for a brief period, and having made vast fortunes at the hands of their miserable and inarticulate countrymen have disappeared even more suddenly than they arose. Chiang Kai-shek may be a man of entirely different ambition, a constructive military genius of the highest order. But military genius will never reunite China. True "Nationalism" alone can do that.



In Sir Frederick Whyte's final résumé of "The Main Features of British Policy" (p. 36) we are briefly given the outlines of British Commercial Policy in China. Of this there can be no more honest, more definite or clearer statement than that made by Sir Austen Chamberlain in his speech at Birmingham in January, 1927. In Appendix VI. are to be found extracts which no student of Chinese affairs should fail to read. As the basis of British policy, together with the "Xmas Memorandum" of 1926, these principles will stand the test of the most unfriendly criticism.

Sir Frederick Whyte does well to end upon a note of healthy optimism.

"Already committed," he writes (p. 40), "by the Nine Power Treaty to a constructive policy in China, she (Great Britain) is now doubly committed by her own act, in addressing the Treaty Powers last December, to the welcome responsibility of leading a new departure in the policy of the Foreign Powers in China." But is it possible to assume the rôle of leader when there are no followers?

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WITHIN THE WALLS OF NANKING. By Alice Tisdale Hobart. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 6s. net.

This book of under two hundred pages is the work of an American lady. Mrs. Hobart gives us a plain unvarnished story of the experiences in China today of herself, her husband, and of other American business men. To readers unfamiliar with the British Official Report (China Papers relating to the Nanking incident of March 24 and 25, 1927) this story may appear almost incredible. Mrs. Hobart might have been retelling experiences of the massacres at Cawnpore during the Indian Mutiny.

That Mrs. Hobart is well equipped for the task she has set herself there will be little doubt in the minds of her readers. Nineteen years' residence in China at amongst other places Changsha—no semi-Occidental treaty port—a distinct pro-Chinese predilection before the terrible happenings at Nanking, a nodding acquaintanceship with Chinese official methods both civil and military, and last, but by no means least, from the point of view of obtaining information, an intimate knowledge of those wonderful purveyors of secret service the Chinese servant class, are no mean assets for the compiling of such a story as this.

The book is divided into two portions, the first fifty pages being a kind of introduction or prologue. In the book it is called a poem. Whatever exactly may be the function of this otherwise interesting prologue, it is not easy to understand its presence here, unless it be to offer a violent contrast between the "real," as simply told by Mrs. Hobart, and the "ideal," as set forth by Mrs. Ayscough. On page 9 the latter admits that "the summit on the Mountain of Perfected Civilization is still as remote, unassailed, and illusive as is the shining peak of Mount Everest." When the terrible pages so vividly depicted by Mrs. Hobart have been read and pondered, there will be time enough to discuss "Perfected Civilization" in the flowery periods of Chinese scholars (Shih). In the meantime to most readers the interest of this book will lie in the perusal of Mrs. Hobart's narrative of how "nationalism" advanced first from Canton to the



Yangtze valley via Changsha, thence down river via Hankow, Kiukiang, and Wuhu to Nanking, leaving in its trail a story of human misery and cold-blooded atrocity not often paralleled in modern history.

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THROUGH JADE GATE AND CENTRAL ASIA: AN ACCOUNT OF JOURNEYS IN KANSU, TURKESTAN, AND THE GOBI DESERT. By Mildred Cable and Francisca French. (*Constable*.) 10s. net.

In these days of acrimonious theological criticism—not, it might be added, always “higher” criticism—when ecclesiastical dignitaries as well as sober parish priests belabour one another in the columns of the daily Press, it is with relief that one turns to the outpouring of that simple faith which, we are told, can remove mountains. Such faith is surely the embodiment of all the most devoted mission work.

“Through Jade Gate and Central Asia” is a unique book in this twentieth century. It is the description of an almost incredible series of journeys—incredible, that is to say, considering the conditions under which they were carried through. It is first and foremost a missionary book, which expresses the true missionary spirit in a very remarkable manner. In “Through Jade Gate and Central Asia” the three ladies concerned have written their names for all time upon a roll of honour, which may be said to have begun when certain missionaries “went down to Seleucia and from thence sailed to Cyprus,” though nothing could have been further from their thoughts than to do so when they penned this extraordinary record. The book is far more than a mere journal of mission work, unique as that is. It contains also records of courageous travel in wild districts such as no white women have ever visited; of intensely interesting comments upon Chinese official methods; of vivid descriptions, always humorous, of life as lived among the poorest classes in China and among the Lamas of Tibet, as well as among the Soviet-Chinese border inhabitants—all told in simple, modest language, which might easily mislead readers as to the ever-present difficulties and dangers—difficulties not only in their daily lives, but ever-recurring dangers, when those three courageous ladies were pioneering in the wild districts of a remote province in the far north-west of China. In the Sinkiang, as in Kansu, so far as their personal safety was concerned, they were almost as cut off from the world as if they had been at the North Pole.

It is a mere truism to say that China today is not the China of the past, especially where the safety of foreigners is concerned. Of old, as has been the good fortune of the reviewer, one might pass with little risk from one end of China to the other overland from Simla to Peking.

In most of the Chinese cities in Kansu referred to in this book the reviewer has spent days both pleasant and the reverse. He has also traversed Russian Turkestan and trekked in tarantasses along the Soviet-Chinese border from Tashkend to Semipalatinsk, passing thence down the Irtysh River to Omsk on the Siberian railway, as did the authors of this book. Reference is made to these coincidences solely for the



purpose of indicating that this review is not merely academic. With his own eyes the reviewer has seen many of the places and peoples discussed in this book, and for many weary months has endured the discomforts of the road in China. But he travelled in luxury compared to the conditions these courageous ladies cheerfully suffered. In the book itself little is said of these conditions, much of the work which alone filled their thoughts. All honour to them.

It was at Hwochow, in Shansi province, that their travels began, where already for twenty-one years they had laboured. The true missionary feeling for a wider call, a more extended sphere to work in, came to them as many times in different lands it had come to others. In Kansu they found what they sought for, and for some three years they laboured there afresh. Then came the period, in 1926, for home furlough. "Kansu was at this time in a political ferment." Feng yu-hsiang, the stormy petrel of Chinese politics, was in charge in the far North-West. To return to the coast was practically out of the question, so "after much deliberation" the travellers decided to enter Soviet territory, and to make north for Semipalatinsk and the Siberian railway at Omsk, thence via Moscow and Berlin for London.

All this and much more was successfully accomplished through the faith that was in them. All this and much more is recounted in this remarkable book.

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CHINESE GHOULS AND GOBLINS. By G. Willoughby-Meade. With sixteen illustrations. (*Constable and Co.*) 24s. net.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER.)

All students of folk-tales and of "things Chinese" will thank Mr. Willoughby-Meade for this work on Chinese ghouls and goblins. While the title suffices, it perhaps tends to minimize the real scope of the work. It is not a mere collection of "uncanny" stories, but is rather an introductory guide to the whole intricate mentality of one of the world's most amazing peoples. The author's method of treatment is as interesting as it is novel. We have here no scientific annotated collection of stories, such as Cosquin, Chauvin, or Bolte might have given us. We have something much more alive and human—something that demands and receives both our sympathy and appreciation—the resulting tales of all the conflicting beliefs of the numerous religious systems of China. At times we may feel our credulity is being forced rather much, at times we may spot an obvious Western "import," but on the other hand we shall find pathos and beauty mingling with grimness and horror in a manner which merely mirrors the mind of the people themselves. The object of the author has been "to interest the general reader in some of the folk-tales . . . in which China is so rich." He has not only succeeded in this, but has helped to fill a very large gap which all students of folk-lore have so long felt when searching for Chinese analogues to stories from other parts of the world.

After dealing with the Chinese idea of the soul and classifying the good



and evil spirits, we are given a brief account of Taoism, which is illustrated by stories from numerous collections. As is to be expected, we then contrast those with Buddhist tales, or rather with the tales that were moulded subsequent to the introduction of Buddhism into China.

The next two chapters show us that Chinese folk-tales have drawn to themselves all the *dramatis personæ* and, we must add, *animalia* with which we are familiar from collections of other widely distant areas. The were-wolf, dog, fox, and tiger all figure in the tales, and the author wisely points out in a very few lines useful analogies from other countries. The snake also plays a small part, but had soon to step—or rather glide—aside for the much more important and popular dragon, to whom a whole chapter is devoted. The butterfly, the swan-maiden,\* the parrot, owl, the soul-stealing bird, spectral rats, the tortoise, and even ants, all find a place in the curious animal stories with which Chinese folk-lore abounds.

Chapter VII. is allotted to a study of divination and magic—and a very interesting chapter it is. The "River Monster," whose picture faces page 178, is really a marvel of ingenuity. Imagine a fat, Zeppelin-shaped balloon or German sausage, with absolutely no features at all, but the owner of four wings and six short legs—and you have the River Monster! The story in this chapter which appears to the present reviewer of most interest, however, is the strange story of "Mrs. Number Three," in which the hero peeps through a crack of the wall, like Apuleius, and sees "Mrs. Number Three" remove little wooden models of a drover, plough, etc., from a box, bring them to life with magic water. They then proceed to plough, sow, reap, and thresh the grain, and make buckwheat cakes—all in the one evening. These cakes have the property of turning people into asses, and, as can be guessed, our hero has his revenge on "Mrs. Number Three." Now the point of interest here is that this magic seed-growing *motif* is found in many Eastern countries, but where it began (if indeed it *did* "begin" at all) is a very hard question to answer. In a long note on the subject ("Ocean of Story," vol. vi., pp. 62-66) the present reviewer has given several extraordinary analogues to the Sanskrit version. Apart from being found in the "Thousand and One Nights," it occurs in a collection of proverbs, known as the *Fākhir*, of the ninth century A.D., as well as in works of Ibn Qutaiba, Ṭabarī, Rāzī, Tha'labī, and Harīrī. The present Chinese version is of great interest, therefore, as being a proof of the existence of the *motif* to the east of India, thus greatly extending the field of research on the subject.

We have now got over half-way in this brief survey of the work before us, but as yet we have met with few strange beings that can really be described as either ghouls or goblins. In Chapter X., however, we are at last introduced to the vampire proper, who for over 200 pages we had been gradually fortifying ourselves to meet. We find on introduction that the Chinese

\* This *motif* has been finely treated by Holmström in his work "Studier över svanjungfrumotivet," Malmö, 1919. See also Penzer, "Ocean of Story," vol. viii., pp. 213-234. For Chinese analogues see Dennys, "Folk-lore of China," p. 140, and "T'oung Pao," vol. vi., p. 68.



vampire much more closely resembles that of Eastern Europe than of India. It has all the nasty little habits of the Slavonic vampire and none of the redeeming features of the Indian *vetāla* or *piśācha*, who is always ready to reward a brave man with advice and riches.

The Chinese vampire, Ch'iang Shih, inhabits corpses, and preserves them from decay by deriving nourishment either from other corpses or from the living. The Chinese soul theory, coupled with the amazing fertility of their imagination, has endowed their vampires with a horror which is only equalled by their own personal belief in them.

The chapter closes with an interesting suggestion as to the "infection" of vampires. The author will probably be interested to study the first book that deals with vampires in a comprehensive manner, shortly to appear under the authorship of Rev. Montague Summers.

Space will not allow of any but the very briefest reference to the remaining chapters of this important work. The spirits of inanimate objects, especially trees, are dealt with in Chapter X.; while the widespread belief in "Fêng Shui" (the effects of environment on the living and dead, the two words meaning "wind" and "water") is discussed in Chapter XI.

An interesting chapter on "Foreign Devils," one each on comparative mythology, a Chinese sceptic, and Spiritualism, conclude the work. Mention must be made of the good index, and the publishers are to be congratulated on the very attractive *format* they have created.

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## NEAR EAST

THE PERSIAN GULF: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH FROM THE EARLIEST TIME TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Sir Arnold T. Wilson. (*Oxford Press.*) 25s. net.

A work on the Persian Gulf and its history has been wanting for some time, although, of course, books and articles have appeared which deal with various parts of the Gulf. No one is better fitted to fill this gap than the author, who has spent much time in these regions. It may be stated at once that the book is worthy of the author's experiences and services, and that it will remain the standard work for years to come.

The only way to understand the present is to become cognizant of the past, and the author not only gives a description of the country, but also furnishes a history dating back to the Assyrian Empire. Naturally little is known regarding the Persian Gulf at that remote period, but the author, a man of very wide learning, has found new material that sheds an important light upon that era. The Greeks and the Romans have left quite a volume of literature, and this is skilfully introduced into his account. McCrindle did excellent service in the eighties of last century in translating the passages from these writers, and his scholarly books, though less fascinating, must have provided the present writer with useful information. In the chapters that follow the various parts of the Gulf are dealt with



separately until we come to the arrival of the Portuguese. This portion is naturally detailed and exhaustive. The Dutch also found their way to the Persian Gulf on their voyages to the East. Lastly, there came the British, who are now in a stronger position there than ever before. The volume concludes with a chapter on international politics, which predicts for Great Britain a permanent position of power. In an appendix the author provides a summary of scientific research, but perhaps he will find the time later to write an additional volume on the resources of the Persian Gulf. For the convenience of those who wish to obtain more detailed information the author has added a large bibliography, which is, in itself, a valuable piece of work. Altogether this is a volume of great value, and it may be confidently expected that it will see several editions.

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PERSIAN PICTURES. By Gertrude Bell. (*Ernest Benn.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Some thirty years ago there was issued a book of modest appearance entitled "*Safar Nameh*." They were Persian pictures, which would have been forgotten had Miss Bell, the author, not come before the public since on account of her journeys in the Near East and her important work for the Government. It is gratifying to see this charming book saved from oblivion in such an attractive form. Miss Bell has shown us life in Persia from various angles. Her description of the indoor dress of a Persian lady is amusing, particularly as what is described by her as unbecoming in 1894 has now become the fashion of the day in the West.

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## INDIA

THE LAND WITH THE FIVE RIVERS: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1890. By H. K. Trevaskis. (*Oxford Press.*) 15s. net.

The number of books on Indian economics is increasing almost daily, yet, when many of them will be superseded or have become antiquated, the volume of Mr. Trevaskis will still have honourable place on the shelves of the economic student, for it is of permanent value. The author, an Indian civil student, has made excellent use of his opportunities to study the problems of his province. This volume deals entirely with the Punjab, and opens with a chapter on the dawn of history, in which the life of the nomad and of the villager are fully described. The second chapter introduces the student to the development of the Aryan State, with its kingship, religion, and law. There follow researches into the Islamic and English administrations, and the author comes to the conclusion that all the races of the Punjab and the British have combined their efforts to establish that state of efficiency in which the province is today. Attention may be drawn to the four useful maps that have been provided.

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THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGUL: A DESCRIPTION OF DE LAET'S INDIA. By H. S. Hoyland, with critical notes by S. N. Banerjee. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*.) Rs. 5.8.

When De Laet issued his booklet "*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*" he little thought that exactly three hundred years later it would be revived in an English form. It is interesting to read his opinions and observations. As Hakluyt and Marco Polo are still enjoyed by many readers and students, so we hope that also De Laet will not be forgotten. The price of the book seems rather high, but printing in India is becoming much better, and is therefore more expensive.

RGVEDIC INDIA. By Abines Chandras Das. (Calcutta: *Cambray and Co.*) Second edition revised.

It is remarkable that a work like the present should run to an early second edition, and it must be presumed that the volume has had a ready sale in India as well as in Europe. The author holds that the theory generally promulgated by scholars regarding the immigration of the Aryans from Central Asia, Northern Europe, or the Arctic regions cannot be sustained, and maintains that these Aryans were autochthonous to ancient Punjab. He is therefore opposed to the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, whose views are indeed not shared by European scholars. The existence of Aryan languages in Europe are explained by the emigration of Aryan tribes from India. Mr. Das has thus provided us with a large work on Aryan expansion and colonization in prehistoric times, and has given proof of extensive learning. His conclusions will naturally not be shared by all his Indian and European colleagues, but they will certainly welcome them as a basis for argument. The map is clear and the index is complete.

INDISCHE FAHRTEN. By Joseph Dahlmann, S.J. Two vols. (Freiburg: *Herder and Co.*) 30 Marks.

The author of this work, Father Dahlmann, has been through the length and breadth of India, and has seen the country thoroughly. He has not limited himself to the study of the peoples and their religion, but has also paid attention to the art monuments. It is, perhaps, chiefly from this point of view that he has written these two large volumes and illustrated them with almost 500 pictures. Perhaps, for this reason, the book has met with success, and arrived at a second edition. English readers will also find these attractive, and, in fact, if it were not for the language in which it is written, it might prove an attractive book of travel. Perhaps, however, we may look forward to an English translation.

#### BOOKS ON ART

L'ART KHMER PRIMITIF. By Henri Parmentier. Two vols. (Paris: *Van Oest*.) 300 fr.

Our first knowledge of this subject was a booklet in French by Crozier, which was little more than a catalogue. A few years ago there appeared



two excellent volumes: "Art et Archéologie Khmers," to be followed by a work on Khmer Bronzes by Mr. Coedès, issued in the well-known series *Ars Asiatica*. The two volumes under notice, issued through the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*, form therefore the first comprehensive study on Khmer art, especially architecture. The author requires no introduction to English lovers of Oriental art, and it may be taken for granted that any new work from his pen will be as conscientiously carried out as the previous ones. These two new volumes are devoted to archæology, architecture, and allied arts, and though highly technical permit of the ordinary student following his description. The style is fluent and elegant enough, but to help the reader to find his study more interesting, numerous illustrations and plates have been inserted in the text volume, while the plates in the second volume should appeal particularly to the archæologist and the architect. No such comprehensive work is likely to be written in English, and therefore it should be greatly welcomed by our institutions and museums, and also in India and Burma; the two volumes should find a place not only on the library shelves, but still more so on the work-table of the archæologist. A word of praise should be added for the fine and very clear collotype plates, on which, even details, are absolutely distinguishable.

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L'ART À JAVA: LES TEMPLES DE LA PÉRIODE CLASSIQUE INDO-JAVANAISE. By M. P. Verneuil. (Paris: *Van Oest*.) 220 fr.

Some very large works on Borobudur have been published for the use of specialists and museums. The author has now presented us with a volume of well-selected plates, for which the publishing house of Van Oest is justly famous. It illustrates architecture and sculpture, thus giving the student with limited means the opportunity of obtaining a work on the subject at a moderate figure. On 88 pages of text these illustrations referring to Tjandi Kalasan, Tgandi Mendout, Borobudur, and the Temple of Siva are explained. The work is therefore not only for the scholar, but also designed to be of use to a wider public, and the cheap price, together with the tasteful appearance of the volume, should ensure it a great success.

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AU JAPON: PROMENADES AUX SANCTUAIRES DE L'ART. By Gaston Migeon. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner*.) 50 fr.

The author is one of the leaders of Oriental art study, and has already delighted us with many books. But we are not at all tired of him; in fact, we feel increasingly happy when he is there to guide us. Not only has the author for years past studied Japanese art at home, but he has gone himself to the Far East to see the art treasures in the museums as well as in the temples, which have not yet been described by other writers. And the author has come back full of enthusiasm, and anxious for the reader to partake in the pleasure of his recollections. Who could not enjoy his description of the Fuji, and he reminds us also of Hokesai and Hiroshige, the artists of the Holy Mountain. The theatre, the tea ceremony, and the gardens are all described. The volume has been



adorned with a number of fine collotype plates of views, paintings, and sculptures, which may well be envied by book-lovers on this side of the Channel.

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HISTOIRE DE L'ART CHINOIS DE L'ANTIQUITÉ JUSQU'À NOS JOURS. By G. Soulie de Morant. (Paris: *Payot*.) 100 fr.

Within the compass of 300 pages the author has condensed a charming account of the history of Chinese art. The eleven chapters are divided according to the Dynasties, and each chapter contains sections on painting, sculpture, architecture, and decorative arts. It therefore corresponds to the English work by Dr. Bushell without, however, going quite so much into the detail. An additional attraction is the large number of illustrations, which are excellently produced. Mr. de Morant is not only a stylist, but also a scholar of Chinese, and has given a long list of Chinese works on art. We do not remember seeing such a useful list in any other book.

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UTAMARO. By Yone Noguchi. (Paris: *Van Oest*.) 30 fr.

HOKUSAI. By Yone Noguchi. (Paris: *Van Oest*.) 30 fr.

Mr. Yone Noguchi, the poet and art-critic, has provided us with two new volumes on Japanese artists: the two best known to European admirers of Japanese art. The volumes are small in size, but the monographs are full of appreciation of their subjects. Special credit is due to the publisher Van Oest, who has not spared expense in giving us once more examples of his wonderful plates. Some of the best drawings of the two artists have been selected, and are beautifully reproduced.

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LES ANTIQUITÉS BOUDDHIQUES DE BĀMIYĀN. By A. Godard, Y. Godard, and J. Hackin. (Paris: *Van Oest*.) 250 fr.

It will be remembered that a few years ago France obtained permission from the King of Afghanistan to make archæological researches in that country. The volume before us is the first-fruit of these efforts, and for the first time we learn of these Buddhist remains in a positive and, at the same time, a learned manner. If the series is continued in this excellent manner, we shall not only obtain a clear view of Buddhism in Afghanistan, but also be able to judge the place that country takes in the general history of Asiatic art. M. Pelliot has given additional notes to the text; he has translated a number of Chinese texts, giving yet another proof of his extraordinary knowledge of the language. The plates are very fine; they illustrate the places where the remains were found, and further, the Buddhist objects that were discovered. It is a fine achievement to have produced the beautiful colours in their natural state.

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#### GENERAL

BLUE TROUSERS, BEING PART VI. OF THE TALE OF GENJI. By Lady Murasaki; translated from the Japanese by Arthur Waley. (*Allen and Unwin*.) 10s. 6d. net.

This translation from the Japanese classics is very difficult, and therefore a very creditable piece of work. The present volume is the fourth,



leaving only one more to conclude the series. Each chapter can almost be read independently. At every stage the reader is taken back to ancient Japan. Mr. Waley's picturesque and fascinating style is most attractive, and if he had not taken up the study of Japanese and Chinese, he would have found time to become one of the most prominent English prose writers.

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HUC AND GABET. *Travels in Tartary, Tibet, and China.* Translated by William Hazlitt; new edition, with an Introduction by Professor Paul Pelliot. (*Routledge.*) 25s. net.

Messrs. G. Routledge must be congratulated upon having issued in their Broadway Travellers series a new form of the nineteenth-century classics of Asiatic travel, and particularly upon having obtained the assistance of Professor Pelliot, who, it is believed, has always looked upon this work with special favour. The editor has, in fact, not been content with providing an introduction of over thirty pages, but has also gone into the subject thoroughly, and his hand seems to be on nearly every page. The work is too well known to the general public to require a detailed review. It must suffice to state that this new form should find many new readers amongst the younger generation, who have, of late, found difficulty in obtaining the older editions. These two volumes form a notable addition to the works already published, and there doubtless will be an early occasion of reviewing further books in the same admirable series.

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INTRODUCTION OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE Vol. I.: From Homer to Omar Khayyám. By George Sarton. (London Agents: *Baillière, Tindall and Cox.*) 45s. net.

It is not our purpose to frighten the reader of this review when it is revealed that this first volume contains 839 pages. This information, on the contrary, is volunteered in order to give an idea of the vast labour the author must have undertaken in compiling his volume. The material available is absolutely overwhelming, and the wonder is that the author has found his life long enough to study so much literature, to sift it, to understand it, and, lastly, to compose this volume. The reader is under an additional debt of gratitude to the author for his arrangement. The book is divided into chapters and subdivided into sections, each of which belong to a certain period. Supposing one wishes to study science at the time of Aristotle, one turns to pages 124 to 148 after reading the introductory chapter, which alone contains 50 pages, and is an entertaining and inspiring piece of work. We learn of Chinese and Greek philosophers, of mathematics, astronomy, physics, technology, botany, and medicine, and each section has a complete bibliography. Although each chapter is fully dealt with, the information regarding Chinese and Arab philosophy is especially welcome, as our knowledge of them is still far from complete. Science has progressed gradually, and the more one looks into this volume the more one must marvel at the constant searches after truth and science



from the earliest times, and the rapidity with which the present state of our knowledge has been arrived at.

**THE AGE OF THE GODS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGIN OF CULTURE IN PREHISTORIC EUROPE AND THE ANCIENT EAST.** By Christopher Dawson. (*John Murray*.) 18s. net.

Numerous research workers and archæologists have during the past one hundred years carried on the most useful and silent work with a view to reconstructing the cultures of the past. The author's summary reveals the work of a well-read man, who has also consulted a great many German publications, which are enumerated in the long bibliographies attached to each chapter. Beginning with the Glacial Period, he gradually arrives at the religion of the hunter, the civilization of the peasant and the city state. As our civilization originates from the East, we naturally obtain a good insight into the culture of that portion of the world, and it must be said that he has presented an almost complete panorama of its gradual development. The very latest discoveries in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, and Greece are set forth, and it might well be hoped that this volume will serve as a synopsis of a series of books, each of which should treat a separate chapter in a more lengthy and detailed form.

### **IBN SA'OU'D OF ARABIA: His People and His Land**

By AMEEN RIHANI. Illustrated. 21s. net.

SIR E. DENISON ROSS in the *Observer*: "The book has two distinct sides: the one political, the other historical and descriptive. . . . For the first time we have a book in English written by a man whose native tongue is Arabic. To students of current politics it is very valuable, as it gives reliable information regarding the origin and peculiar tenets of the Wahabis, and considerable insight into the character of Ibn Sa'oud himself."

### **CHINESE GHOULS AND GOBLINS**

By G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE. Illustrated. 24s. net.

*Nation*: "Bogies and hobgoblins abound in Mr. Willoughby-Meade's delightful compilation of Oriental extravagances and lore. Mr. Meade has a scientific seriousness, but some of these stories of rolling skulls and talkative heads surely prove that the Chinese liked to make each other's pigtails bristle with horror."

### **THROUGH JADE GATE AND CENTRAL ASIA: An Account of Journeys in Kansu, Turkestan and the Gobi Desert**

By MILDRED CABLE and FRANCESCA FRENCH

With an Introduction by the Rev. J. STUART HOLDEN, of the China Inland Mission. Illustrated. 10s. net.

### **ISLANDS OF QUEEN WILHELMINA**

By Mrs. CLIFTON of LYTHAM. With an Introduction by LORD DUNSANY. Illustrated. 18s. net.



UR: EXCAVATIONS. Vol. I., Al-Ubaid; a report on the work carried out for the British Museum, and for its joint expedition with the University of Pennsylvania in 1922-23. By H. R. Hall and others. (*Oxford Press.*)

No reminder need be given of the importance of the explorations in Mesopotamia by these two institutions. The first volume of this beautiful and important work contains the chapters on the temple and the cemetery. Mr. Hall, now the keeper of the Egyptian Department in the British Museum, has given us a vivid account of the work in the first season, and a full description of the objects found. The work of the second expedition is treated by C. L. Woolley, whose chapters on the objects from the temple and its reconstruction are worthy of his previous work. Mr. C. J. Gadd has deciphered and commented upon the inscriptions, and Sir Arthur Keith has provided a report upon the human remains. The work in connection with the compilation of the volume must have been enormous, and the authors deserve great credit for the achievement. The plates are in every way worthy of the text. A few of them are beautifully coloured, especially the specimens of pottery. We are pleased to learn that the next volume is likewise in active preparation, and may be expected at an early date.

SEX PROBLEM IN INDIA. By Professor N. S. Phadke. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 6.

This volume is prefaced by a note from Mrs. Sanger, President of the American Birth Control League, who writes that the plea which the author makes for eugenic marriages is the plea of the far-sighted patriot, whose desire it is that the country of his allegiance shall grow strong on sound biological principles. In a chapter on "The Way of Reform" the author quotes from the hymns which were included in the original rituals of the Aryan marriage service to show that they regarded the institution of marriage from the sociological point of view.

THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT, 1917-1927. By K. T. Shah. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*)

The author, who is Professor of Economics at Bombay University and the author of several books and pamphlets on finance and commerce, has here republished a series of lectures delivered by him as a course in extension of the usual lectures on economic history at his University. Perhaps the most important part of the book is that in which he describes the various financial experiments of the Bolshevik state, and gives some valuable statistics of taxation, etc.



## PERSIAN ART AND CULTURE

BY ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

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*(Continued from p. 304.)*

ONE might object to Bihzad or Mirak, that their pictures were not like the real world, that they had forgotten to put in shadows, and that they did not understand perspective. They might answer, "Such objections are quite irrelevant and overlooking the main purpose of our work. How much more beautiful are our pictures than anything you have ever seen in real life! Here all is arranged, concentrated, intensified. We have made a wonderful cluster of jewels of what in ordinary life is a plain wall—and were ever such graceful trees! and how much more perfect and charming the folds of the garments we depict than any you are likely to see in real life."

In discussing the art of the Persians one need hardly argue as to whether lines and contours are in themselves beautiful. Have they not produced the most magnificent calligraphers? And all of these principles here mentioned are illustrated in the works of Yaghut and Mir Ali Kazvini. We examine calligraphy not merely to read the words but for the swing and rhythm, the contour and proportion, the accuracy, elegance, and expressiveness of the writing. In calligraphy we find an important clue to Persian art, and it is a good sign that Persians today take their calligraphy as a most serious art.

It is interesting to see how constantly the Persian artists, even when they are making careful pictures of



human beings or animals, keep the necessity of the vital line before them. The famous painter Bihzad once copied a European portrait. It was Belini's portrait of a Turkish sultan. Belini had left the underpart of the robe vague, melting away into a shadow. Bihzad, with a true instinct of the decorator, however, could not overlook the opportunity to insert a clear and graceful contour full of animation and interest. This line and the other marginal lines give a vivid, inspiring quality to the drawing that Belini had not put in the original. So the Persian artists when they drew plants, animals, or men, or merely abstract designs which were the product of their imagination instilled into them a sense of energy and tension, a feeling of excitement or of elegance and suavity which the attentive observer immediately catches and to which he responds with a quickening pulse and a kindling eye. The life and movement of the design passes over into his own being. Heart and mind respond and echo to the artist's call, and he is refreshed and exhilarated.

But to make lines live and move requires a sensitive and understanding nature. It requires an artist who is a master of his craft and who himself is full of enthusiasm. Artists who do not love their work, who are not moved by a passion for perfection, who themselves thrill to no great emotion, produce, as we might expect, dull and lifeless work. And no sooner has a great artist produced some superlative work than other artists begin to copy slavishly, often without understanding or feeling. Now copying is not the same as creating. The fire has cooled, and the life fades away. When in still later periods, further removed from the original inspiration, we find artisans working merely for pay rather than for the honour of their craft and the glory of God, working without interest and inspiration, without skill, their lines become weak and vague, their designs confused and meaningless, their compositions little more than corpses. The soul has flown.

But decoration involves more than the problem of the



beautiful arrangement of living lines or harmonious colours. It requires an ability to see the essential, and to select out of a great variety of possibilities only the most important, to simplify to the last degree so that only the inner spirit be now revealed and preserved in the world of art. One sometimes finds on Rhages bowls a very simple black outline drawing of a head of wheat. There are indeed far more lines in the real head of wheat than in the drawing on the bowl. The drawing has not sought to reproduce the head of wheat as it really is in all its detail but merely to catch the infinite grace of its outline, and even to improve on it. It is a rendition not of wheat but of the spirit of gracefulness and elegance that may be sometimes found in the wheat-head, just as attar of roses is made not by preserving all the leaves and the rank juices of the stems. Nor is it even great heaps of rose petals. It is the one essential drop expressed from thousands of roses; the central principle of their fragrance now set apart and delivered of everything else and made permanent.

By simplifying his rendition, the artist stimulates the imagination. He draws out what is hidden from ordinary eyes and gives it to us so that in imagination we may reconstruct the whole and thus share with him some of the exhilarating work of creation. Thus we help to create the beauties which we enjoy, and such co-operation and effort on our part yield deeper satisfaction than mere passive receiving.

In creating decorative patterns the artist uses his imagination and invention, and produces things which are not to be found in the world of nature. For example, the Persian arabesque, which is almost the first letter of the Persian decorative alphabet of the last four hundred years, does not represent any real object in nature at all, but it is probably the work of a succession of keen analytical minds that sought for the essential fact in a Greek architectural ornament, the anthemion, or perhaps the Assyrian palmette, having found the irreducible minimum produced a design so simple



and yet so fundamental that a remarkable number of combinations and developments were possible.\*

The original palmette or anthemion was like a whole word or sentence. It could not enter into many combinations, and there were no possibilities of developing it except to perfect its own form. The arabesque, on the other hand, could, like the single letter, be combined in an infinite number of ways. But although the ingenuity of Persian artists has created many thousands of arabesques and found great numbers of combinations, the possibilities of its development are still unrealized.

The arabesque, thanks to Persian discovery of the essential and fundamental, became the basis and starting-point for a new chapter in the history of decorative art. The arabesque is the work of the human mind. It is not a mere random fancy, however, but has a good deal in common with scientific law or a mathematical proposition. It seems to express some universal principle of form and to provide satisfaction to some capacity of the mind that belongs to all. As an invention it is more important than many industrial and mechanical inventions. Like other Persian inventions in the realm of art, it has contributed to the elevation and refreshment of the human mind without exacting any price. Industrial and mechanical inventions often increase power at the expense of happiness, and it is not yet sure that the deepest concerns of mankind have been advanced by the arts of the industrial inventor. The products of the machine are fought for, they are causes of jealousy and strife; whereas an invention in the realm of art is something that can be enjoyed and shared by all without being diminished. It is the real ambrosia, the food of the gods, soul-nourishing and itself immortal.

We may now briefly try to indicate what are some of the standards which Persian art has at its best realized.

\* Historically the process was not quite so quick and simple. Cf. A very learned and penetrating discussion of the Arabesque by Professor Herzfeld in the "Encyclopædia of Islam," who takes a much wider definition of the figure.



The first requirement is energy or vitality of line and pattern, the force of the contour which seizes hold upon our attention, the weight and distribution of masses, and as an essential corollary to these qualities the depth, purity, contrast, and organization of colours employed. It is all of these brought together in an expressive ensemble which is the central aim of decoration.

A second principle, lucidity or rationality, is quite as important as energy and vitality, for confusion always means weakness. The tendency of the craftsman to keep at work, to tinker with a design, to trim it up and elaborate it, is a fatal way of corrupting the original conception. And it must be confessed that Persian artists and poets, particularly of the later days, have often been victims by the fallacy of over-elaboration. It is essential in any given design that its main purport be clear. We must be able to tell just what part each element is playing. We must be able to tell the background from the foreground, and the main structure of the design should stand forth boldly. Frequently in modern work, both of faience and carpets, the designs are so intricate and confusing that the fundamental elements cannot be recognized. Hashed-up patterns, mushy, indeterminate colours, which unfortunately characterize most modern rug designing, mark the degeneration and ruination of carpet weaving as a decorative art.

A third principle which must be rigidly observed is appropriateness. The design must be in keeping with the character of the material, and the patterns, so far as they mean anything, must be logical and natural. While it is not the business of decorative art to give pictures, none the less forms of real objects are so often reproduced that we must beware of doing violence to their character. In some early and beautiful Turkish prayer rugs made in the sixteenth century we find the columns of the Mihrab drawn with accuracy and understanding of an architect. They rest on strong, finely built bases. But in the degenerate period, when workers become indifferent and cease to think clearly,



we find the similar columns terminating in coffee urns or in vases or flowers, arrangements so truly preposterous that they are immediately disagreeable. As a pendant from the peak of an arch we often find ewers or vases in the early carpets. Later, for the sake of easier weaving, these are depicted upside down, again a ridiculous blunder.

But aside from such obvious and gross absurdities, there is a far more important type of appropriateness which the Persians in the great period felt with exceptional delicacy and justice. And that is that the quality of design must reflect and express the quality of the material in which it is embodied. This is perhaps the chief source of the extraordinary charm of the poetry from Rhages in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is made of clay. Clay shaped and fired is a thin, delicate, and fragile substance, and must be moulded and decorated in such a way as not to contradict these qualities, but to enhance them. And so the Persian artists, with a wonderfully sensitive instinct, shaped their bowls so that they looked light and fragile as they really should, and the decorations were also in keeping. The best taste of the world today would regard the rendition in a clay of an elaborate painting with shadow and perspective as wholly fallacious, and even the great pottery of the Greeks and the Chinese, superb as they are in many ways, are, in respect to the fitness of contour, shape, and material, less perfect than the work of the Persians in the best periods. The Chinese porcelains of the fourteenth century on are perhaps a little too hard, firm, and finished. They are more substantial than the material would warrant, and they seem almost as if they had been made out of metal or carved out of stone; while even Greek vases really follow bronze shapes with clean and exact outline rather than the more flexible and tentative shapes that the Persian potters used.

The same principles apply to other materials. Metal, which is so slowly worked and so hard, calls for the kind of ornamentation in which precision and exactness are the first requisites. Where a substance permits of an extremely



sharp and exact line, that line should be given, whereas in pottery the lines cannot compete with metal; the lines should be graceful and delicate, but with none of the rigid accuracy and severity of outline appropriate to the metal. Clay calls for the free and careless sketch.

There has been an unfortunate tendency recently, although there is some antecedent, to try to make rug weaving compete with painting and reproduce pictures often in European styles. In any such test the rug weaver is certainly to be hopelessly worsted. It is entirely and for ever out of the question for a pile fabric to comprise the infinite nuances of colour that are possible in paint. When each art does that which it can do best and strives to bring to the highest expression the possibilities of its own material, then there can be no odious comparison, and each art will stand on its own merits. Rug weaving, which is primarily an art designed for floor covering, should follow the general character of mosaics. The pattern should be only in two dimensions. It should be of the kind that arouses in us no sense of impropriety when trodden upon. Thick mushy leaves, large bulbous blossoms such as we found depicted in the European Brussels carpets of the nineteenth century or in the Savonnaries of the eighteenth, threaten to trip us up in some of their realistic drawn tendrils. Persian carpet designs of the great periods always kept to flat and abstract patterns, and one is never bothered by the thought of stepping on real things, and our eye is free to enjoy the subtle curves, symmetries, and luscious colours without disturbance. No doubt many of those rugs that are pictorial are done with astonishing skill, and when a great many figures are put into a rug they do sometimes attain a flat and decorative effect something suggestive of the tapestries. But relative success in doing something not worth doing is hardly a justification. It is possible to walk on one's hands, and people have been admired for so doing. None the less, feet are rather better for the purpose.

It is a tragic thing that Persian art has by a combination



of political and economic misfortunes been brought to a low ebb. Foreign invasions, the ravages of bandits; poverty, misrule, famine have, since the eighteenth century, combined to blight the soul of art. Discouragement and indifference took the place of enthusiasm and ardent effort. The influence of some Persian monarchs has not been fortunate. The influence of Europe in the nineteenth century, with its gaudy and vulgar taste, has been, so far as it reached to Persia, nothing but a calamity; for it must not be forgotten that we have had our dark periods as well as Persia, and Persia has perhaps never touched such a low level of taste as we reached in the so-called "Age of Horror" that afflicted so many monstrosities on us in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is most deplorable and unfortunate that Persia's first effective contact with Europe in recent times came when our arts were in such a depressing state.

Thanks to the exportation of works of art from Persia, artists who depended upon great models for guidance and enlightenment have been deprived of nourishment. They have become spiritually starved, their hands and minds have become feeble, and their eyes, no longer illumined by the glory of their great predecessors, could not see to execute anything but commonplace and meaningless work.

But though barely, living art in Persia is still alive, and we can hope that with intelligent effort and genuine resolution on the part of those who control the life and destinies of Persia a new epoch of Persian art may be soon inaugurated.

Many of the fundamental factors to which Persian art in the past owed its supremacy are still operating. The Persians, despite the admixture of other blood and the dreadful calamities which have so many times wracked the nation and left it a wilderness, are still a gifted people. One finds the same lively imagination, the same quick wit, the same delicate touch that created marvels for Darius, Chosroes, and Shah Tamasp. The exhilarating climate and



beautiful landscape are still moulding men's minds and affections. Quite as important is the noteworthy and most encouraging return of justice and security, of a Government which now has the interest of the people at heart and in which the people themselves can participate. On every side there are stirrings of new life in Persia, and Persia, which has in the past so many times risen out of the ashes of misery and destruction to create again a great and brilliant culture, seems destined to repeat again that miracle of vitality and persistence.

But more is needed. The artist of today could, from the great examples of the past from which they derived their inspiration and guidance, once more be put in touch with the work of their own masters. Persia has been too busy in the last few years in reclaiming and defending her independence, in creating those fundamental necessities of government and economic order without which a cultured life is impossible, to have yet had time for the creation of great examples or schools of art.

This must not be long delayed, and even small beginnings would have great results. Muhammadan countries already have museums, some of them world-famous, to which scholars of the world must repair to do their work.

There is the Ewkafe museum in Constantinople, filled with glorious treasures, many of them of Persian origin. There is an important museum in Konia, and a finer one in Tiflis, and two in Baku. In Cairo there is the splendid Arab museum, daily thronged by students both native and foreign. One of the first acts of King Feisal on assuming power in Damascus was the opening of an Arabic museum which contained, as might be expected, many Persian things. There is a museum in Baghdad and a very efficient department of antiquities aiming at the preservation of public monuments and the rational development of archaeological research. Even little Quetta in Baluchistan has its own museum, and there are reports that the Emir of Afghanistan has established a museum in Herat.



Persia alone, the mother and inspiring force in the creation of most Muhammadan art, is still without any important assemblage of her own best work. Despite the lavish export of great works of art to all the world, Persia still holds within her soil unrecovered and in the possession of her great families superlative works of art which, could they be assembled in a common and public place, would revive the spirit of the nation still more and would awaken artists to new achievements.

There are superb manuscripts and miniatures in the Imperial library, and there is pottery and woodwork in the Dar-ul-Farnoun museum of beautiful quality. Once brought together and proclaimed to the world, it would bring further honour to the country and induce travellers of the best sort to come, and would be of untold value to artists, craftsmen, and students.

The people of Persia would themselves be astounded could they see properly assembled in a dignified and spacious way the best examples of their own art, and if such a museum was once successfully launched it would be sure to rally to its support the enthusiastic co-operation of all classes, and Persia might hope again for the development of great patrons and art collectors, who would regard it, as it is in the Western world, as one of the greatest honours to be able to give to the nation some precious and beautiful work of art which he had the good fortune to preserve or the taste to find.

By teaching the principles of Persian art in the schools, setting up more schools for theoretical and practical instruction of the various types of Persian art; by seeing that artists are regarded as public benefactors and accorded honour and distinction by the Government; by organizing means for the exportation and sale of her modern crafts, not only can new revenues be found and more wealth brought to Persia and the standard of life raised, but many of the common people provided with opportunities and occupations that give happiness and contentment.



The many practical measures that are necessary for the revival of Persian art can hardly be dealt with here. But in addition to historical instruction, which can be given even if very briefly at first in all the schools, much can be done in practical ways. There are splendid craftsmen still at work in Persia. The precious mosaic faience which was thought in Europe to be a lost art is still here practically almost as perfect as in the classical days. There are embroiderers and textile workers who still have some of their ancient craft. There are calligraphers, in Isfahan a *relieur* making book covers of excellent quality, and in Shiraz an inlay worker whose work is not far from the best of ancient times. These men must be encouraged and required to have apprentices to whom they shall impart the full details of their art so that there shall be no further disastrous break in the artistic tradition of the country.

One of the best ways to appreciate the qualities of the foreign art and to discover qualities useful for the enrichment of domestic work, is to learn to practise in the foreign style, and the subtleties of European painting can hardly be appreciated in full without long study and actual practice in the art. But European art must not be thought of as a substitute for or an improvement upon Persian art. It is merely one of the infinite ways in which the infinite spirit of beauty reveals itself to man. The art of other peoples must also be taught, and those great styles which contributed so much to Persia, the Greek, Byzantine, Chinese, Egyptian, and Assyrian should be once more thoughtfully studied. It ought to be possible to gather together a group of instructors in the characteristic Persian arts so that those who have ambitions and ability can receive the most expert guidance and be saved long periods of blundering and experiment which retard achievement.

The Government must see to it that, as in the ancient days of Persia's greatest glory, the artist shall receive encouragement from the highest sources and be shown to the public for what he is, a benefactor to the nation.



But such projects can hardly be more than pious wishes unless practical and solid means are devised to provide economic support for the new generation of artists. Persians themselves must in every way be encouraged to acquire the best that is produced by their own countrymen, and foreign bureaus should be organized to facilitate the export of the Persian decorative arts and to secure larger markets. The Western world is developing a rapid and enthusiastic appreciation of decorative art. Persian styles are best adapted to meet the new demand, and if public and private agencies in Persia can co-operate to improve standards, to give proper publicity in foreign markets to the merit of Persian wares, a great tide of orders may sweep toward Persia.

In all undertakings for the encouragement of art the absolute essential must never be forgotten, and that is the constant and severe insistence upon the highest standards. Any compromising with æsthetic standards, any admission of poor, shoddy, or ill-conceived work, is sheer poison, and little can be held out for the future unless those in whose hands the responsibility lies are riveted in their resolution to improve the quality of work. Such improvement in the standard of workmanship will result not only in increased happiness to the workers, but to a marked improvement in the standard of living. Persian carpet weavers are, for the most part, today somewhat slavishly reproducing designs that are supplied to them by foreign designers, and even when Persian in character they do not approach the quality of the classical period of weaving. The demand, particularly from America, for cheap carpets of relatively poor artistic quality has been, artistically at least, a curse to Persia, and until the old standards are revived, something which is entirely possible, the returns to this industry will be relatively meagre, for although the bulk of quantity demand in America is for commonplace work, none the less there is a great demand for superlative quality, and a demand that is willing to pay the price once the



market be properly organized and the supply and quality assured.

But these practical measures are likely to be in themselves ineffective, or in some degree thwarted, unless certain unfortunate views of the nature of artistic work now too common in Persia can be corrected. Theoretical soundness precedes practical success, or at least theoretical fallacies can make practical success impossible. So long as so many workers and buyers alike in this country, and often abroad for that matter, consider that art is measured by skill and labour and finesse of the work rather than fundamental qualities of colour and design, just so long will craftsmen be labouring at painful trifles, and, like mountains labouring mightily, producing only mice. It is not true that the best rug has the greatest number of knots to the inch. There are rugs with more than two thousand which are æsthetically worthless, whereas some of the great carpets in the world, those monumental so-called Dragon carpets from the Caucasus region, are very frequently less than eighty to the inch. Not more skill and time but understanding and inspiration are what create great art. Skill and patience is necessary for the execution of the great conception, but to substitute skill for taste and sincere feeling is to enfeeble art at its source.

A similar and common fallacy is that the work of art is excellent in proportion to its age, as if the mere rolling by of the years endowed an object with artistic merit. If so, the common stones by the roadside ought to be the loveliest of all creative things.

The greatest periods of art have been in the past, and hence there is a favourable presumption that the old work of art may come from a time when first-class work was common. Much poor work was also done in the past, and date is no guarantee. The beauty of a work of art is not derived from the years that have passed over it but from the understanding, skill, and inspiration of some serious, hard-working person.



Nor are things that are expensive necessarily beautiful. The mere display of vast wealth is regarded by aristocrats always as vulgar and ridiculous. Why should Persians or Europeans bow down in awe before the peacock throne as if it were some supernatural being? The peacock throne in the Imperial museum is only a copy made by Fath Ali Shah of the original Indian throne which was chiefly the work of a French jeweller. Even if the original were genuinely beautiful as well as being costly, it is not likely that a good copy could be made in the time of Fath Ali Shah, who was an unqualified calamity to Persian art, as different as possible from Shah Abbas and other great monarchs. He had no taste, and during his reign Persian art degenerated rapidly, and his removal of a glorious Sassanian rock carving at Rhages and the substitution of the grotesque and stupid carving of himself and his family will remain as one of the greatest artistic scandals in the history of the world. One could almost say of Persian work, "If done in the time of Fath Ali Shah, probably bad." So instead of worshipping at the peacock throne, Persians can do much better to study thoughtfully the work of their own true artists. One page of the work of Mir Ali Kazvini is worth a hundred peacock thrones in the judgment of at least one student of Persian art. At least the principle that it is not wealth and display that mark art, but something more fundamental and more noble, cannot be challenged.

If by instruction and example these wrong theories that retard the revival and development of real artistic sense can be corrected, then with the Government's energetic support of practical measures the future of Persian art is secure.

The claim of art on the attention of busy Ministers and Administrators may at first seem slight. Art always speaks with a still small voice while practical necessities thunder at the door. Yet art is a vital necessity of life for the nation as well as the individual, and as saith the Proverbs of Solomon (xxix. 18): "Where there is no vision, the people



perish"; or, to quote Joel (ii. 28): "Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions."

At least we can say that without the vision of beauty, the fullest and happiest life is not possible. May the new renaissance of Persia that is now dawning usher in again a day of great artistic achievement in which Persia will once more delight mankind and bring honour to herself. Persians should not forget that "God has planted beauty in our midst like a flag in the city." They who serve under that banner will win new triumphs.





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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1928

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## THE ROYAL AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION

By SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON, C.I.E., F.C.G.I.

(Late Director of Industries, Madras and Mysore)

It has always been claimed by protagonists of the British Raj in India that the welfare of the rural population was to the utmost extent possible the object of its administrative efforts. No impartial observer will deny, that throughout the nineteenth century, by the establishment of peace and order, by land settlement, by the construction of railways, by the extension of irrigation, by the study of famine problems, and by a host of minor measures that claim was fully justified. The Famine Commission of 1901 reviewed the results, and possibly for the first time struck an authoritative note of warning that progress so far had merely postponed the pressure of the population on the soil, and that something more was necessary to bring about a general uplift of the people. There has been an even more rapid development of the material resources of the country during the present century, and undoubtedly some slackening in the rate of increase of the population, due to the ravages of plague and influenza. During the last twenty-five years nature has been more bountiful, and the seasons on the average have been distinctly more favourable than in any previous period of the British administration. Wealth has greatly increased, but over vast areas of dry cultivation there has been no improvement in the condition of the people, and relatively they have probably to some extent deteriorated.

We are now approaching the end of the first decade of the more intimate association of the people of the country with its internal administration, and public interest is centred not so much on the results that have been achieved during that period as upon the extent to which self-government may be granted in the future. But, before a decision is come to regarding the distribution of responsi-



bility and the mechanism of government, it is important to ascertain what has been done in the past, and what problems call for solution at an early date. A Parliamentary Commission is engaged on this task, and whatever recommendations it may ultimately frame, it cannot fail to be influenced by an authoritative review of rural life in India, and by a clear statement of the policy which should be pursued to raise the standard of living of the great bulk of the people of India. In the report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture we have presented to us such a review coupled with numerous conclusions, upon which are based suggestions for future action.

The terms of reference were very wide, and naturally the report is a very lengthy one, covering as it does nearly every phase of Indian agriculture, irrigation, education, rural industries, and the subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, with special chapters on finance, co-operation, and village hygiene. In the main, technical details are avoided, and, whilst the expert will find in it a valuable critical commentary of past work and useful suggestions as to the lines along which future progress is possible, it is obviously intended to inform the intelligent general public of the present condition of the country, and to place before it in clear perspective the many factors which militate against rapid improvement in the material surroundings of the cultivators. The report is far from optimistic, and the final conclusion is "that no substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living, and the capacity, in terms of mental equipment and of physical health, to take advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws, and good administration may place at his disposal. Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself."

This statement of the Commission is but a brief expression of the opinion of those who have studied India's rural problems and have spent long years in working at their solution. Spasmodic efforts, here and there, have shown what can be done, but the general uplift of India is by reason of its magnitude an appalling task, and we are in agreement with the Commission that "the demand for a better life can be stimulated only by a deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general conditions of the countryside." The difficulties are, moreover, enhanced by the fact that we are very imperfectly equipped with knowledge and experience to guide us in the work. Agricultural research in India is still



in its infancy, and it would be disastrous to make any attempt to effect great changes in practice till we are absolutely certain that they are suited to local conditions and that they are adapted to the mentality of the people. Education alone can change the latter, but we have no great faith in the mere spread of literacy. Something deeper than this is required—something which can only be achieved by thousands and tens of thousands of earnest workers, each within his own sphere determined to introduce some measure of enlightenment and a desire for progress among his neighbours. Our whole system of education needs reforming with a view to producing men who, coming from the land, will afterwards return to the land and find in its problems a satisfying career.

Attention has not been sufficiently directed to the necessity for encouraging rural enterprise and reform, and the earnest efforts of many men in the past have been rewarded with but scant recognition of their value to the community. A good cattle breeder or an intelligent and active landlord is of greater use to the country than a loquacious pleader, but the latter will be courted and honoured, whilst the former are left to enjoy in isolation and neglect the comparatively limited rewards of a material kind which can come to them.

It is necessary to cultivate a better sense of social values than that which prevails in India today. All over the world the increasing amenities of town life are attracting both rich and poor from the countryside, and perhaps nowhere is the isolation and lack of comfort in the latter greater than it is in India. This adds enormously to the difficulty in finding local leaders, and it must be admitted that only a strong sense of duty, combined with altruism of a high order, will induce the men needed in the rural tracts to remain there. Every district officer knows that there are many good men in the villages, of a somewhat conservative type, who, if they could only be trained, would make excellent pioneers—slow to move, but still ready to move forward. It is necessary to seek out these men, devise facilities for training them, and take steps to augment their local prestige. It is to this class, rather than to town-educated literates, that we must mainly look for the initiation of betterment movements.

In their chapter on "The Villages" the Commissioners have discussed this lack of leaders with insight and sympathy, and express themselves as greatly attracted by the system of "village guides" devised by Mr. F. L. Brayne, Deputy Commissioner of the Gurgaon District in the Punjab. Briefly, the sons of cultivators are given a special course of



training which, in addition to imbuing them with a sense of the dignity of corporate labour for mutual benefit, is designed to familiarize them with the principles of sanitation, elementary medical aid, co-operation, agricultural improvements, and to give them some knowledge of the simpler home industries, in order that each man may, when his training is completed, act as guide, philosopher, and friend "to the group of villages to which he is posted." It is a pity that, the report does not contain in full detail the nature of the organization that has been created, since this attempt to solve a particularly difficult problem so highly impressed the Commission.

Possibly it is given in the evidence placed before it by Mr. Brayne, and if so, attention might have been drawn to the fact in a footnote. The many volumes of evidence can only be kept in an office or library, and while it will be generally recognized that the report of the Commission has been extended to what may be termed practical limits, its usefulness would have been materially enhanced by footnotes referring to evidence of more than ordinary value. Not only that, but such references would be an implied compliment to the witnesses and a recognition of their work, which in most cases would be appreciated.

The Gurgaon experiments owe their inception to Mr. F. L. Brayne, and now that they have received the marked approval of the Commission it is desirable that they should be repeated in other districts. It by no means follows that when the personality and enthusiasm of the individual who starts a movement of this kind is withdrawn, the same measure of success will be obtained. The records of district work in India contain many instances of similar efforts which have promised well, so long as the initial inspiration was present, but which have gradually faded into thin air when it was removed. Few officers nowadays are stationed long enough in any one place to impress their individuality on the character of their administration, and there is in consequence a growing tendency to replace the human element, so much appreciated in India, by a system which aims at purely mechanical efficiency.

The report of the Commission is mainly concerned with the measures considered necessary to improve the cultivation of the soil, but they are under no illusion as to the result. This is summed up in a single sentence, "No lasting improvement in the standard of living of the great mass of the population can possibly be attained if every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator is followed by a



proportionate increase in the population." This is a gloomy outlook. The irony of the situation is enhanced by the inevitable certainty that the very measures recommended will, to the extent that they are successful, ultimately add to the number of mouths to be fed. Nature, by harsh methods, imposes restraints on the increase in numbers. Humanity and civilization are in conflict with nature, and who can say that they will ultimately prevail?

For roughly a century the struggle has been carried on in India, and to the great mass of the people without any real amelioration of their condition. All that we can claim is, that though their numbers have at least doubled, they are no worse off than they were. The will to aim at a higher standard of life can only be cultivated by the acceptance of new ideals, and the imposition of voluntary restraints of which there are no signs of germination. It is farcical to suggest that the spread of elementary education, the introduction of agricultural improvements, or administrative measures of any kind will produce that complete change in the psychology of the people which is essential. Nevertheless, we must do what we can to prepare the way for such a revolution in thought and outlook when external conditions have developed to the necessary degree of intensity. The Commission state in their concluding remarks: "If the inertia of centuries is to be overcome, it is essential that all the resources at the disposal of the State should be brought to bear on the problem of rural uplift." But it is more than the inertia of centuries which has to be overcome—it is human nature on a colossal scale which has to be guided to a new outlook on life, and it will only be by the generation of new moral and spiritual forces that such a change can be effected.

It is no unimportant matter that the Commission should have recognized so completely the limited character of the results which may be expected from the adoption of their proposals for the improvement of agriculture. In no way is their importance thereby minimized, but they are placed in true perspective in the picture of rural life, and thereby is created an enhanced sense of the necessity for co-ordinated effort by all the forces—political, social, economic, and religious, which can be mustered, if any lasting improvement is to be made in the condition of the lower elements of the rural population.

Under the reforms of 1919 agriculture became a transferred subject, and for all practical purposes the Government of India relinquished control over the administration



of the departments in the nine major provinces. They retained their agricultural adviser as head of the Imperial Department of Agriculture and in administrative control of the Pusa Research Institute and of a number of other research or experimental stations scattered over India. The result has been a deplorable loss of touch between, not only Pusa and the provincial departments, but also between the provincial departments themselves. The Commission considered that the most important problem arising from their inquiries was to devise means of co-ordinating research and getting research workers throughout the country to realize that they are working for objects which cannot be attained unless they regard themselves as partners in the same enterprise. They also considered that the Government of India could not maintain the position that agricultural development was now in the main a purely provincial matter. Under the constitutional changes of 1919 the administration of central agencies and institutions for research and for professional and technical training was retained as a central subject. It was, therefore, still possible to render substantial assistance to agricultural progress by the provision of facilities for the promotion of research and by the collection and diffusion of information. After the examination and rejection of proposals either for the expansion of Pusa or for the establishment of special crop committees on the lines of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, the Commission came to the conclusion that the Government of India should by an Act of the Imperial Legislature constitute an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research endowed with an initial annual grant of fifty lakhs from the Imperial revenues.

The functions of this proposed Council are discussed at some length. Throughout the body of the report its existence is assumed, and recommendations are made as to action which it should take in regard to a great variety of questions which arose in the course of the Commission's inquiries. It is not proposed that the Council should have research stations of its own, as such would be incompatible with the main principle underlying the scheme that in relation to both the Imperial and Provincial Departments of Agriculture it should be an advisory body in control of funds from which it could make grants for objects of all-India importance. Postulating the urgent necessity for the prosecution of research as a preliminary to development (and who can doubt that without it the efforts of provincial departments will be devoid of useful results?), the proposal



to establish this central council should meet with general approval. It is not likely that any opposition will be offered to the moderately generous provision of funds, certainly not by the Provinces, who are always ready to receive grants from Imperial sources and will be none the less ready to do so for purposes which offer no immediate direct return. Depending on the character of the season and the state of world prices, the value of the agricultural produce annually raised in India ranges probably between twelve and eighteen hundred crores of rupees. It cannot, therefore, in any way be considered an extravagant idea to assign half a crore annually to the promotion of measures for the improvement of the cultivation of the soil.

The proposals of the Commission in regard to the composition of the Council are of a somewhat tentative character, as they realize that an entirely satisfactory constitution can only be evolved by experience. Some light on this point might have been obtained from an examination of the records of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, which is an all-India body controlling the working of an institution chiefly concerned with the training of research workers in physical and chemical science. It is recognized that the proposed Imperial Council should not be an unwieldy body, and it is suggested that at the outset it should be limited to thirty-nine members including the Chairman, and two whole-time members. The Chairman should be an outstanding man, of great experience as an administrator, with a knowledge of Indian conditions, and the two whole-time members should be eminent specialists, one in some branch of crop production and the other in animal husbandry. Of the other thirty-six members, half of them would be the Directors of Agriculture and the heads of the Veterinary services in the nine major provinces. The remainder would include the Director of the Pusa Institute, the Director of the Muktesar Institute of Veterinary Research, and representatives of the minor administrations of the Government of India, the Indian Cotton Committee, and the planting interests. Here it would be well to end, but further provision is made for a member of the Council of State, two members of the Legislative Assembly, two representatives of the European and Indian business communities respectively, three representatives of the Universities, and five non-officials nominated by the Government of India.

There is ample scope for informed public opinion to



express itself elsewhere than in the deliberations of a council solely concerned with expert and technical problems. The officers of Provincial Administrations will necessarily be to some extent delegates, and to that extent will be able to represent local interests and aspirations. The highest possible degree of efficiency will be required in the working of the council, and that will best be obtained by the exclusion of any kind of irresponsible popular element. It is not necessary to do more than indicate the advantages of a purely expert council.

If the suggestion of a council is accepted by the Government of India, there will be much discussion of the subject, and it is quite possible that in some provinces it will be regarded as opposed to local autonomy. As regards the efficiency of various methods of organizing agricultural research much may be learned from the work going on in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and the Commonwealth of Australia. The report describes the diverse ways which have been adopted in these countries, but naturally does not express any opinion on their efficiency. Before any legislative enactment is formulated, it might be well to supplement the information given in the report by further inquiries. It is reasonable to assume that both the Government of India and the Provincial Governments will either accept the scheme for the Council as it stands or in some modified form, as there appears to be no other practical method of ensuring the progress of research at such a rate and in such volume as will meet the urgent demands of the country for a better utilization of its agricultural resources.

The Commission are impressed with the value of the work done by the Indian Central Cotton Committee, and they approve of the principle under which special cesses are levied on tea and lac for the purpose of providing funds, administered by trade committees, to promote by research, by advertisement, or by propaganda the interests of the trades concerned, and they consider that similar cesses may be levied for the benefit of any other branch of agriculture, provided it is done at the instance of, and with the consent of, those interested in the product. In the case of jute, however, they consider that, since the Government of India derive a large income from the export duties on raw and manufactured jute, there should be a jute committee, to watch over the interests of all branches of the trade, from the field to the factory, which should be financed by an annual grant of five lakhs. India enjoys a monopoly of



jute, but this monopoly is exposed to the danger that an artificial substitute may be put on the market at a competitive price, or other fibres may be discovered which may partially or wholly displace it in the world markets. It is therefore necessary to maintain an attitude of watchfulness, and to carry on systematically investigations to improve the position, especially as regards the relative cheapness of jute in comparison with other fibres. The jute industry is strong enough to manage its own affairs, and the mere fact that Government is directly interested in its prosperity, whilst it is only indirectly interested in the prosperity of other crops, hardly constitutes a sufficient justification for a departure from the general rule governing the provision of funds for crop committees. It is perhaps of advantage that the jute trade should be warned of possible dangers threatening their industry, but it is surely not necessary to provide it with financial assistance considering the unexampled prosperity it has enjoyed for a long period.

Passing from a consideration of what may be termed the purely administrative measures advocated by the Commission to the general body of the report, it may be generally described as an expert judicial sifting of the evidence received, with comments and recommendations that are distinguished by their common sense and lucidity. The expert will sometimes get a new angle of vision but no new facts, and it is not unlikely that whilst he may find food for thought he will occasionally dissent from the conclusions and prefer to go his own way. The experienced Indian administrator should find the report and its recommendations comparatively easy to deal with. Outside the creation of the Imperial Council, the recommendations can be carried out by the existing departmental machinery, extended and elaborated when need be.

The value of the report lies chiefly in the fact that the Commission have made a comprehensive survey of the circumstances of rural life in India, and have generally endorsed the measures that have been taken to combat the ignorance, poverty, and inertia of the people. Where there have been so many earnest and thoughtful workers it was hardly to be expected that much new light would be thrown on problems that have been before the administrators for many years. It should be a matter of general satisfaction that after such a lengthy inquiry and the examination of many witnesses there has been found little for adverse criticism and much for commendation. The Government of India and all the Provincial Governments have now before



them a consolidated statement of the case for assigning an increasing share of the revenues to agricultural research and improvement, and to the creation of methods for an organized attempt to introduce a higher standard of living among the rural population. To the legislators of the future the report should be a mine of useful information and a source of valuable inspiration.



## FISCAL INTER-RELATION OF INDIAN STATES AND THE EMPIRE

BY COLONEL KAILAS NARAIN HAKSAR, C.I.E.

(Political Member, Gwalior State)

INDIA has never been enamoured of the abstract blessings of Free Trade, which, like the blessings of Protection, are so very important but so very hard to remember. Under the various administrations of India, at least during the last 1,100 years, one source of revenue would always seem to have been Customs duty. The Hindu patriarchal King was bound to levy toll upon the imports brought into his realm by foreign traders. If, as a patriot, he saw fit to tax exports from his territories, his subjects recognized his laudable aim of keeping down the prices of local produce for the home consumers.

At the time when the East India Company first rose to political power in the peninsula, the inland as well as the foreign trade of the country was terribly hampered by a plethora of Customs posts and imposts. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commerce in India was as much fettered by internal tolls and duties as was the commerce of internal Europe during the same period. Whatever his political or commercial morality, one undeniable blessing brought by John Company to the territories over which he acquired sway was the removal of a scorbatic rash of inland Customs Houses.

As regards Sea Customs, too, he introduced a very moderate scale of duties. For example, by 1853 the maximum impost he placed on any imports was a 10 per cent. *ad valorem* rate. His tariff discriminated between British and foreign goods, the maximum duty on the former never exceeding 5 per cent.

England in the first half of the nineteenth century was not so liberal. She totally prohibited the import of certain Indian silk manufactures and taxed some other textiles, especially muslins, at over 70 per cent. *ad valorem* for Customs purposes. The object of such heavy imposts was to protect British cotton manufactures. But between 1846 and 1860 England had veered round to Free Trade principles, and India, willy-nilly, was forced to follow suit. This is not the place to consider whether or



no Free Trade did England or India good or harm. Suffice it to say that the imposition of Free Trade in India became unpopular among the majority of such of her inhabitants as took any interest in fiscal matters. On receiving fiscal autonomy British India adopted the policy of discriminating Protection, and there seems no prospect of its abandonment. The demands for increased revenue, as well as the protection of her nascent industries, are held to justify the maintenance of comparatively high import duties.

During the time when, under pressure from the Home Government, the Government of India was pursuing a Free Trade policy, the Indian States as a whole refused to be convinced of the benefits of such a policy as applied to themselves. Each State of any size had on a small scale to carry out the duties of a central as well as of a provincial Government, and usually had inadequate resources for the purpose. I believe that, for the most part, the soil of the States is not as fertile as that of British India, though, of course, rich in minerals; and their populations per square mile are consequently smaller than those of the adjoining British Provinces. Their communications were inferior to those of British India, and their industrial and commercial centres very few and undeveloped. Income tax, if levied in the States, would have brought in very little amongst peoples who had not been civilized into an appreciation of its benefit. The individuals whom it would be practicable to tax in this way are exceedingly rare. The policy imposed by the Government of India in the matter of such sources of revenue as salt or opium trenched upon the taxable resources of the States, and land revenue in districts which from their great natural aridity are presumably more exposed to famine than most British Provinces, could not supply the needs of the budgets of the Indian States.

So, despite pressure from the Government of India, several of the Indian States maintained their Customs duties. Transit duties on goods passing through their territories without breaking bulk were generally abolished, as also internal duties between divisions of the same State; but the territories of the Indian Princes for the most part did not adopt a system of Free Trade, but levied duties on imports from outside, and in many cases export duties on goods which passed out of them.

As the Sea Customs imposed at the British Indian ports were for practical purposes negligible, the States were not



seriously inconvenienced thereby. If the restriction of trade caused by the duties which each State levied in a measure interfered with the trade development of that State, the proceeds of the tax were spent within the State and, assuming that the State can spend more wisely than the taxpayer, for the benefit of the people who had paid the taxes.

This state of affairs was completely altered when after the Great War India suddenly turned protectionist. The needs of war finance had led to the imposition of certain new duties at the ports and to the raising of old ones, but the States, after having received in the report on the Reforms an assurance that in any question involving the general fiscal policy of India their case would merit consideration, were disappointed when the Indian Fiscal Commission found that their terms of reference did not admit of the assessments of the States' claim. The result appears to be that today the subjects of the Indian States, while paying on sea-borne goods imported into their States an excess represented by the Customs duty paid, get no share in the proceeds of such Customs duties as do the inhabitants of British India.

The States, both their rulers and peoples, have quickly awakened to the inequity of this arrangement, of which the Government of India have also taken cognizance. I understand that it was argued that the present system could be justified on the plea that the States were in this way repaying their protection by the Government of India; but in my judgment a careful examination of the history of the past relationships of the States with the Government of India tends to show that by cessions of territory, tributes, and cash payments the States have already fulfilled their obligations for defence.

But apart from any question of the inequity of the inhabitants of the Indian States paying such duties, the present system of Sea Customs appears to be inconsistent with certain Treaties made by the East India Company and later confirmed by the Crown. Take, for example, the case of Hyderabad, the premier State in India.

In 1802 the East India Company entered into a Treaty for the improvement of trade and commerce between its territories and those of the Nizam. This Treaty is still in force. In 1875 it was found necessary to modify it so as to provide that salt from Hyderabad was not exported into British India on payment of a 5 per cent. duty. Such export was clearly permissible under the terms of the



Treaty, which covered indiscriminately all articles of merchandise "imported from the Nizam's dominions into the Company's territories or *vice versa*."

In this Treaty the most important clause is the third, which states that "there shall be a free transit between the territories of the contracting parties of all articles being the growth, produce or manufacture of each respectively. . . ." The Nizam and the Company also agreed to abolish *rahdary* (transit). There was thus a clear exchange of benefits on both sides. A separate clause of the same article extends the application of the rule to cover articles not only of the Company but of any part of His Britannic Majesty's dominions, clearly implying goods brought overseas from all parts of the British Empire. No duties except the 5 per cent. permitted by Article 5 of the Treaty could therefore have any place in the tariff scheme of either party, so far as the other's goods were concerned.

No transit duties beyond the 5 per cent. are at present levied in the Nizam's dominions; but whether the Company's policy has been followed in an equal measure by their successors is open to question. The Government of India today levies Customs duties on goods intended for the Nizam's territories or consumed within their borders. As far as I can see, these duties would appear to be inconsistent with Article 3 of the Treaty of 1802. Is it to be understood that the fact that the frontier crossed is a sea-board and not a land frontier metamorphoses a transit duty into a Customs duty?

If the duties are to be collected at all, so far as Hyderabad is concerned, they should only be levied on that section of its imported goods which comes from outside the British Empire. Hyderabad, with its compact territory in the centre of India and its twelve million inhabitants, might profit itself and Great Britain by acting up to the principle of according Preference to British goods to which it agreed over a century ago.

This question of Imperial Preference may be further treated in relation to the Indian States generally. The Indian Princes and their subjects are proud of their connection with the Empire. Their loyalty to the British Crown is an abiding sentiment and an active influence. For the welfare of the Empire the Princes of India are ready to help to their utmost not merely in time of war but in the days of peace. Many of these States, particularly the Kathiawar States on the western coast, have ports and harbours to which ocean-going steamers can and do



in increasing numbers resort. By their agreements with the Government of India at these ports the same rate of Customs duty is imposed as at the British Indian ports. Would it not be a good thing if these States were asked whether, so far as goods for their own territories are concerned, they would not be willing to accept the principle of Imperial Preference? For the purpose, I understand, of preventing smuggling into British India, the Government has reintroduced the Viramgam cordon to assure itself that goods do not enter British India without paying the same duties as at the British Indian ports; but owing to the smallness of their port dues and the facilities they offer, the Kathiawar ports cannot fail to progress.

It is true that the whole population of the Kathiawar peninsula is not very large, but the Kathiawaris are intelligent, steadily increasing in wealth, and yearly becoming larger consumers of the manufactures of the West.

In the past the British nation has done both good and harm in India, but whatever their past relations have been, Great Britain today is doing its utmost to play fair with her great Eastern charge. It is, in my opinion, a great pity that the Indian States on their part, owing to their special circumstances, are not free to make their choice in regard to Imperial Preference. Industrial depression in England will benefit neither England nor India; and if in every way, even if it be a very insignificant way, any part of India can help the Empire without damaging itself, it is, I think, the duty of that part to help.



## THE INNER EAST

### THE ANCIENT CAUCASUS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE GEORGIANS

By W. E. D. ALLEN

#### PART I

##### THE CAUCASUS DURING THE BRONZE AGE

THE first traditions of the Georgian Annals,\* of the coming up into the valleys of the Kura and the Rioni of Kartlos and his brothers—giants issue of the loins of Japhet—refer to the latter end of those unruly centuries when the Bronze Age was passing and a new age was coming in on the iron swords of nomad looters. New people were swarming into Western Asia through the Balkan passes and across the Thracian plain—Dardanians and Phrygians, Mysians and Bithynians. All the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Asia shuddered before the onslaught. The "Peoples of the Sea"—uprooted remnants of the old Ægean trading cities mixed with the new incoming pirates from the north—threatened Egypt (c. 1190 B.C.). In a generation Western Asia was all changed; Troy was thrown down (c. 1183 B.C.). The Hittite records came abruptly to an end (c. 1175 B.C.). The strength of the young Assyrian monarchy was strained. Babylon fell into anarchy and the Kassite dynasty, themselves descendants of nomad raiders, were exterminated. Five centuries passed before the old world finally went down before the latter swarms of nomads, Cimmerians and Scythians, Medians and Persians, coming now out of the north and east. Through all this intermediate period the elements of the older civilization were held together in some mean extent by the Assyrians, who, with all their ugly name for ruthlessness, were the efficient wardens of the marches to the north; by the new barbarian states of Phrygia, Lydia

\* See M. F. Brosset, "*Histoire de la Géorgie*," 1<sup>re</sup> partie, 1 livraison, Spb., 1849. The Georgian Annals were first collated from various sources—mostly monkish manuscripts—by the scholarly King Wakh-tang VI. of Georgia at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Wakh-tang's no less learned bastard, Wakhusht, made an abridgment, which is known as the Georgian Chronicle.



and Bithynia, grown upon the wreckage of the Hittite empire; and by the kingdom of Urartu, around Lake Van, whose people, assimilating something of the civil ways and notions of the Babylonians and the Hittites, carried these things as far as the Araxes. At the end of the seventh century B.C. Urartu and Asshur, Nineveh and Babylon, went down in the turbulence and devastations of the nomad wars. The old world was fading out; the classic world was drifting into written light.

That the Caucasus lay within the area of this older civilization is probable, though far from provable, and, in the present state of knowledge, we can arrive at little more than reasonable assumptions based upon the application of the slender evidence of myths and isolated archæological discoveries to the probabilities of history.

The known abundance of copper in the Caucasus, considered in conjunction with the myth of Prometheus and the identification of Tubal and Meshek, the metal-working tribes of Genesis, with Uplos and Mtzkhetos, two of the eponymous heroes of the Georgians, induced earlier students of the origins of the Bronze Age, to locate in the Caucasus the invention of the metallurgical arts. Dufréné\* went so far as to derive the Egyptian word "khespet" (tin) from Mount Kazbek, whilst Lenormant, having scoured the whole of the prehistoric world for tin-mines accessible to the ancients, concluded that "restent les gisements de l'Ibérie Caucasienne et ceux du Paropamisus."† The explorations of competent geologists, such as Abicht, Bayern, Radde and Favre, having convinced historical science that tin was not found in the Caucasus, there followed a tendency rather to underestimate the significance of the Bronze Age in that region. Chantre considered that "l'âge de bronze ne paraît pas avoir atteint un grand développement au Caucase,"‡ and in this opinion Jacques de Morgan§ concurred. But Rostovtseff, the

\* Dufréné, "Étude sur l'Histoire de la Production et du Commerce de l'Étain" (Paris, 1881), p. 22.

† Fr. Lenormant, "Les premières Civilisations," I. 128.

‡ Chantre, I. 93, "Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase" (Paris, 2 vols., 1885).

§ Jacques de Morgan, "Mission scientifique au Caucase" (Paris, 1889), tome 1, pp. 33 *et seq.* For recent discussion of the origin of the use of copper, cf. "C. A. H.," I., pp. 89 *et seq.*; and of bronze, *ibid.*, pp. 103-5. Cf. also J. F. Baddeley, "Russia, Mongolia, and China," Vol. I., p. cv, referring to the Altai, "that bronze was a local production has been hinted at recently by the discovery of old tin workings in the valley of the Kara-Irtish, with bronze tools in them. We may hope to know more on



most recent authority on the archæology of the Caucasus, now insists upon the existence in the valley of the Kuban, and probably in Trans-Caucasia, of a highly-developed Copper (and later Bronze) Age. He makes comparisons between the art of things found in the Kuban and at Koban, with the antiquities of Anau, of Sumer, of Susa and Elam, of Asterabad, and of pre- and proto-dynastic Egypt.\* He places the full development of this Caucasian Copper civilization in the Third Millennium B.C., while admitting the possibility of the later date of the Second Millennium B.C., suggested by other authorities. Rostovtseff sees this North Caucasian culture as original and native, influenced only slightly by, and not derived from, other contemporary cultures of the Near and Middle East.†

The Argonautic legend, which really embodies the form of an early "Black Sea Pilot," handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and modified or embroidered according to the fluctuations of geographical knowledge and the fertile imagination of all sailors, relates to the history of a maritime commerce in the Black Sea, dating back to round about the fifteenth century B.C., eight hundred years before the great days of the Hellenic mercantile marine, and several hundred years before the Aryan nomads and pirates overturned the flourishing monarchies and the great sea-trading cities of the Bronze Age. The buried bones and wealth of metal things found in the Kuban, and the carved stones set along the cliffs of the Abkhazian coast illuminate this epic monument of Orpheus, and the maritime smack of all the scattered evidences seems to indicate that the prehistoric civilization of the Caucasus, if indeed native and original, was in familiar and enduring contact with one or the other, or all, of the successive thalassocracies of the Bronze Age. The kingdom of Ætes—whose riches amazed the rough crew of Jason's ship as, in a later age, the treasures of Mexico astonished Cortés's sailors—may indeed have been very similar in character to the Bosporan kingdom which, in the third century B.C., arose to great prosperity on the north-east coasts of the

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this fascinating subject some day; meantime it is worth noting that, whereas the bronze of Koban has hitherto been given a Malay or European origin, it may more easily have come from the Altai.

\* M. Rostovtseff, "Iranians and Greeks in South Russia." See Introduction and Chap. I., "The Prehistoric Civilizations," pp. 1-35. Also "L'Âge de Cuivre dans le Caucase septentrional et les Civilisations de Soumer et de l'Egypte protodynastique," in *Revue archéologique*, 1920.

† *Idem.*, "The Treasure of Asterabad," in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1920.



Black Sea ; that is, a country of farming and mining ruled by a native dynasty, in regular contact with sea-traders who had opened up the navigation of the Black Sea. And in the way that the Bosporan kingdom grew to wealth and political importance as the warden of the ways to Central Asia by the Don and Ural, and as the garnerer of all the products round about, so the kingdom of *Ætes*, master of the mines and natural products of the Trans-Caucasian Trough, straddled the through-route to the Caspian and Iran and the ways that went south-east to Lake Van and the Mesopotamian plain.

The identity of the maritime nations who traded with Trans-Caucasia in the Bronze Age remains obscure. The existence of the megaliths of the Trans-Caucasian coast brings the Caucasus within the sphere of all those elaborate theories which have been constructed to explain the setting up of the stone monuments, everywhere so curiously similar.\* The theory that these monuments were built always under Egyptian influence may find confirmation in the story of Herodotus about the Egyptian origin and customs of the Colchians.† Harold Peake, however, contends that "several lines of evidence point to the Sumerians, or certain groups of them, as being the traders who travelled the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast of Europe in search of precious metals, and who are somehow responsible for the spread of the megalithic culture . . . dolmens and other megalithic structures are found all round Sumer, in Syria and Palestine to the west, in the Crimea and in the Caucasus."‡ Again it may be suggested that the Minoans, rather than the Egyptians or the Sumerians, were the first of the sea-going nations to set about the navigation of the Black Sea. Certainly the Mycenæans, the immediate heirs to the maritime supremacy and to the civilization of Knossus, appear to have extended their adventuring to the eastern coast of the Black Sea, and the traces of their trading may be followed to the valleys of the Kura and the Alazan, and even by the southern shore of the Caspian.§

\* For review of the megalith problem, see "Cambridge Ancient History," Vol. II., pp. 597-600.

† See V. de St. Martin, "Mémoire historique sur la Géographie ancienne du Caucase," pp. 49-54; Uslar in "Proceedings of Caucasian Sect. of Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.," Book XIV., Part 2, pp. 391-403, Note on the Colchians.

‡ H. Peake, "The Bronze Age and the Celtic World," p. 59.

§ See Salomon Reinach, "La Représentation du Galop dans l'Art ancien et moderne" (Paris, 1925, 55-9), for "Ægean" activities on the Pontine coast in thirteenth century B.C.; cf. also J. L. Myres in "C. A. H.," III. 661-2.



Knowledge of the relations of the early Asiatic land-powers with the tribes and principalities of the Trans-Caucasian Trough is confined to deductions such as those made by Rostovtseff, based on a comparison of the artistic technique of scattered archæological finds. The inscriptions of Sumer, of Susa and Elam, and of Babylon, give no indication that the commercial and political influence of the people of these sites extended even as far as the Araxes. We cannot, indeed, doubt that the fertile Trans-Caucasian Trough was, during the Bronze Age, as it was during the early Classic period, more easily accessible by sea than by the difficult land-routes from South-Western Asia. It is, however, not unreasonable to assume that there existed in the ancient Mesopotamian cities some knowledge of, and some irregular and indirect intercourse with, the valleys of the Rion and the Kura.

At a later date there is a probability that the Hittites were in regular contact with Trans-Caucasia, but here again their inscriptions, which have so far been deciphered, give no indication of the fact, and a vast tract of archæologically unexplored country, of whose history in the pre-Classic period we are entirely ignorant, separates the region of the mythical kingdom of *Ætes* from the seats of the Hittites on the Halys.

It is first in Assyrian records that mention frequently occurs of names of tribes who, later, in the early Classic period, are found settled in the Kura Valley. But in the period of the Assyrian wars, from the eleventh century B.C. to the seventh century B.C., these tribes were cantoned much farther south and west, in the neighbourhood of the Middle Taurus and the Upper Valley of the Euphrates, and there is no inscriptional evidence to indicate that the Assyrians had any knowledge of, or any intercourse with, the country beyond Mount Ararat.

It would seem that the Kingdom of Urartu,\* called also Nairi or Khaldi—which covered all the country round Lake Van, and stretched north-eastwards as far as the Araxes, and possibly northward to the valley of the Chorokh—was the only land-state of the older civilization which had a close intercourse with the Ponto-Caspian Isthmus, and which extended its commercial and, maybe, its political influence to those parts. The Urartians used a language which has

\* "Cambridge Ancient History," III. 169-186; Lynch, H. F. B., "Armenia: Travels and Studies," 2 vols.; Lehmann Haupt, "Armenien Einst und Jetzt" (Berlin, 1910), and other works. Marr and Orbeli, "Archæological Expedition to Van in 1916" (Leningrad, 1922).



been found to have some affinity with modern Kartvelian\* (Georgian), and, although it is suggested that their dynasty and aristocracy was Aryan, there seems little reason to doubt that the people of the Vannic Kingdom were racially connected with, if indeed their descendants did not form part of, those tribes who about the time of the fall of the kingdoms of Van and Assyria were beginning to settle along the Kura Valley. The Urartians developed a culture which was borrowed directly from the Assyrians, and the historical roots of which drew nurture from Babylonia. Planted across the routes which led from the treasure-bearing mountains of the north to the cities of the ancient world, the Urartians in the very nature of their quickly-accumulated power and prosperousness, must indeed have been the energetic pioneers of the exploitation, by the land-routes, of the mineral resources of the Pontic and Caucasian lands.†

## PART II

### THE SWARMING TIME

The monkish authors of the Georgian Annals derive the peoples of the Caucasus from Targamos, a descendant of Japhet. Targamos is the Torgom of Armenian tradition, the Togarmah of Genesis.‡ Of the sons of Targamos, Haos was the ancestor of the Armenians (Ha'iq), his seven brothers of the Georgians and of the various tribes of the main chain of the Caucasus. The Chroniclers wrote under the influence of the historical ethnology of the Old Testament, and sought to combine the "mappa mundi" of the Tenth Chapter of Genesis with local vague traditions of the swarming time. And so the names given to the sons and grandsons of Targamos represent a late attempt to explain geographical names in use during the first centuries of the Christian era.

Of all the relations of Haos, there are three, Kartlos, Mtzkhetos, and Uplos, who may in different degrees be identified in tribal names, known to the early historic

\* Sayce, A. H., "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van," *J.R.A.S.*, XIV. *et seq.*; cf. also Marr, "Towards the Study of the Contemporary Georgian Language" (Leningrad, 1922).

† "C. A. H.," III., p. 185: "In metallurgy the people of Van were very expert, as might be expected from the proximity of mineral wealth. Gold, silver, bronze, copper, and iron were all in requisition."

‡ V. de St. Martin, "Recherches sur les Populations primitives et les plus anciens Traditions du Caucase" (Paris, 1847), pp. 30-34.



peoples of Asia in forms derivative from the roots K-T, M-S, and P-L. The root K-T is, at once, the most important and the most obscure. It is represented in Kartli, a Georgian provincial toponym. It has survived in the contemporary name Kurd, which covers a number of tribes of primitive and mingled stock in the Armenian mountains; and there can be little doubt that these tribes include in their composition the descendants of fugitive elements from the period of the Scythian and Cimmerian invasions. The name Kardukhoi, applied by Xenophon to the tribes in the upper valleys of the Euphrates and the Araxes, constitutes an indication of the historical connection between the various forms of this name root. The roots M-S and B-L are common in the geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor and the Caucasus. Mtzkh-eta, the place of Mtzkh- and Uplis-tzikhé, "the castle of Upli," perpetuate in familiar way the names of these two mythical forefathers of the Georgians. The root M-S appears again in the names of the town of Mush, in that of the district of Mughan, and in the form Masis, the old Armenian name for Mount Ararat. The inhabitants of south-western Georgia called their province Sa-mtzkhe, and themselves Meskhians until the end of the eighteenth century.\* In early Hebrew, Assyrian, Vannic, and Greek records the forms of these two roots, M-S and B-L, frequently occur as the names of the tribes who, in the period between the first Assyrian references and the later Greek descriptions, had shifted from the Taurus region to the neighbourhood of the Pontic mountains. Thus in Assyrian inscriptions the Mushkai and Tabal appear, in the Old Testament, Tubal and Meshek, and in Herodotus and later writers, the Moskhoi and Tibarenoi.

The persistent association of the name of Tubal and Meshek with the origin of the use of metals, and the fact that the Mushki first appear in history at the beginning of the period when iron was coming into use, would appear to indicate that the Mushki came into Western Asia with the iron-using nomads who were threatening the Bronze Age civilization at the end of the twelfth century B.C. There is evidence that the first effective use of iron may have been made by nomad peoples in the region to the north of the

\* Cf. "The Man in the Panther's Skin," by Shota Rustaveli (late twelfth century), edited by M. Wardrop; R.A.S., 1912, quatrain 1572; also Wakhush, "Geographical Description of Georgia," ed. M. F. Brosset, Spb., 1842, pp. 72 *et seq.* It is noteworthy that the term "Meshkin" is at the present time applied, among certain Kurdish tribes, to the lowest and poorest section of the population.



Caucasus. A recently published papyrus from Oxyrhynchus containing fragments from Hellanicus, records that the use of iron weapons was first introduced by one Saneunos, a Scythian king.\* Peake, further, has shown that it was possible for groups of the horse-riding nomads of Eastern Europe to have learned the use of iron from the tribes of the Caucasus.† On the other hand, de Morgan has suggested that the discovery of the use of iron was an accidental result of the efforts of bronze-using folk to find a substitute for tin, in a country where only copper was available.‡ He finds these conditions in Trans-Caucasia, and he would postulate the discovery of iron-smelting in the Caucasus, and the propagation of the idea southward and westward from that region. The Khalybes§ of the Pontine coast, who are to be identified possibly with the Halizones of the Alazan and lower Kura Valleys, and with the Albanians of the Classical period—all of which names may be correlated to the B-L root—were associated in the minds of the Greeks with the discovery and production of iron. The actual trade in iron with the Greeks cannot be dated before the seventh century B.C., but it is likely that the country had for centuries before this date been known as rich in iron.

It seems probable then that the Mushki were new arrivals in South-East Asia Minor when they first appear in Assyrian records, and that they, together with other immigrant tribes, either brought a knowledge of iron with them from the regions north of the Black Sea, or that they acquired it after their arrival in the lands between the Taurus and the Pontine Coast.||

Whatever their origins, the Mushki were undoubtedly a mixed people, as were the Hittites before them, as were their Mitannian and Urartian contemporaries, and as were the Armenians after them.

\* Rostovtseff, "Iranians and Greeks," 18. Compare also name "Saneunos," pp. 569-70 *infra*.

† H. Peake, "Bronze Age."

‡ J. de Morgan, "M. S. au C.," I. 37 *et seq.*

§ Cf. Dubois de Montpereux, "Voyage autour du Caucase," tome IV., who connects the iron mines of Gogh (Kulp), twenty versts from Akhtala, with the name "Khalyb."

|| Marr, *Iz. Russ. Akad. Nauk.*, Ser. VI., 1917, No. 5, pp. 317-8, suggests an association between the root Mesk and the words in Avar, "Maq," and in Kazi-Kummukh "Maq," signifying "nails," and hence "iron." In the name Kazi-Kummukh "Kazi" is of course a Turkish apposition, "Ghazi" (victorious). The identical form Kumukh appears frequently in Assyrian inscriptions ("C. A. H.," III. 16 *et seq.*), and the region once inhabited by the Kumukh still retained in classic



## PART III

## THE MINGLING

The swarming time became a vague memory in the legend of the sons of Targamos. The migrant tribes had settled; had displaced the tribes they found there, or had mingled with them; the mingling tribes had grown to peoples, or had scattered, left their fragments, disappeared. Name-forms, and their location, change in every written account from Ezekiel to Strabo and Pliny, and the historians of the first centuries of the Christian era. Feudal kingdoms had arisen, and these again had changing names. We can at best sort out these names a little, and get some meaning from their outlandish forms—which may give them some interest and significance.

*The Name-Root S-N.*—The oldest name-root—that of the aboriginal peoples who occupied the land before the swarming time—it would appear, is S-N. This name-root is widespread throughout the western parts of the Caucasus. The Swan mountaineers inhabiting the region of the upper sources of the Kodor and the Tskhenis-tsqali (the horse's river) call themselves Tsenau, and they are known to their neighbours as Tsonti or Tsinti.\* They are, of course, the Soanes of Strabo, who says of them that "some say that they are called the same name as the Western Iberians from the gold mines found in both countries."† Ptolemy speaks of the Soanokhalkhi;‡ which may well be a composite name, like that of the Celtiberi of Spain. The name-form crops out again in the Sindi, a tribe which Scylax of Caryander, writing in the sixth century B.C., places in the neighbourhood of the Taman peninsula; in the Heniokhes of Strabo and Appian,§ the Sanighes of Arrian;|| and in Sanna, the name given by mediæval Italian geographers to the ruins of Nikopsia. Again the Georgians call the Lazes, inhabiting the Pontine coast between Trebizond and the mouth of the Chorokh, Channi, and the country Chaneti. From this name, the Turkish form Lazistan is derived. The Byzantine form was Lazika, but the more ancient Greek form was Chanike or Tsanike, and Strabo calls the tribes

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times the name of Commagene. The Kummukh were near neighbours of the Tubal and Mushki, as they are now of the mountain Georgians—Pshavs, Tushes, and Khevsurs.

\* Reineggs, II., p. 15.

† Strabo, B. XI., c. 2, 19.

‡ Ptolemy, B. V., c. 8.

§ Cf. Dubois, I. 56-58.

|| Cf. *idem.*, I. 69, etc.



hereabouts Sanni.\* Herodotus uses the form Mosunoekoi;† here again possibly a composite form, since he associates the name with that of the Moschians. Laz is simply derived from the combination of the Svanian territorial prefix "la-" with the tribal root—chan or zan; thus Mingrelia, the intervening country between Svaneti and Lazistan, is called, in Svanian, La-zan, and so the forms—Lazan-ica, Laz-n-ica, Lazica. This form Lazan-Lazica, in Byzantine times, replaced the old classical form Colchis as the name for the whole of Imer—the western basin of the Trans-Caucasus.

*The forms Kart and Khald.*—We have already considered, a little, the root K-T which appears in the name of Kartlos, the eponymous hero of the Georgians. The name Kartli was applied by the Georgian Annalists to the valley of the middle Kura from the Borjomi defile to the junction of the Jora. The name is now applied by Georgians to the whole country; they call the land sa-Kartvel-o and themselves Kartvel-ni. The name does not, however, seem to have come into general use as applied to all Georgia until the Middle Ages, when the province of Kartli became the centre of the Georgian Monarchy.

Another root-form which might appear to have a connection with the Kart variants—but which is, in fact, distinct—is that of Khald. We have already written of the Kingdom of Urartu, called also Khaldi or Nairi.\* The people of this kingdom called themselves Khaldians, and they had a god Khaldis—from whom their name is commonly derived. Their influence in the Caucasian lands, at least as far as the Araxes, was great, until they disappeared finally in the Cimmerian and Scythian invasions of the ninth century B.C. Remnants of them must have drifted northward in the succeeding generations. The name Chaldia or Khaldia was applied by Byzantine and Armenian authors to the mountainous district of the Upper Chorokh‡; it occurs, possibly, in "the mountain of Qalnu"—the Georgian name for the Sughanli Dagħ; in the name of the Kaldikara Mountains, to the north of the River Khram; and in Lake Chaldir.

\* Strabo, B. XII., c. 3, 18.

† Herodotus, B. IV., 78. Cf. also the Georgian name for the Borchala district Somkheti (= Son-Meskheti).

‡ MS., p. 8.

§ Cf. Lynch, II. 68; also Leh. Haupt. in *Zeit. für Eth.*, 1892, p. 131. Between Gumush-Khané and Baiburt, on the road to Erzurum, there are villages inhabited by people called "Khalt," who speak a dialect which I was told had no resemblance to Turkish, Armenian, or Georgian. The local explanation of the name is that it means simply "a mixed people." There is still a titular Greek archiepiscopal see of Khaldia, with jurisdiction over the Vilayet of Gumush-Khané.



*The Name-Root M-S.*—Some reference has already been made to the name-root M-S, in its different variations Mushki-Meshek-Moshkoi-Meskians. If we accept the sound change M→B as in accordance with the laws of Georgian phonetics,\* it is possible to connect the name of the Abkhazians—inhabiting the valleys of the Ingur and the Kodor—with the form M-K. Thus Mashki→Amashki-Baskhi→Abaskhi. The prefix “a-” is the Abkhazian definite article, by which we arrive at “the Maskhi”—“the Baskhi”—identical with the forms of the classical writers—Abasgoi or Abaskoi.† Again the various forms of the name Phasis may be correlated with the root Mas-Bas. Varied forms of “Phas-is” are widespread over the Caucasian lands. The Greeks applied the name to the Rioni, and sometimes to the Chorokh. In the Georgian province of Samtzhke, at the sources of the Araxes, was the district of Basiani,‡ Byzantine Phaziane, Armenian Pasean, Turkish Pasin. It was the district of the Phasianoi of Xenophon.§ The name Basiani occurs again in that of a valley situated to the west of the sources of the Digor and to the north-east of Swaneti.||

*The Name-Root B-L.*—The name-root B-L is of all the most widespread over the Caucasian lands. We have already referred to the connection between the Taplai or Tabal of the Assyrian inscription, the Tubal of Genesis, the Tibarenoi of Herodotus, the Uplos of the Georgian Annals. Throughout the classical and mediæval period the Kura valley, and sometimes the whole of the Trans-Caucasia, was known to foreigners as Iberia, and this form was employed by the compilers of the Georgian Annals. It occurs also in the style of the mediæval Georgian Kings. The Armenians call the Georgians Virk, and the country Vratstan, an obvious derivative from the word Iberia, and at the same time an example of the extent to which names may be transformed by foreign tongues. The name of Ispir, a small town in the middle valley of the Chorokh, is clearly connected with the same root. This region was the land of the Saspeires, Sapeires or Sabeires of classical writers, and it has been suggested that it was the Saparda of the Cuneiform inscriptions.¶ The Georgian Annalists commonly refer to the Euxine as “Speris Zghva”—“The Sea of

\* E.g., the Balkar of the Central Caucasus are called also, locally, Malkar.

† For reference, see Dubois, I. 71 and 194.

‡ Wakhusht, p. 121.

§ Xenophon, B. IV., c. 6.

|| Wakhusht, p. 455.

¶ Cf. St. Martin, “Pop. prim. du Caucase,” p. 44, for consideration of this matter.



Sper," while it occurs in classical writers as either "The Colchian Sea" or "The Iberian Sea." The name of the classical Khalybes, neighbours of the Tibarenoi and Saspeires, can be identified with this root; as also that of the Halizones,\* who may have given their name to the Alazani valley. The name of the Albanians, applied by the Romans to the inhabitants of the Lower Kura, and of the embouchure of the Kura-Araxes, does not occur in early Georgian sources, although from the seventh century onwards there is frequent reference to the Kingdom of Aghovanq. The Roman form is certainly another variation of the B-L root, and it is very probable that the Albanians of the Romans may be identified with the Chalybes-Halizones of earlier writers.†

A derivation from Tubal-Iber crops out again in an almost unrecognizable form, in the name of the province of Guria, which covers the stretch of country behind Batum, lying back from the sea, and bounded on the south-west by Ajar Mountains, and on the north by the Notanebi River.

Thus by transformation of "u" into "ve," we get Guria-Gver, then Hver-Hiver-Hiber-Iber. With Gver may also be connected Egveri, an old form of the name of the Mingrelians; the prefix E being preserved in the old Georgian form Egrisi, and in the Armenian name for the people Egeratzi. Modern Georgian and Mingrelian appellations for a Mingrelian are Megreli and Margali respectively.

The name Imer, as applied to Imer-eti would seem to be an obvious derivation from Iber, by regular transformation of B>M. Such does not, however, seem to be the case. In the Georgian Chronicle and in the geography of Wakhusht the words Imer and Amer are used to distinguish "that side" and "this side" of the Mountains of Likh. And in the same period at which the Georgian Kings at Tiflis are using the style "Kings of Iberia . . .," the Annalists are maintaining the distinction between Imer and Amer, and continue to call the Western Georgians Imerni, the Eastern Georgians Amerni.

*The Colchians and Iberians.*—By the first century B.C., when the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompey had made the lands of the Trans-Caucasia Trough accessible to Roman travellers, the ethnic complexion of the peoples

\* Strabo, B. XIV., c. 5, 24: "The Chalybes, whom the poet, as we have shown, calls Halizoni."

† Cf. Dubois, IV., who connects with the Chalybes the iron mines of Gogh (Kulp), twenty versts from Akhtala.



inhabiting the valleys of the Rioni and the Kura was constant, to the extent that the flux which this race can be said to establish constant traits. The historical division of the Georgian people\*—the Westerners, the Imerni, "on that side," and the Easterners, the Ameri, "on this side"—had appeared. In the western basin, along the Rioni, and its tributaries, were the people of the Kingdom of Colchis, Egrissi of the Georgian Annals, Lazica of the later Greek and Roman writers. In the eastern basin, over the middle valley of the Kura and the upland country north and south, was established the Kingdom of Iberia.

These were the lands where the Georgian language in its various idioms—Kartlian, Mingrelian, and Swanian—was current. To the west and south-west in the region of the sources of the Kura was the country bordering to the Armenians—Somkhети, or the land of the Armenochalybes—"the Moschic territory" of Strabo.

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we may arrive at the following tentative hypotheses with regard to the origin of the Georgians and the antiquity of civilization in the Caucasus :

1. Archæological evidence indicates that civilization had developed during the Bronze Age to an advanced degree in the regions immediately bordering on Trans-Caucasia (Kuban, Van, Asterabad), and mythological evidence (legends of the Argonauts and Phrixus) indicates that an advanced culture existed during the Bronze Age in the valley of the Rioni.

2. The account of the origin of the Georgians given in the Georgian Annals—of the settlement of Kartlos and his sons in the valley of the Kura—is, in fact, the record of the arrival of immigrant elements.

3. This movement was contemporary with the settlement of the Armenian highlands by folk whose language was

\* The name Georgia first appears in the Persian form Gurgistan, and it is used frequently by Arab writers, from Masudi onwards, in the forms Djurz and Djorzan. The name Georgia appears to have no connection with the Georgi of Pliny (B. VII., c. 14). Also it must not be confused with the Gurgan of Muslim writers, a name applied to the mountain country bordering the southern coast of the Caspian, the classical Hyrcania. (The Caspian was sometimes called the Hyrcanian Sea; later, Sea of Gurgan.) Brosset favours the derivation of the name Georgia from the name of the river Mitqari-Kuros-Cyrus-Kura-Djurzon (Persian) rather than from the Greek word γεωργος, "farmer," or from the name of St. George (the last is a popular local etymology). See Brosset, "Histoire de la Géorgie," Introduction, p. 5.



Aryan; and it is possible that the Mushki and other tribes who settled in Georgia included in their composition certain Aryan elements whose identity in course of time became submerged in that of the indigenous folk.

4. Tribes referred to in the classical writers as inhabiting Georgia and adjacent regions can be identified as the descendants of several peoples of whom there is earlier evidence in the Vannic and Assyrian inscriptions, and as the ancestors of the people of Georgia in mediæval and modern times.

5. The Georgian language has affinity with certain of the dead languages of Western Asia, and is important, therefore, for the study of the civilizations of the early historic period.

The Caucasus has never struck the imagination of archæologists nor of their wealthy patrons, who pour money into the lands of fashionable antiquity. It is now ninety years since Dubois de Montpereux sought to identify in Nakalakevi ("where there was once a town") the Archæopolis of Procopius and the Aea of the Argonauts; and it is fifty years since Chantre and Bayern made their promising finds of copper and bronze remains in Georgia. Political conditions have certainly been largely responsible for lack of enterprise in these parts. But the traveller with archæological eye who from Trebizond takes a fishing-boat along the "rhododendron coast" of Lazistan may note a dozen sites well worth the digging. He comes next to the Chorokh valley, a natural trade route and a country of rich surface-copper deposits, with towns of unascertained antiquity—Artvin, Artanuch, and Ispir. But most interesting of all, and most easily accessible, are the ancient sites of Georgia—Nakalakevi of Dubois; Kutais, in the Rioni valley, an old place in Strabo's time; and in the Kura valley Uplis-tzikhe, the cave-city of Tubal; Caspi, which, according to the Annals, is the oldest city in Georgia; and Mtzkheta, "the place of Meshek." Archæological exploration in these parts might certainly reap the harvest of Anau or Asterabad—perhaps that of Sumer and Egypt.



# HISTORICAL ANALOGIES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA

By W. J. CLENNELL

[The author, whose tragic death, resulting from a road accident, was announced last month, served for many years in the Consular Service in China. In 1917 he published a book on the historical development and religion in China. It is hoped to continue this analysis in a subsequent issue.]

THE subject of this paper\* might lend itself to infinite ramifications, for some kind of analogy could be propounded between the changes which the present generation is witnessing in China and almost any of the revolutions recorded in history.

What is it that is happening?

1. Is it a release from conditions comparable to those which prevailed in Western Europe in the Middle Ages? Yes, in a large measure, it is that. Many features of the old, traditional China have a very mediæval air, and the experiences and vicissitudes through which China has passed have many points of likeness to those which ushered in our modern period in the West.

2. Is it an extension to Eastern Asia of the movement towards democratic rule, of the effort to make law the expression of the common will, which has been so characteristic of Western States for the last two hundred years? Yes, in some measure it is that—so much is it that, in fact, that many of the actors in the drama have professed to find their inspiration in the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. Yet this can only be accepted as an analogy with innumerable qualifications. Both the preceding conditions and the resulting effects are too unlike for that analogy to carry us far: the watchwords and slogans of those or similar upheavals, transferred to China, do not ring true. Yet American missionary and educational propaganda have powerfully influenced present-day China.

3. Has it analogies with our Industrial Revolution? Again that is so, to a certain point. The introduction into China of modern mechanical appliances, methods of transport, commercial organization, dissemination of news and knowledge, creation of new and redistribution of old forms of wealth, and, latterly, modern mass production in industries, have resulted in the planting in a country which, within my

\* Read on August 30 at the International Congress of Orientalists.



recollection, was not unfairly described as "seventy Irelands stuck together," of a large number of throbbing, crowded hives of new, crude, sometimes sordid activity, whose problems are no longer those of peasants or handicraftsmen dwelling in mud cabins during a year of potato blight so much as those of factory hands trampling one another in a jerry-built city slum. Having seen Chinese famine camps, and the corpses that float down Chinese rivers during a typhus epidemic, I am not disposed to regard the industrializing of China as an evil—rather, to suggest that it has not come a moment too soon. It may have focussed and concentrated, but has surely not been a prime cause either of distress or of discontent. Yet we may admit that this industrialization, partial as it has been, is an element in producing the very vocal "New China" with which the world is confronted today—especially in securing whatever vogue Russian or other Communist movements have enjoyed.

4. Has the Chinese Revolution analogies with the modernization of Japan? Once more yes, but, once more, we must be careful not to press the analogy too far. China and Japan have watched and reacted upon one another, both by way of attraction and by way of repulsion, for twelve hundred, perhaps for fifteen hundred, years. But they have been lands of widely different spirit, so that many things which are possible in each are inconceivable in the other. Japan has put on modern clothes, but its people are still the Yamato race. Their union into a compact, efficient, disciplined nation goes back at the very least to the days of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, three and a half centuries ago. Long before that, however, much of their energies were spent on internal conflicts; their national temperament had abundantly manifested itself. They may inspire envy, admiration, emulation, or, again, fear and dislike, and the affectation at least of contempt. They may suggest to Chinese minds the question why China, with vastly greater resources and an older culture, original and not imitative, has failed to win the power and prestige that Japan enjoys, but they are not a model that China is likely to follow. The Japanese love discipline instinctively; the Chinese agree with us in submitting to it sometimes.

5. If the revolutions of the West and the modernizing of Japan only afford, at best, very imperfect and partial analogies, should we do better if we looked to India for comparison? There are, no doubt, points of likeness between the history of China during the decay of the Manchu régime



and that of India during the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire. In each case an alien dynasty, of a race of warlike invaders which had already, in times past, supplied several lines of rulers to the whole or part of the area, had come nearer than ever before to uniting the whole in an apparently stable and outwardly splendid dominion. The glory of Akbar may be paralleled, or more than paralleled, by that of K'anghsi. In each case decadence gradually deepened, producing in the one case the reality, in the other the imminent threat, of entire disruption. In each case, while this process was going on, there grew up on the sea-coast commercial settlements of European intruders whose trade interests could only be perpetuated and protected by obtaining municipal control of the places, or portions of the places, where their business was established. In each case these little centres of foreign contact not only drew to themselves an immense influx of the more active elements of the native peoples but became focuses from which the influence of new ideas and new culture gradually radiated. In each case, while the mass continued long, and perhaps still continues, to live its traditional life little affected by modern changes, it was nevertheless those modern changes that coloured and controlled the whole course of subsequent events; so much so that if China is to retain, or if India is to acquire, any sort of autonomy, this can only be obtained through the dominance in each of that portion of their inhabitants whose minds have become imbued with Western ideas, and whose lives accord, in some measure, with Western standards.

Yet the difference in conditions is very great. The great rearrangement of India which has been proceeding for the last two centuries, though very unlike what is conventionally understood as a foreign conquest, has required for its guidance the political and military support of a Western—the British—Power. Three-fifths of the area, four-fifths of the population, are directly, and nearly the whole remainder is indirectly, controlled by British rulers. Not only has the paramount power been British, but there have been periods when conquest and annexation have been deliberately pursued as the only safe, indeed the only possible, policy, to preserve the people from anarchy.

Now it is doubtless true that the prospect of a break-up of China has often enough given rise in the minds of both native and foreign observers to the question, What would happen next were such a break-up to materialize and prove irremediable? and some have read the answer in terms



of foreign intervention, even perhaps of foreign military conquest. That vision of a struggle to secure parts of a split melon has cropped up over and over again for as long as I can remember, and perhaps it is not entirely laid even now. The fear of it seems to have been at the bottom of some of the more furious manifestations of Kuomintang energy quite recently. If, let us say, Borodin stands for Dupleix, who is cast for the part of Clive?

But China is not India. Her divisions do not arise from deep-seated cleavages of race, religion, or caste, but from the rival claims of persons or localities, or at most from the clash of classes whose differences of interest and even of relative acceptance or repudiation of each other's profession of principles, are far too shallow to survive for any length of time the application of such a stimulus to unity as would be provided by the most benevolent and intelligent of foreign governments. The Manchus reigned so long as they did mainly because they reigned without ruling, restored order, made room for revival of peaceful industry, but otherwise altered very little, leaving the practical work of administration in native Chinese hands. A foreign Government with ideas of its own would be in a very different position. Admitting that China has hitherto failed, and may long continue to fail, to display the genius for adapting herself to new conditions that has characterized Japan, there is nevertheless an essential cohesion in the country which, while perhaps consistent with the temporary help of foreign advisers, rendered tutelage both needless and impossible.

6. If the Chinese revolution bears only a slight and partial resemblance to these phases in the political or industrial development of India, Japan, and the West, it may be pertinent to consider whether it should not be compared with phases of even deeper significance of human history. Is it, in short, a symptom of a radical change in social, moral, and religious ideals? There are features which suggest that this is so.

In the long course of her history China had evolved a definite, coherent, and, till very recently, universally accepted conception of man's place in the universe, of his relation to a hierarchy of unseen powers, of his duty to his clan and family, to his ancestors and to his political rulers. The whole scheme, endless as were its ramifications, was held together by the notion that the sovereign of China was not only the paramount human authority on earth, but the supreme representative, and the only legitimate



supreme representative, of a Divine order. His ordinances not only determined civil rights and duties, but regulated the reverence to be paid to the spirits of the departed, the canonization of sages and worthies, the worship ordained or permitted in the various forms of religion prevailing in his dominions. His tolerance or his neglect might suffer outlying portions of the world to remain practically outside his sway, yet it was only by basking in his smile that those outsiders could partake of the blessings of culture, and, should he frown, they must humbly tremble and obey. To quote the well-known mandate issued by the Ch'ienlung Emperor in 1793 to King George III., "swaying the wide world. . . . Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated to every country under Heaven. . . . As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things."

The Chinese revolution is, we may say, a result of the gradual overthrow during the nineteenth century of this conception. During nearly the whole period the ruling classes, the educated classes, the propertied classes, the established vested interests, and with them all that mass who are prompted by habit, instinct, and fear, opposed an almost solid front to the penetration of other ideas. They did so, in fact, far more energetically than they had done in previous ages, for it is when men are in process of being persuaded that they are most inclined to be angry with the persuader.

Nor can we deny them sympathy. The doctrine of the plurality of independent states was just as subversive to Chinese ideas as the doctrine of the plurality of worlds appeared to the inquisitors who condemned Galileo. It gradually won its way to slow and reluctant conviction, but I cannot date its general acceptance earlier than the China-Japan War of 1894. Even after that humiliation there were diehards, like that K'ang Yi who gained ill-repute as "Lord High Extortioner" just before the Boxer outbreak, to be found giving expression to opinions as remote from present-day realities as had been those of their grandfathers.

7. The crumbling of the old basis involved many edifices besides the political structure of the Chinese Empire. Its implications went very deep indeed into the foundations of law and of society, into the accepted canons of literary culture, learning, education, and morals. It presented to the Chinese people a problem as searching as has ever confronted any human society, nothing less than the discovery of a new answer to the question, *Why* are certain actions right and lawful and others not so?

8. As far as I can see there are five possible motives for



obedience to law, and China is in a situation that makes, or threatens to make, every one of those motives inoperative.

The first and most universal is simply ingrained habit. Powerful everywhere, habit—old custom—has, of course, exerted a special force in China, but it is just the factor which the revolution tends, for good or evil, to weaken.

Next I should place reverence for an order believed to be of Divine sanction. This has a long and important history in China, where every Government, down to the proclamation of the Republic in 1912, has based its claim on the possession of "T'ien Ming," the Commission of God, or Mandate of Heaven, and has been supported by popular belief in the validity of that claim. But, as understood in China, "T'ien Ming" implies universal sovereignty—just the conception which modern experience has dispelled.

Third comes submission to brute force. Military despotisms—Pa Tao—have been plentiful in Chinese experience, as in that of other branches of our race. But their effective establishment is a long and difficult process, involving the training of zealous and disciplined armies, and the actual overthrow in war of all opponents. And, even then, they lack permanence, for every local leader, every party chief who has a grudge to wreak or an ambition unsatisfied will hold that he has just as legitimate a title to the enjoyment of power as the actual holders of authority, and, if he can collect a few thousand armed followers, will let them loose to plunder his neighbours. This is a fact written large over Chinese history, and never more obviously than in the last few years.

But if terrorism is, even more than Divine right, liable to prove a broken reed, does not an enlightened realization of the benefits of order supply a sufficient fourth motive? Certainly, provided you are dealing with a population accustomed to the exercise of citizenship. If, however, the establishment of a despotism requires years, the training of a people in the habits of self-government requires generations to accomplish.

Another, fifth, motive remains, the sentiment of patriotic love—devotion to one's country because it is one's country. Yet this also has, in China, hitherto taken forms that, to a Western modern mind, seem divorced from regard for public welfare. If we go through Chinese history and consider the characters who have earned fame as patriot heroes, I think the feature which chiefly emerges is that they have not been practical. Chinese sentiment has idealized and immortalized courageous martyrs of lost, or hopeless, causes—Yo Fei,



Wen T'ien-hsiang, Shih K'o-fa, Wu K'o-tu, and many another —loyal, incorruptible, obstinate souls sacrificed on the altar of some ideal Tao which may be higher than, but is certainly not the same thing as, the conferring of benefits upon their age and people. To find that temper among ourselves some such example as Archbishop Sancroft and the Non-jurors seems to suggest itself.

Thus the old patriotism of China, like all the other old motives, is shaken and put on its trial, confronted by a new, noisy, hitherto untried, aggressive nationalism, that uses anti-foreignism as a short cut. The exponents of this so-called nationalism reject the past, the Confucian past of their own ancestors no less than the Christian past of ours. As a recent, suggestive little book, "Chinese Realities," by John Foster, written during the winter of 1927, puts it, the case is one of "Youth and a Ruin," and the new foundations that nationalism is trying to build upon are felt to require the erection of a new literature, a new social order, and a new religion.

9. Nevertheless, if we look more attentively at the phenomena presented by the events of the last thirty years, the most impressive deduction to which we arrive is that they are true to type—in other words, that the apostles of New China are, after all, the children of their own forefathers, in whose history analogies to their actions are chiefly to be found.

10. In area, as in population, China is an entity comparable not with any one Western state but with Europe as a whole. Like Europe, it has been inhabited by men for very many thousands of years. Considerable portions of the north have a consecutive, known history which, while far from extending to so remote a past as that of Egypt and Mesopotamia, while its sites are far from having, as yet, yielded so rich a harvest of archæological treasures as Asia Minor or the islands of the Ægean, present us with as long a continuous record of events as do the histories of Greece and Italy. Thus, as a theatre of civilized life, we may roughly equate northern China with southern Europe. In southern, or even in central, China, this is not the case. These are regions that gradually emerge from their primitive obscurity as the centuries roll by, but what we can glean of their early condition is either to be derived from rare, chance references in northern sources or is unsupported by convincing evidence. Perhaps it will be no injustice to regard the connection of Soochow or Shaohsing with that Yü the Great who restored the streams of China to order



after the Great Flood, or even the more moderate tale that makes their earliest historical rulers descendants of an elder branch of the Chou dynastic clan, pretty much as we regard Geoffrey of Monmouth's stories of a connection between Britain and a furtive Trojan prince.

Broadly speaking, central China remained, to the northerners, a barbarous, little-known country to about the same era as Spain and Gaul remained outside Hellenic or Roman civilization, while the maritime south of China comes into the daylight of ascertained facts, and grows historically important rather later than Britain, Germany, and the countries bordering on the Baltic Sea.



## THE EASTERN BUREAU OF THE HEALTH ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT SINGAPORE

BY DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU

(Member of the Health Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations)

IN view of the importance of the Far East as a source of the most dangerous infectious diseases, notably plague, cholera, yellow fever, and smallpox, the Health Committee of the League of Nations has, from the first day of its organization, sought to find methods of aiding the Far Eastern public health administrations to collaborate in the anti-epidemic campaign.

On the initiative of the Japanese member of the Health Committee a mission was sent to the Far East in 1922 and 1923 to investigate conditions in Far Eastern ports with regard to sanitary equipment and the amount and kind of epidemiological intelligence available. A period of seven months was spent in visits to the more important ports, and much important information was collected and included in a report which recommended the establishment of a centre of epidemiological intelligence in order to collect and publish information in regard to the prevalence of important epidemic diseases in the various ports.

After this and other recommendations contained in the report of the Mission had been discussed and approved by the Health Committee and the Council of the League of Nations, a conference of representatives of the health services of the countries concerned was called. The Governments of twelve countries accepted the invitation, and the conference was held at Singapore in February, 1925. There was general agreement as to the necessity for such an organization for the collection and distribution of information in regard to dangerous infectious diseases, and the representatives present agreed to support such a bureau, and, in the event of its establishment, to submit without charge telegraphic information in regard to such diseases at weekly intervals, or more frequently in special cases.

The Health Committee and the Council approved the report of the Conference, and the Bureau was started on March 1, 1925, with the aid of a generous subvention from the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Founda-



tion. During the first week telegrams were received from thirty-five ports belonging to twelve public health administrations, and from that date the scope of the Bureau has developed until now it is in weekly telegraphic communication with 140 ports in the Far East, and the valuable and recent information it receives in this manner is despatched to the public health administrations, to ships at sea, and to other interested organizations by a network of wireless stations as well as by cable and post.

#### HOW THE BUREAU IS ORGANIZED AND ADMINISTERED

The Bureau consists of a Secretariat, which is an integral part of the General Secretariat of the League of Nations, and an Advisory Council composed of representatives of the Public Health Administrations of the Far Eastern Governments concerned. Delegates to the Advisory Council have come from the public health administrations of Australia, Ceylon, China, Federated Malay States, Formosa, French Indo-China, Hong-Kong, India, Japan, Korea, Macao, Netherlands East Indies, North Borneo, the Philippines, and the Straits Settlements. The Chairman of the present Advisory Council is Colonel Graham, Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. In the first three years of the Bureau's existence delegates attended from any public health administrations which wished to be represented, but in future only a fixed number of delegates will serve, as the recently adopted Constitution calls for representation of the following countries on the Council :

Australia,	The Japanese colonies,
China,	The Netherlands East
India,	Indies,
Indo-China, or other	Siam,
French colonies,	British colonies and depen-
Japan,	dencies.

The Advisory Council meets yearly, and it is hoped that a larger conference may meet at longer intervals in order to give to public health administrations not represented on the Advisory Council an opportunity to express their views in regard to the work of the Bureau.

The Advisory Council acts as a sub-committee of the Health Committee, but with somewhat enlarged powers due to the special conditions it has to meet. It advises the Health Committee in regard to all activities of the Bureau,



adopts a budget for approval by the Health Committee and other competent organs of the League, and considers the work of the Bureau as presented in the Directors' Annual Report.

#### WORK OF THE BUREAU

So far the main work of the Bureau has been to collect and transmit information in regard to the prevalence and distribution of the most important epidemic diseases, notably plague, cholera, smallpox, and yellow fever, but it has begun to take on other functions, and should eventually carry on for the Far East the whole programme of the Health Organization of the League of Nations.

The mechanism of its epidemiological intelligence work is as follows: Telegrams are received from all the ports with which it is in communication (at the expense of the administrations concerned) on the first appearance of cholera, human or rat plague, smallpox or yellow fever, or unusual prevalence of, or mortality from, any other infectious disease. In addition a weekly telegram is received from each central health administration relating to the week ending Saturday midnight, and containing the following information in regard to its ports: Total deaths from plague, plague infection found in rats, total deaths from cholera and smallpox, and incidence of yellow fever. This weekly telegram is confirmed by the first available post, and further particulars are furnished, such as total deaths from all causes in ports, number of cases as well as deaths from plague, cholera, and smallpox, and particulars of any infected ships which may have arrived.

The information received by wire is made into a bulletin and coded, and then broadcast by wireless from powerful stations at Saigon, Malabar, Sandakan, Tananarive, Karachi, Shanghai, and Nauen (Germany). The decreasing number of public health administrations which have difficulty in picking up the wireless messages (some fifteen at present), receive the bulletin by cable. A summary of the coded bulletin is also broadcast in clear from a number of less powerful stations for the benefit of shipping (particularly ships at sea). This last step was taken on the recommendation of the Advisory Council, which saw no reason why the bulletin should not be made available to anyone who wished to receive it. This network of wireless is becoming more closely woven every day, and the number of health administrations which find difficulty in securing the wireless bulletin is being rapidly reduced.



The wireless or cabled bulletin is confirmed by a printed Weekly Fasciculus, which contains additional information on infected ships, general death-rates, prevalence of and mortality from the more important epidemic diseases in whole countries (as distinguished from ports), and meteorological reports.

Much information in regard to pilgrimages is collected and transmitted, as these, like any other important movements of population, tend to encourage the spread of disease. As an example, full information is now collected in regard to the Hedjaz pilgrimage, and last year eighteen ships carrying these pilgrims were notified as infected with smallpox.

When the new International Sanitary Convention, signed in Paris in 1926, comes into force, the Eastern Bureau, for the purposes of that Convention, will be entrusted, in its area, with the duties devolving upon the Office international d'hygiène publique, which means that the epidemiological intelligence it now receives voluntarily will be transmitted to it under the terms of the Convention. This official recognition of the Eastern Bureau, as well as of the Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence at Geneva, is contained in Article 7 of the new Convention, which reads in part as follows :

"In order to facilitate the accomplishment of the task entrusted to it by the present Convention, the Office international d'hygiène publique, because of the value of the information which is furnished by the Service of Epidemiological Intelligence of the League of Nations, including its Eastern Bureau of Singapore . . . is authorized to negotiate necessary arrangements with the Health Committee of the League of Nations. . . ."

Furthermore, the Bureau will be obliged to take on certain other duties relating to certain epidemiological intelligence when the new Convention is ratified by a sufficient number of States to bring it into force.

#### OTHER WORK OF THE BUREAU

I have mentioned above that the Bureau is gradually assuming in the Far East the functions carried out in Europe and elsewhere by the Health Organization of the League at Geneva. Some of the work along this line now being carried on consists of studies of, and investigations into, the major public health problems in the Far East,



such as malaria, plague, tuberculosis, and the value of vaccination by mouth against cholera and dysentery. The Bureau is also undertaking a study of the value of quarantine stations in Far Eastern ports, and of epidemiological problems related to the periodicity of cholera epidemics. It is increasing the possibility of collaboration between the Far Eastern health administrations, and it has already shown that such collaboration is possible and useful, in spite of the difficulties caused by the great distances separating the countries in that area.

#### HOW THE BUREAU IS FINANCED

The financial support of the Eastern Bureau comes from three sources. First, a contribution is made from the Budget of the League; second, the Governments participating in the work of the Bureau have made considerable contributions; finally, the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation made possible the organization of the Bureau by means of a generous subvention spread over a period of five years.

The outstanding achievement of the Eastern Bureau, however, is the development of a system of epidemiological intelligence, which enables the various health administrations to adopt preventive measures based on the most recent information available regarding the movement of dangerous epidemic diseases.



## THE ASIAN CIRCLE

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### A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

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### THE SULTANATE OF MUSCAT AND OMAN

THE visit of His Highness the Sultan Saiyid Taimur bin Faisal bin Turki to this country has naturally served to stimulate public interest in the country over which he has sway, and in its history.

Oman is situated in the south-eastern corner of the Arabian peninsula, from the borders of Hadhramaut to Abu Dhabi. Although its area is large, the real importance of Oman lies in its maritime territory, extending for 1,100 miles from Ras Musandam at the entrance of the Persian Gulf to Ras Fartak. At a distance of from twenty to forty-five miles inland a chain of mountains runs parallel to the coast, reaching 10,000 feet in Jebel Akhdar. Moreover, Oman can boast of an overseas possession in Gwadar, which lies on the Imperial Air Route to Baluchistan and South-East Persian trade.

The early history of this Arab state is wrapped in obscurity ; some authorities assert that it is the original home of the Phœnicians, and that its sailors navigated the Gulf and carried goods from Babylonia to India. Later it came under the suzerainty of Persia, and then passed under the control of the Abbasside Caliphs of Baghdad. At the time of the Middle Ages, however, it secured its indepen-



dence. In the seventeenth century the Sultanate succeeded the Portuguese as master of Zanzibar, which still pays a nominal tribute to Oman, although it is a British Protectorate. A collateral branch of the reigning Imam of Muscat took over control of the island in 1856.

There is a certain amount of overseas trade, chiefly with Bombay, Aden, and Zanzibar. An interesting detail is that America's negro population purchases large quantities of dates from Oman. The camels are world renowned. Industries include cloth-weaving and brass-work.

The form of government is patriarchal, and is eminently fitted to the needs of the population. The Sultanate was originally a theocracy, but later the system of electing the Imam was substituted. The state religion, like that of Morocco, is the Ibadhi sect of Islam. Its puritanical tenets recall the Wahabism of Central Arabia. The number of inhabitants has been estimated at 500,000, and is therefore about one-seventh of the total population of Arabia. Four-fifths of these are tribal Arabs; next in number come the African negroes, and there are also Persians, Baluchis, and British Indians. The annual State revenue is £100,000, and the Sultan is entitled to a salute of twenty-one guns. British influence is preponderant; the interests of America (who has a treaty with Oman) are looked after by the British, whilst France, who has direct relations with the State, is represented through her consul in Bombay.

In recent times our relations with the Sultanate have been rather closer than those of any other foreign power, although in point of fact the French and Americans are signatories to a similar pact as was signed last century between Muscat and Oman and the British Empire, guaranteeing the independence of this ancient Arab State. In fact, up to the war period, the French and Americans were represented by consuls in Muscat, a French man-of-war pays a yearly visit to the Sultan's capital, and the consular post has never been suppressed.

The present Sultan came to the throne in October, 1913, when aged twenty-seven, the seventh of his line, the Albu Sa'id dynasty, only six months after the rising of the interior tribes against his father. This rising was largely religious in character, and resulted in the recognition of the interior tribes to a certain measure of autonomy.

During the Great War Muscat served as a coal depot for our Navy patrolling Persian Gulf waters, and also to a minor extent for our merchant service. The activities of the German cruiser *Emden* presented a formidable menace



to the peace of the Sultan's capital, and it is more than likely that we had a representative sitting on a coal dump, match in hand, ready to take those measures which would ensure the German cruiser from getting a new lease of life in the form of bunkers.

Since the war the Muscat state has enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity. Its constitution consists of a council of ministers acting under the orders of His Highness the Sultan. This ministry is Arab in character except for the Sultan's Wazir, Mr. Bertram Thomas, O.B.E., who is the Finance Minister.

The state boasts of a small armed patrol vessel and a small infantry force, a British Indian Army officer of the rank of captain being second in command.

The importance of the state, geographically situated as it is vis-à-vis with India, is clear. Its position from the point of view of an air route to the East might also come into prominence if the Persian route were to become unavailable in times of war or crisis. Should, again, an airship route to the East via Aden and the south coast of Arabia ever be envisaged, the good offices of the Sultan of Muscat would be indispensable in view of his possession of the rich province of Dhofar, halfway along the south coast.

The Sultan is a great traveller, and has paid many visits to India, where he has a bungalow at Dehra Dun. Last year he penetrated into the interior of his realm for a distance of 300 miles. His crown estates are at Dhofar, on the Indian Ocean, in which province he has a picturesque residence. A bibliophil, he is the proud possessor of many fine Arabic books, but he does not speak any European languages. The eldest of his three sons is attending an Arab school in Baghdad. He is very proud of his alliance with Britain, and was awarded the K.C.I.E. in 1926.

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We are indebted to Colonel M. J. Meade, formerly Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, for this account of Muscat and his impressions:

"The town of Muscat stands in a broad place surrounded by high cliffs. These are only accessible by goat tracks, and the small English cemetery in a pretty cove can only be reached by sea. Here lie the remains of Bishop French, who died at Muscat. The territory which borders the southern shores of the Gulf of Oman is ruled over by an Arab family descended from the conquerors of Southern Arabia. They fought against the Wahabi fanatics, and finally expelled the Portuguese. The French have long



been connected with Muscat, and it was a former French Consul there who gave Napoleon when in Egypt information about the East upon which, it is believed, the great Conqueror based his visionary schemes of an Eastern Empire.

"In 1896 I was fortunate enough to be appointed British representative in the Persian Gulf and Southern Persia, and took over charge at Muscat, which formed part of my political duties.

"I shall never forget the glorious sight at daybreak at the entrance to the harbour. The Gulf of Oman, beautifully blue, is of immense depth here, and lofty heights surround a picturesque Eastern city. On both sides of the entrance the towering cliffs terminate in steep points crowned by ancient forts, built by the Portuguese, the pioneers of European conquest in the East, more than four hundred years ago. In the region of Nadir Shah the Persians invaded Oman and gained supremacy over the country, but were eventually expelled by Ahmad bin Said, the Arab Governor of Sehar, a town about 150 miles north-west of Muscat. For this service Ahmad was elected Imam in 1741 and founded the present dynasty of the Al Bu Saidis, now ruling in Muscat.

"Soon after this the East India Company established an agent at Muscat, and Sir John Malcolm, who visited the place on his first mission to Persia in 1800, formed another engagement with the Sultan, and arranged for the residence of an English agent there.

"The old Portuguese forts have long ceased to have any military importance, but on one of them a small battery of obsolete guns is still used to salute the warships of all nations whose policy compels them to show the flag in these distant regions. A high cliff inside the outer perimeter of the harbour is covered with the names of many ships, chiefly British, inscribed by Jack-tars at much risk of life and limb.

"Muscat is full of traders from India, and these people monopolize the traffic of the place, of which dates of good quality form the greater part. At the time I arrived the British political agent and Consul was an officer, now dead, who rose high in the service before his death. He had recently performed a daring act by seizing a large dhow full of desperadoes who were conveying a cargo of slaves from Africa to the Persian Gulf. The political agent, unarmed, was in the Consular boat, and his capture of the dhow might have resulted badly for himself. His daring demand carried the day, however, and he brought the dhow to Muscat



without any opposition. Unfortunately she was flying French colours, and the incident caused much trouble, resulting, I think, in a reprimand for the Consul, who was warned not to act as a knight-errant in future.

"While I was at Muscat I met the Sultan, whose grandson is now visiting England for the first time. I was most favourably impressed by him, but an unfortunate train of circumstances led soon after to what was known as the 'Muscat incident.' The French had had, as already stated, considerable interests in Muscat and Zanzibar, an important place on the African coast. Both were ruled by members of the same Arab family. In 1862, as a result of various complications, the British Government made an agreement with that of the French Empire by which both agreed to respect the independence of Muscat and Zanzibar. A few years later the British agreed to assist the Sultan on condition that he agreed not to give, cede, loan, or otherwise alienate any of his territory without the permission of the British Government. This agreement was kept secret, and was not communicated to the French, who denied all knowledge of it in the complications which subsequently arose.

"In 1887 the Sultan agreed to the seizure by our warships of arms destined for Muscat and then for the Afridis with whom we were at war. This deprived him of a large sum of money which had been promised to him as duty, and as the British Government did not make good the loss he listened to the blandishments of M. Ollavi, the French Consul, and agreed to cede a suitable port, called Bunder Jissa, about twelve miles from Muscat, to the French as a naval base. This was a distinct violation of his agreement with the British Government, and when the fact came to our knowledge through a French newspaper I was ordered to proceed to Muscat and call upon the Sultan to adhere to the terms of his agreement with us.

"After some pressure the Sultan agreed to this and cancelled his grant of the sea-port to the French. Although our relations with His Highness were, in consequence, somewhat strained, he later became most friendly and a visit by the Viceroy of India (Lord Curzon) to Muscat restored the goodwill, which lasted throughout His Highness's life."



The members of the Asian Circle consider that the views expressed in this article by Mr. W. E. D. Allen, who has recently returned from a visit to Turkey, will be of interest to the readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

## II

### THE TURKISH MIRROR, 1928

SHE had been squarely built for the West Indian banana traffic, and a good Clydeside name was graven on her brass-work. Her master, too, a passable seaman, had learnt his trade from one of the Clyde-bred Bosphorus pilots who had come out here in the days of Abdul Hamid. In German-made deck chairs, the first-class passengers were lounging, eternally refingering the back numbers of "*Le Rire*" and "*La Vie Parisienne*," which formed the staple of the ship's not too comprehensive library. An American gramophone squeaked out the doleful dirges of Yashchar Bey, the celebrated Azerbaijanian tenor. The company was listless, as is the usual mien of those who have not lunched and have waited expectantly all the day, not five hundred yards from the quay, to disembark. In their Czech-made reach-me-downs and German boots, their American hats and Italian ties, they rose and paced the deck impatiently, or peered overboard, through horn-rimmed spectacles from France, at the great crowds along the Bebek shore, and at the destroyers decked gaily with the blood-red bunting of the Republic, and they marvelled at the 'planes which passed humming overhead. On the lower deck the crowded proletariat, peasants mostly, with their wives, and goats and chickens, gazed at these same objects with a more intent attention. Only here and there a woman, all oblivious, was suckling her child, and in one corner, a small group with clapping hands, Kurds, I suspect (forbidden name!), were applauding the antics of a cheerful old grey-beard, who was giving an exhibition of some village dance. Thus we waited all one glorious summer day, and I read in "*Finlay*" of the two Bardas, and how Skleros came down to the shores of Bosphorus. And presently a most unearthly din of siren hoots and bangs and distant cheering declared that our long wait was ending, and we saw the white yacht of the "*Ghazi*" skimming by. He had come from Ismidt, and the city of Constantine, in its long history, was making yet another holiday to welcome one more winning soldier. Only Mujeilah, the seven-year-old



daughter of an army vet. from Erzerum, with her unusual, fresh, fair beauty of the north and that pert precociousness of Oriental children—only Mujeilah seemed exultant. She danced for glee around her father, and quite forgot the gramophone. And he, a lean and anxious man, with a numerous offspring and a narrow pay, was gratified.

"It is wonderful," he said, "how all Turks love the 'Ghazi.' He is certainly the greatest man in all our history."

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It is a difficult matter to analyze the mind of a people, although many persons at one bound will undertake the proposition, fitting their conclusions to round the corners of their prejudices, and so presenting to those whose minds are dogmatic rather than inquisitive, a satisfying, if quite useless, picture. To interpret the past, to understand the present, and to guess the future, is no easy matter, even in countries like England, France, and Germany, where public opinion is comparatively developed and where, therefore, the mind of any intelligent average man is in some degree a mirror of the moment. How much more difficult is it, then, to understand the present, or to guess the future, in countries like Russia and Turkey, where there is in fact no public opinion. For here the peasant is the people, and undeveloped as is the intelligence—and for that matter the "citizen sense"—of the rural worker by comparison with that of the industrial worker in Western Europe, the intelligence and the "citizen sense" of the peasant of Russia or Turkey is so incredibly limited that it is difficult for anyone who has only come in contact with the peasantry of Western European countries to appreciate his outlook. In fact, it would seem that public opinion is a luxurious growth, a delicate product which only grows to maturity in the hothouse atmosphere of an urban civilization. The peasant's mind—in Turkey and other countries of the Near and Middle East—is as sterile as the land he tills. His mind remains severely corporal, that is, its comprehension is strictly limited to the needs of his body, which itself has such a hard struggle to survive that it cannot allow the mind to stray beyond the daily solution of immediate needs and problems. The weather, the crops, the forest, the herds, and the sea with its possibilities of smuggling and fishing, occupy all the mind of the Turkish peasant—a mind slow, stubborn, and enduring, hardened and undernourished, like his body. Allah or the Padishah, "Jemhuriyet" (the Republic), or "Hequmet" (the Government) are vague and elemental forces, the explanation



rather than the cause of any good or evil that may befall the village or the individual; elements whose actions may be beneficent or maleficent, and whose attention is to be avoided rather than controlled. Thus conscription and tuberculosis, droughts, avalanches, syphilis, and tithes, are all evils beyond the power of Ahmed or Hussein to avoid; but Ahmed and Hussein, with their honest eyes and their grim smiles, will patiently endure them all.

This passivistic outlook on life is a fundamental characteristic of the primitive mind, and of the peasant mind, over a vast space of the Old World; its constructive philosophy was expressed in the pagan conception of the propitiation of evil; its spiritual expression is a magnificent endurance, the ultimate essence of which is to be found in the school of Stoicism; its practical result is a capacity for military discipline which, combined with utter political inertia, may yet again, as it has done so many times before, prove a danger to the civilized nations of the world. It is, in fact, the unconscious application of the theory of "passive resistance" by the individual to his own case—a "passive resistance" which is based on hopelessness and not on an intelligent opposition to an unsympathetic ideal.

Such a mind is incomprehensible to the hurrying, creative "Utopologist" of Mr. Wells' "Meanwhile." Town-bred and book-weaned, the "Utopologist" builds his World-State upon the intelligent workman of the Municipal Reading Room and the bright young clerk in the café who grows flushed over "L'Humanité."

Yet the sun went down on the Hittite Empire and the Anatolian peasant following his wooden plough. Pompey marched through the land, and this same Anatolian peasant soon learnt to call himself a Roman. His wooden plough creaked to fill the granaries of Byzantine governors and Armenian barons: Christ was Lord, but he still tied rags to the sacred tree to keep away the evil spirits. Then he heard that "There is no other God but God and Muhammad is his Prophet," and he dreaded the early snow and worked for the "déré-beys." He called himself "Osmanli." Mahmud the Ghaiur Sultan abolished the "déré-beys," and appointed a new headwear about the time that the plague of the Nizam conscription set in on the village lads. Then in Stambul a Sultan was overthrown, as had often occurred before, and this same Anatolian was told to start killing the Christians, as in the time of the beys he had so frequently killed the men of other villages. The killing and conscription and dearth grew ever worse until the



glorious Ghazi drove out the infidels and did away with the tithe; and conscription grew less troublesome, for the lads were not sent so far away, and moreover they actually began to return after a year or two away. About this time there was a new Government regulation with regard to headwear, while both Allah and the Padishah appeared to decline in importance. It appeared, also, that they should call themselves "Turk" rather than "Osmanli." The wooden ploughs still creaked, and the herds of horses still grazed over the great uplands round Sivas, and the sheep were driven over the mountains down towards the sea, and the rags for luck still fluttered on the sacred trees.

But it was a time of marvels. Like Doughty's Arabs, the Turks had assimilated completely and without notice the rifle and tobacco until these things became so much part of their lives as their stone huts, their wooden ploughs, and the snow. Now there are added to these the automobile and the gramophone. There are not many peasant families one of whose members has not ridden in an automobile, and these same dash along the rutty roads for all the world to see. And in every "khan" from Smyrna to Kars there is a gramophone bruited nightly the vocal masterpieces of Yashchar Bey and Emin Effendi.

And so the Turkish peasant has changed at least to this extent: that there is growing up a generation as proud of the possession of a gramophone as of a gun, and their sons make competent and daring chauffeurs all over the bad roads of Anatolia—a reckless, hard, and humorous breed like their prototypes the camel-drivers.

Thus the wheels of progress grind, and cars and gramophones join guns and tobacco as desirable amenities in the primitive mind of the Anatolian peasant. Meanwhile, it is clear that the "Ghazi" has replaced the Padishah, and the younger generation, who should be the Softas (religious students) to follow upon the middle-aged mullahs, seem to be being trained as schoolmasters. Allah and "Jemhuriyet," as the imponderable forces which govern life, seem to occupy rather ill-defined positions in opposition to each other, while "Hequmet" appears to disregard Allah and to favour "Jemhuriyet." But older and better-class people, farmers, mullahs, of course, and many officers secretly, still seem to reverence—maybe for their own reasons—Allah, the older, if rather vaguer, power.

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In Turkey the well-to-do farmer is a peculiar force. He has nothing in common with his economic equals, the



bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic strata, yet, numerically insignificant as he is, he is sharply to be distinguished from the peasant, with whom the casual observer might confuse him. His social position and his influence is greater than that of the "Kulak," or rich peasant, in the Russian village. His house, with its walled enclosure, stands generally alone or rather apart from the village. He is prosperous, self-reliant, self-contained, conservative. You meet him up the Chorokh passes in the early morning, riding a good trotting pony, neatly dressed and shaved and clipped, a rifle at his saddle, a serving man in rear; you see him on the beach at Riza with his baggage, his shy women-folk, his servant and his dog, waiting for the boat. The waves are coming in, and slowly and too late, with unhurried dignity, he moves his soaked baggage back a yard or two. In the streets of Trebizond he is walking with a mullah; his hat is the furthest headgear from a hat that can be interpreted as meeting the ungodly laws of "Hequmet." Here in Kaisaria, under the snowy mountain, he is blinking in the noonday sun, emerging from the mosque, and a string of amber beads is swinging from his hand. Here is the man, of all the social elements, most impervious to Western influence, an intelligent Muhammadan, who understands his satisfying creed and wants no other, but intelligent enough to welcome modern mechanical amenities—steamers, motor engines, railways—which help the market for his wool and nuts and wheat.

With the disappearance of the great landed families of "déré-beys" during the nineteenth century, the prosperous farmer, the Turkish squireen, has become the superior social element, the aristocrat of this bleak countryside. From his class are recruited the best officers; his word goes with the peasants, and he is above all "the mullahs' man." The public opinion of this class is incoherent, passive, negative, but it exists, opposed to interference, and to this degree perhaps potential, in that it hates and simmers under interference, and would, if a crisis emerged, support any protagonist who might come forward of the older ways.

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Wherever the reforming Government came in contact with Muhammadan elements who did not belong to the passive and obedient Turkish stock they met with armed resistance. There were disturbances even among the poor and numerically insignificant Lazés of the Black Sea coast between Trebizond and the mouth of the Chorokh; the



mullahs stirred the famous smuggler villages between Surmené and Arkhavé to kill every Turk who wore a hat in Riza, and it was only the wary foresight of the Vali which forestalled the movement, and he strung along the beach at Riza, on gallows, a warning to the Faithful, the twelve most notable among the "anti-hats."

The reaction in the Kurdish country was more formidable. Sympathizers of the Kurds abroad have represented the Kurdish rising as a national movement of the Kurds against the Turks. It would seem, however, that the causes of the rising were inspired by less modern ideals than nationalism, and the movement resembled in many ways the '45 in Scotland. The racial antagonism of Kurd against Turk existed; but the movement was also a last effort of the clans against the encroachments of a centralizing bureaucratic government, the reckless outburst of aristocratic chieftains against the "parvenus" of Angora. The Koran, the Sheriat, the Caliph's name, were invoked against the hatted atheists aping the Western World, and Selim Effendi, the elderly Ottoman pretender living in retirement in Aleppo, was invited to appear in the field.

In 1925 important garrison towns like Kharput and Diarbekir fell to the Kurdish forces, and the country flamed as far west as Erzinjan. The defeat and execution of Sheikh Said, and the principal leaders in 1925, did not end the movement and, urged by fear or indignation, many hesitant chieftains took the field only after the defeat of the principal rising. The history of the movement is still obscure, although since 1925 there have been military actions at places so far separated as the Dersim Dag and Bayazid. It would appear, however, that the Kemalists, like the Bolsheviks in Central Asia, have followed up their military successes and repressions by modifying their original policy of reforms and secularization in the insurgent regions.

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One of the gravest aspects of the vast problem created by the impact of the civilized mind of the West upon the primitive mind of the peasant East, is the psychological gap which exists between those who have acquired or who aspire to a "Western" outlook, and the great mass of the population which remains psychologically primitive.

In Western Europe civilization has been an organic growth, slow and comprehensive: gaps exist, but the mind of the educated man is not vastly different from that of the worker. They can understand each other, and the instinct of the superior intelligence is to respect rather than



to despise prejudices. In the East the new wine of technical knowledge and assumed philosophical enlightenment has gone to the heads of a schoolboy generation. The burning contempt of the Bolshevik for any but his own interpretation of life, the virulent enthusiasm of the Chinese intellectual, the thoughtless optimism of the Indian, find their parallel in the ostentatious and overbearing modernism of the emancipated Turk. Women emerge from the harem to adopt wholesale the more debatable reclamations of Western feminism; the impoverished mullah with his quiet suffering and old ideals is the object of scabrous jokes at the bridge tables and cocktail bars of Angora. "Give me a hat, and I become the ultimate expression of human wisdom," is the attitude to life of many a bright young deputy and journalist of the New Turkey.

It is all very understandable; the intelligence of a nation finds itself in the familiar adolescent stage of the individual mind, when all the great problems of life appear so obvious of solution. The superficialities of French civilization are the ideals of the new generation in Turkey; secularism and free thought; political centralization, bureaucratism and "petit bourgeois" economies, nationalism, and military efficiency. The Turkish Revolution is compared to the French, but it is not recalled that the French Revolution, like the earlier English Revolution, was organic, the political culmination of the rising and slowly developed power of the Third Estate. The Turkish Revolution, like the Russian, was premature—a volcanic ebullition—the result of the interplay of exterior forces—wartime exhaustion, the overthrow of a dynasty, foreign intervention with its accompanying patriotic rally of non-revolutionary elements—siege conditions, in fact. And so the Turkish intelligentsia drifts in an uneasy course, avid for theory, impatient of delay, optimistic and inexperienced; seeking the facile and unproductive employments of bureaucratic and political life; inept for business and contemptuous of agriculture, the basic industry upon the scientific development of which must depend the ultimate independence of their country.

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In the political life and historical thought of Western Europe there has been a reaction against the conception of the Great Man, the individual maker of history. Modern writers, looking through the democratic spectacles of the twentieth century, have adjudged the great men of history, Alexander, Cæsar, Peter of Russia, Napoleon, and the rest, to be of lesser height, products of cumulative causes, the



instruments of the obscure psychological tendencies of their epochs. It is undoubtedly the case that there is no room for the Cæsarean personality in countries where democracy is an organic growth. The average intelligence is too developed to need awakening or to brook driving. Many men of varying capacity and of not unequal stature, by their manifold activities either give expression to or direct the public mind.

But in other ages it was different. History would have been written differently if Alexander, Cæsar, or Peter had not lived. No men, unless some others like them, would in their respective epochs have grasped and moulded to their will the incoherent elements of the primitive world around them. Napoleon came too late to mould his Cæsarean destiny in a Europe which was already developing quite strongly its organic mechanisms of democratic will. And now in the twentieth century such type of great men are limited in their spheres of revolutionary construction. And when they rise to power they are strictly confined within the limits of geographical and political boundaries. Yet wherever there is political disruption or economic crisis and panic in the hearts of men, there is room and time for these Great Men. Lenin, with his sniggering optimism, laughed and drove his way to power, and had he, for instance, broken his neck in that railway journey through Germany, the history of the Russian Revolution would have taken another course. Again, the personality of Mussolini is a unique phenomenon in Italy, and had he, say, been killed in the war, the crisis in Italy would not necessarily have produced another such phenomenal personality, and it would certainly have taken another, if less sensational, direction.

In Turkey Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the Turkish Revolution. The "Ghazi"—the Victor—was the inspiration and the agent of the Turkish victory over the Allied Interventionist policy after the War. The delays of the Peace Conference gave the "Ghazi" his opportunity, but had Mustafa Kemal either been killed in action in Syria or imprisoned in Malta the Turkish resistance would never have been organized and the Treaty of Sèvres—possibly with some modifications—would have been carried into effect. Turkey would have become another Egypt, but the "Ghazi" saved Turkey from foreign control as, forty years ago, with a similar favourable conjunction of international difficulties, Arabi might have saved Egypt.

The policy of the Turkish revolutionary government



during the last five years has been the policy of Mustafa Kemal. Had the "Ghazi" professed, like Riza Shah in Persia, to form a new and comparatively conservative dynasty, he might have done so. But, like Peter the Great, he prefers to build a State rather than a family, and he aims at moulding a primitive peasantry, an untrained bourgeoisie, and an archaistic priesthood into a modern republican machine. All the reforms—relief of peasant taxation, development of communications, secularization of religion, the new legal code, female emancipation, the new alphabet—are his, and they would not have been brought about had his will been adverse to them. His policy is the same as that, in an older environment, of Mahmud II. 100 years ago; he may succeed where the Ghiaur Sultan failed, because his prestige is greater, the territory which he means to reform is more wieldy, external circumstances are more favourable, and his own personality is stronger.

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To the traveller going east to west in Turkey there is unfolded a living picture of the old Turkey, the intermediate Turkey, and the new. In Artvin, on the Chorokh, weary with long riding, I lay with drovers in the local khan, and the sleepless fellows played all night at cards by candle-light. Artvin was once a Russian frontier town, and its war-scarred ruins lie back from the gorges of the Chorokh upon a steep slope among the apple orchards. Twenty miles of road, which a daily lorry follows down to Borchka, is all that remains of the great Russian military *chaussée* from Batum to Ardahan. At Borchka the bridge has been blown away by dynamite, and travellers, with their horses, cross the swift stream perilously in flat-bottomed boats. From Borchka a mountain track leads over the Tskharisti Pass to Khopa and the sea. All day we rode through the forest, a desultory cavalcade with pack-ponies, the Vali's son on his cream trotter, the Georgian squire from Borchka mounted on an ageing grey. We climbed the pass on foot and scrambled down the seaward side, and there, stretched below us swathed in mist, the damp woods of the Khopa valley. In the open port of Khopa you see occasionally the great and empty steamers of the Turkish subsidized lines, and a former Rotterdam Lloyd, with a large staff of stewards and no passengers, puts in fortnightly at all the Laz villages between Trebizond and Khopa. They talk of developing Khopa as a port to serve the towns of the Chorokh and Upper Kura valleys—



which are now cut off from Batum by the new Russo-Turkish frontier—and they are building a road from Khopa to Borchka. Riza is the first town where motor cars are found within the Turkish frontier, and here, sitting in the café one evening, I saw a Ford put to the strange use of kidnapping a girl who was walking with her mother in the street—an instance, I think, of the custom surviving among the Laz and the neighbouring Abkhaz of Georgia of bearing off a bride by force. Trebizond is about one-quarter in ruins, with a population reduced by about one-third through the disappearance of the Greek and Armenian elements; Tireboli is one-half in ruins; Kerasund only about one-fifth. Kerasund is the first town whose hinterland is beyond the area of the regions devastated by war and massacre, and here there is some activity in trade, particularly in the large export of hazel nuts. Kerasund is typical of the intermediate country. At Samsun the traveller has arrived within the area of the New Turkey. The little town, six years ago so miserable and stagnant, is now the maritime equivalent of Angora. It has quite outstripped Trebizond as the principal Turkish port on the Black Sea; it is the terminus of ambitious railway schemes, the headquarters of the tobacco industry, and throwing up new banks, hotels and public buildings, villas and cafés innumerable. In fact, there is a line drawn between the old Turkey and the new; a line drawn from north to south, from Samsun through Amasia, Sivas, and Kaisaria to Adana—a line which separates invisibly the aggressive, successful Turkey of the Kemalists from the war-wracked, devastated regions, where the mullahs, surly, beaten and defiant, still hold the unproclaimed respect of all good men, and where the great Kurdish clans have been beaten but not broken.

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The future in Turkey depends obviously on two questions: To what extent is the régime and policy of the "Ghazi" a personal régime and a personal policy? and are the Turks, or rather, is the political mechanism of the Popular Party, capable of maintaining the form of his régime and the spirit of his policy after his disappearance from politics, which, in the ordinary course of human affairs, is eventually inevitable?

The "Ghazi's" policy is in many ways sound: an un-adventurous and non-committal foreign policy, the amelioration of the condition of the peasants, State-aided economic development, and increased facilities for education. But the bureaucratic spirit of the Turkish régime fails to



encourage real development of private enterprise within the country, and actually discourages foreign enterprise—a serious matter, in a long view, for a country so poor in capital resources as Turkey. Further, a virulent anti-religious policy and an unnecessarily compulsory strain in the introduction of social innovations tends to estrange large sections of the more stable if less active sections of the population. There are other brains behind the “Ghazi,” and other enthusiasms which have been responsible for many reforms and innovations. But it is the “Ghazi’s” personal prestige alone which has made possible the introduction of these reforms and innovations without the outbreak of open civil war. And the “Ghazi,” like all strong men in history, has in his immediate entourage and confidence men who have neither his personality nor that hold upon the popular imagination which he has gained by his successful military career. Each year takes men farther from the old ways, and each year brings the leaders of reform to a greater mental maturity. But it is difficult to consider the possibility of the disappearance of the “Ghazi” from Turkish political life—at any moment within the next ten years—without serious misgivings as to subsequent political developments in Turkey. He would leave a party behind him of men composed, with two or three exceptions, of the aggressive and optimistic exponents of an adventurous experiment, men out of touch for the most part with the masses of the people and out of sympathy with the great majority of the more stable and conservative elements in the community. The “Ghazi’s” intellectual fellows of his own generation are for the most part in exile or disgrace, and the experience of the country during the last five years has scarcely tended to fit the people for a return to the free-parliamentary régime which these men are reputed to favour. The military leaders who shared with the “Ghazi” the burden of his efforts for independence, and enjoy with him something of his prestige among the peasantry and the army, are living in retirement and comparative obscurity, and their personal characters and individual histories during the last few years tend to indicate that, in the majority of cases, their sympathies lie with the partisans of religion and the older ways. Lastly, it is too much to hope that in a Turkey which was no longer dominated by the personality of the “Ghazi,” the outbreak of conflict between elements contending for power would fail to attract the interested attention of the neighbours of Turkey both in the Black Sea and in the *Ægean*.



## THE APPEAL OF SIAM

BY REGINALD LE MAY, M.R.A.S.

(Author of "An Asian Arcady")

IN common with the other tropical countries of the Far East, Siam has, I think, a legitimate grievance in the matter of publicity, and that is, that between this land and Europe, especially England, lies India, in a metaphorical as well as a physical sense. All our thoughts at home of the tropical East are coloured by India, which stands as representative of the tropics, and which is usually supposed to embrace the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Siam is confused with Assam, and Bangkok is thought to be an insignificant city somewhere in India. India is the barrier, the Great Himalaya, which hides from English eyes the charm and beauty of these Far Eastern tropical lands. And more's the pity, for I can honestly say from a knowledge of both climes that I would by no means exchange the wealth of green, and the happy, cheerful faces of Siam or Malaya, for the great Peninsula. The two are actually as the poles apart.

This is the first and greatest difficulty that Siam has to contend with in its appeal to visitors, but until recently there has been another difficulty, and one much nearer home.

Twenty years ago and even less the adventurous traveller bound for Siam, who left his mail-boat at Singapore to embark on the small vessel trading locally with Bangkok, would be met by genuine concern as to his ultimate fate among the residents of that somewhat intolerant port, and, on occasion, by an earnest attempt to dissuade him from committing what appeared to be voluntary suicide.

"Well, seriously, my dear fellow, if you take my advice, you won't go to Bangkok. If you must, you must, but in that case 'good-bye,' for you are going to almost certain death."

Such was the usual advice offered, and there is no doubt that in the early days the prevalence of cholera and dysentery, owing to the lack of an adequate water-supply, did give Bangkok a bad name in the Far East. Writing in 1858 to Sir Robert Schomburgk, the British Consul in



Siam, King Mongkut in his quaint English style says: "I regret very much for heavy dysentery prevailing on body of Mr. Forrest [another Consular official]. The white foreigners here generally lost their valued lives for the dysentery, though it is not feared by the native people." But I cannot help feeling that the deaths of white people in Siam (as elsewhere in the East) took on an exaggerated importance owing to the smallness of the foreign community, and that some of those that occurred were also in some measure due to want of care in living as well as to "heavy dysentery." Certainly during the twenty years that I have been resident in Siam, the casualties among Europeans have been on a very normal scale, and not once has there been a serious epidemic either of cholera or dysentery among us. Often during a discussion about climatic conditions in the East, I have noticed a curious tendency to regard our fellow-countrymen at home as immortal, and I say this because to many stay-at-home folk a visit to the Far East seems fraught with incredible dangers from pestilence and wild beasts. Whatever abnormal dangers the past may have held, they are almost non-existent now, and the visitor to Siam may be assured of an excellent water-supply in Bangkok, and a complete absence of wild jungle-life in the principal cities of Siam.

My own experience in coming to Bangkok for the first time from Singapore on the good ship *Nuentung* is also bound up with memories of another kind of danger. We only just had time to catch our boat, and when we arrived on board with our luggage the Captain met us with the news that there were no cabins available. However, after a little persuasion on our part (there were five of us), some of the officers gave up their cabins for a small consideration, and that night we were safely installed in their bunks. At about four in the morning I awoke with a sense of something unusual around me, and when I opened my eyes, it was to look straight into the face of the first Chinaman I had ever seen at such close range. He was holding a lantern over my head, and his face was not more than three inches from mine. All the stories I had ever read as a boy of Malayan and Chinese pirates came back in a flash, and I awaited the inevitable plunge of the kris. But no such untimely end was in store for me. I suppose I must have started up with a cry, for the Chinaman suddenly bolted like a rabbit, and after breakfast I discovered that it was the quartermaster coming to call the officer of the watch! His shock had apparently been as great as mine.



But I, and many another like me, came out East in search of daily bread—not to spend money, but to save it; and force of circumstance, which has most of us in its maw, threw us on to the shores of Siam in our quest. We are not in the same vessel as those who come East in search of rest or pleasure or health, and it is they who will ask, and they whom I must answer, why should we include Siam at all in our travels, with Burma, Java, Malaya, China, and Japan, all beckoning to us with welcome hands to come and probe their many mysteries and attractions? What has Siam to offer us comparable with those other lands?

Well, it all depends on what one is seeking. The average modern traveller wants, as a rule, a great deal of comfort, luxurious trains, palatial hotels, perfect cuisine and service, beautiful cars and roads for motoring; and if he does not find all these, he is apt to grumble, regardless of the real, intrinsic attractions a land may have to offer him in their place. Yet, even so, Siam has now reached a reasonably high standard of material comfort, and visitors will find the mail trains from Penang smooth-running and well-appointed, and the hotels in Bangkok as satisfactory as in most other ports of the East. An express train runs every Monday and Friday morning from Penang, reaching Bangkok every Tuesday and Saturday night. The journey thus occupies about thirty-six hours, and the traveller from Europe now has no need to go as far as Singapore.

As regards the hotels, visitors should remember that all managements in the East suffer from a certain lack of facilities with which the West has not to contend, and should not be too exacting. With this reservation, it may be said that Phya Thai Palace, which was once a royal palace and is now an hotel, under the management of the Royal State Railways, stands on the outskirts of the city in a beautiful setting of formal gardens, and those who like to be away from the dust and traffic of a busy town will find all they can reasonably ask for in the way of service, accommodation, and entertainment.

Others who prefer to be in the heart of things will find a comfortable hotel, the Oriental, on the banks of the River Menam close to the business offices and shops; while there is yet another well-managed hotel, the Royal, which is situated in the residential quarter of the city, on the banks of a tree-lined canal, and which is neither in the heart of the city nor yet far away on its outskirts. We may call it the half-way house.

It will interest the traveller to know that Bangkok is a



city of great distances and of great contrasts. When it was first built as a capital about 1780, it was confined to the west bank of the River Menam, but this was soon found unsuitable, and the city was transferred to the east bank, whence it is spreading fast in an eastern direction, to make room for its half a million inhabitants and its ever-growing foreign community. Running along the bank of the river for six or seven miles, but some little distance from it, is what is popularly called the "New Road," so called because at the time of its building in the 'seventies it was the *only* road. It starts at the Electric Tramway Station at Bangkolem and finishes at the Grand Palace, taking the shape of a half-circle, and the visitor who spends his first hour in Siam driving along it will probably dismiss Bangkok as a city of unrelieved squalor and drabness. I feel as if I had a certain vested interest in the New Road myself, as I discovered after I was married that my wife's uncle, Charles Fahey, had been brought from the Public Works Department in India at the instance of Henry Alabaster, his cousin, the author of the "Wheel of the Law," but now only a name to the present generation, to begin the construction of its upper portion. For most of its length it *is* drab, but once you get away from it, you dive into broad, shady avenues with the branches interlacing overhead, and gardens all around you. From the Grand Palace itself, a permanent tribute to Siamese architecture, there leads a broad road past the Royal Plaza and down a magnificent "Champs Elysées" straight to the new Throne Hall built in the Italian style of St. Peter's at Rome. Kipling says that East and West will never meet. Well, here is evidence of a remarkable endeavour to do so.

The architecture of Siam, to my mind, is a thing of beauty and a joy to look at. It is rightly called Indo-Chinese, for while the Temple Halls are characteristic of China, the tall and graceful pagodas, whether "Praprang" or "Prachedi," recall at once the ancient Hindu and Buddhist monuments of India. And yet the Siamese seem to have evolved from the fusion of the two a style all their own. They have robbed the Chinese roof of its heaviness, and, with the use of slender sloping pillars and the blending of beautifully coloured tiles in the roofs themselves, have achieved a distinction hard to equal elsewhere. The excessive ornament so common in Hindu temples has disappeared from the pagodas, and the blunted spire of Indo-Khmer, or the pointed spire of the truer North-Indian stupa, alike combine to invest the whole with the spirit of



the East without its tawdriness. The precincts of the temples are always swept and garnished, and the visitor will find in the gardens a quiet and a peace that is unmistakable and worthy of comparison with his own old abbeys and cathedrals in Europe. A climb in the evening up the steps to the top of the Golden Mount in the centre of the city is always a revelation both to resident and visitor. The whole town seems to be lost in a forest of leafy trees, and the setting sun lights up the carpet roofs peeping out from among them, all orange and red and green—a scene not lightly forgotten. The Chinese, in the Sung period, made a type of beautiful porcelain called “Chün Yao,” which had a thick, opaque glaze of two colours, light sky-blue with patches of mauvish pink. I often wondered whence they obtained this delightful effect until about six o’clock one evening in December I saw exactly the same effect in the Bangkok sky, and then I knew!

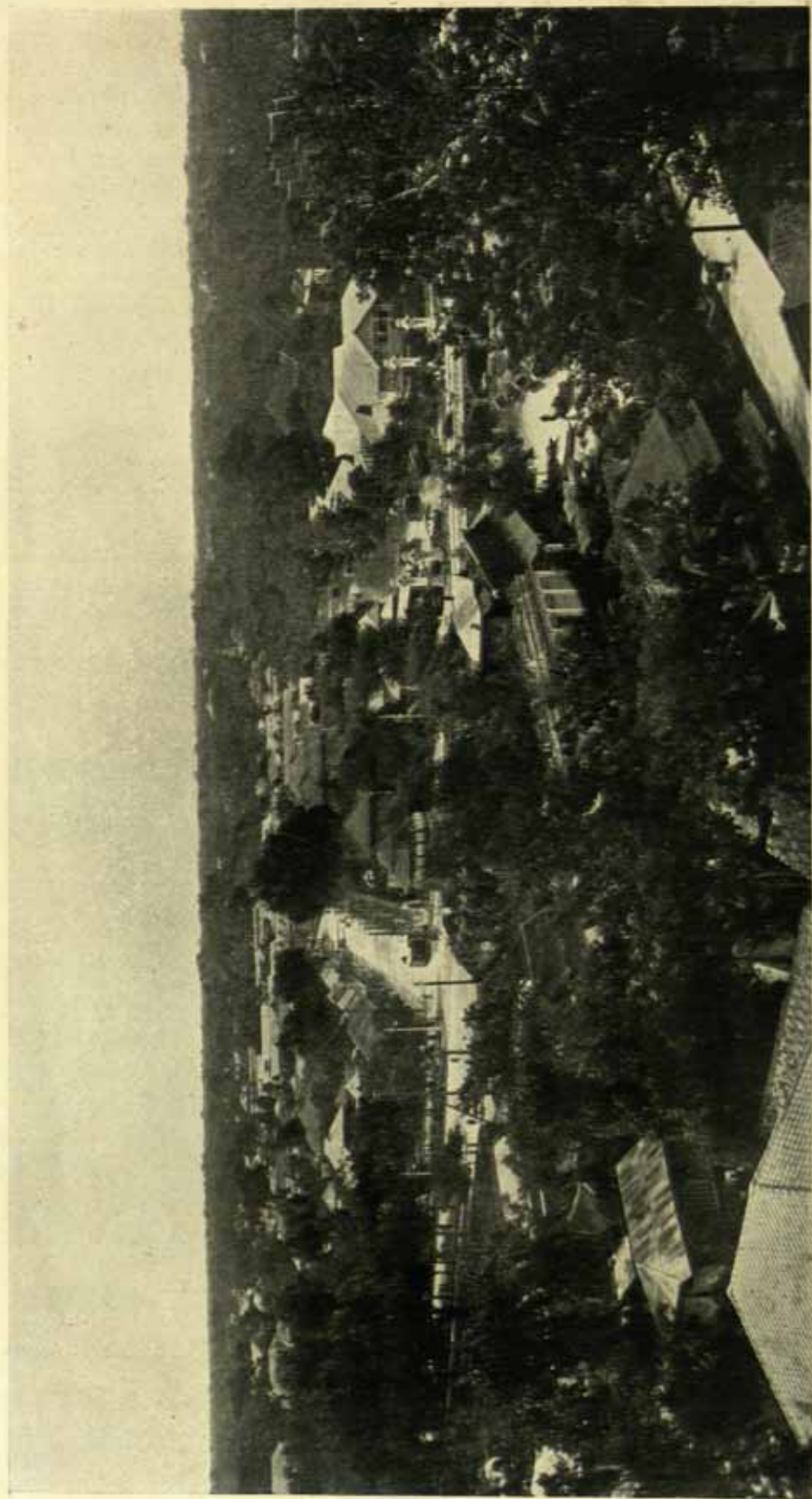
Bangkok has often been called the Venice of the East. It is a good name, but one might also call it the City of Spires, for the temples within its limits are legion, and to quote but a few of the largest, Wat Pra Keo (of the Emerald Buddha) in the Palace, Wat Poh, Wat Suthat, Wat Benchamabopit (built by King Chulalongkorn), with many another, all breathe an indefinable air of calm and dignity which sinks deep into the receptive mind. It may be said that the best qualities of the Siamese race appear in their temple architecture, and I for one prefer it to Japanese, Chinese, or Indian, whether Hindu or Muhammadan. You will say that I am prejudiced by long association. It may be so, but come and see for yourself and I will guarantee that you will soon fall a victim to the charm of the setting, the blending of the colour scheme, and above all to the grace of the buildings themselves.

In such a short article I have no space to speak of the interior of the country. The visitor to Bangkok, however, will not see much of it, except perhaps during a trip to the ancient capital, Ayudhya, some two hours by train from Bangkok. But for those who have the time to spare, visits can be made in the south to Petchaburi, where some remarkable caves are to be seen; to Hua Hin, the seaside resort of Siam, where there is an excellent hotel and an 18-hole golf-links, with good sea-bathing; or, going northwards, to Lopburi with its ancient Cambodian ruins, and to Chiangmai in the mountainous Lao regions, 450 miles from Bangkok, where roses and European flowers and vegetables can be grown, and the temperature will sometimes drop to



as low as 40° Fahrenheit in the winter. Also a word must be said of the ease by which the traveller can now go due east from Bangkok to the famous ruins of Angkor in Cambodia. Eight or nine hours in the train to the frontier, plus four or five hours in a car on a good road, and one is there with a minimum of discomfort. There is no doubt that in the near future the Penang-Bangkok-Angkor-Saigon route will attract an ever-increasing number of visitors, and prove to be one of the best advertisements of the beauties of this country. Distinctive costumes, beautiful architecture, delightful canal scenery, and a riot of colour all await those who have the spirit of adventure strong enough to come to this neglected and still almost unknown land.

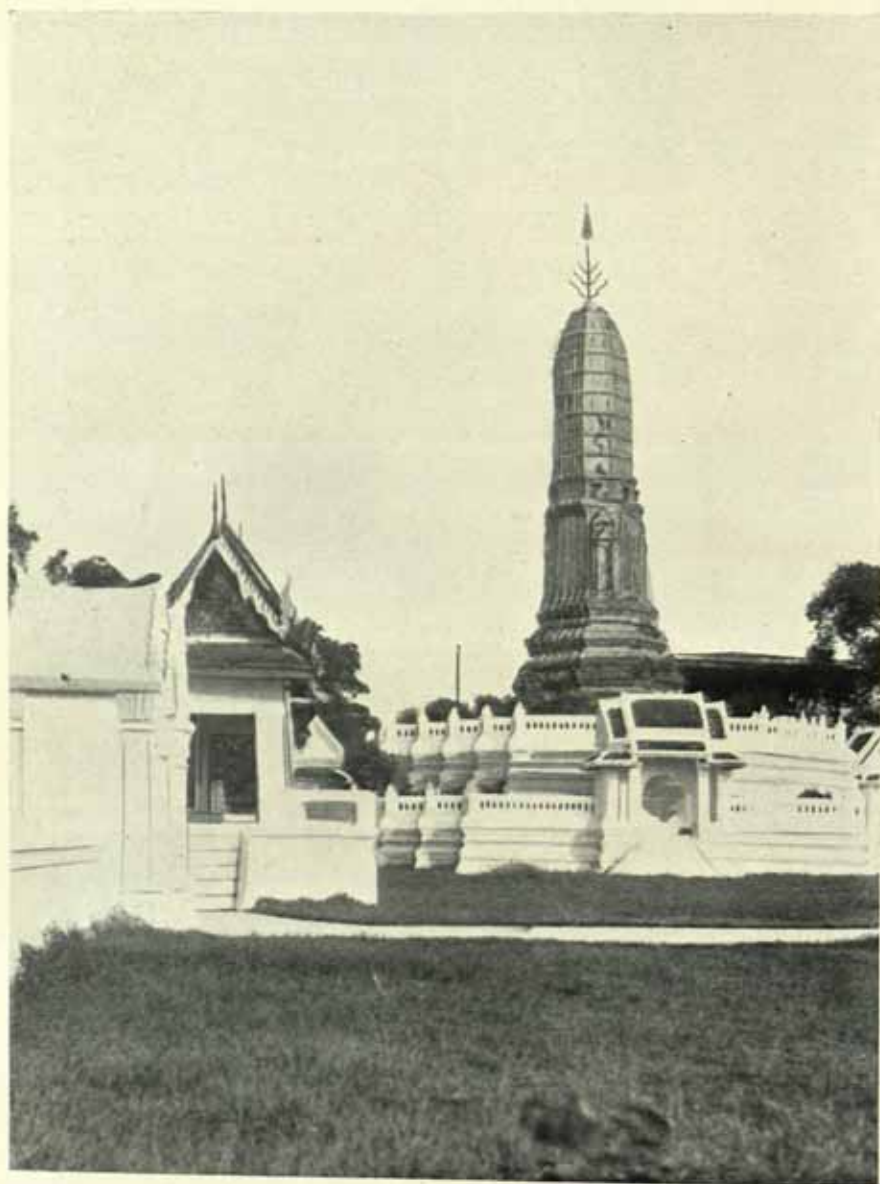




VIEW OF BANGKOK FROM THE GOLDEN MOUNT

*Copyright: restored*





EXAMPLE OF A "PRAPRANG" WITH A TEMPLE

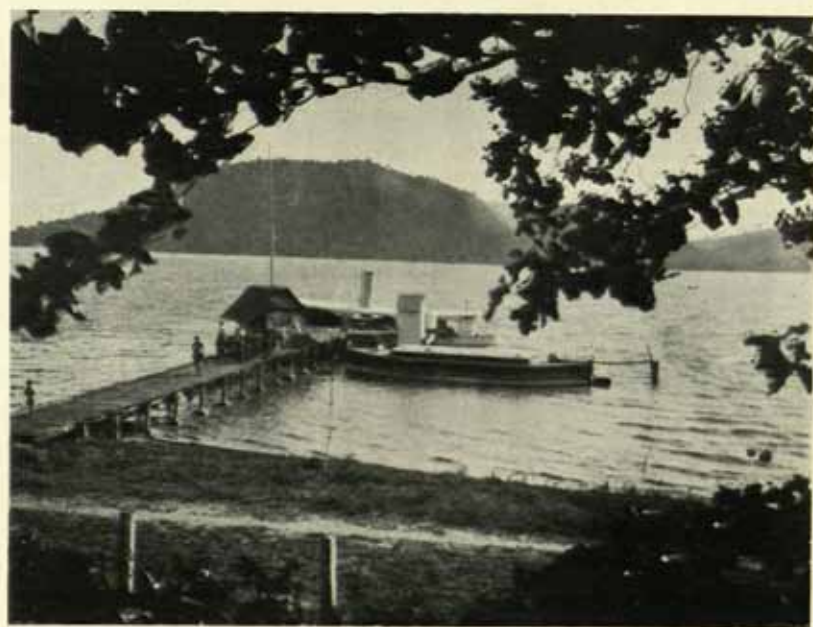
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CAMBODIAN RUINS AT LOPBURI, TENTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

*Copyright reserved*



LANDING PIER AT SINGORA (SOUTHERN SIAM)

*Copyright reserved*





FRONT OF THE MAIN HALL OF WAT PHAKEO (IN THE PALACE), THE TEMPLE  
OF THE EMERALD BUDDHA

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ELEPHANTS PUSHING TEAK LOGS INTO A STREAM (NORTHERN SIAM)

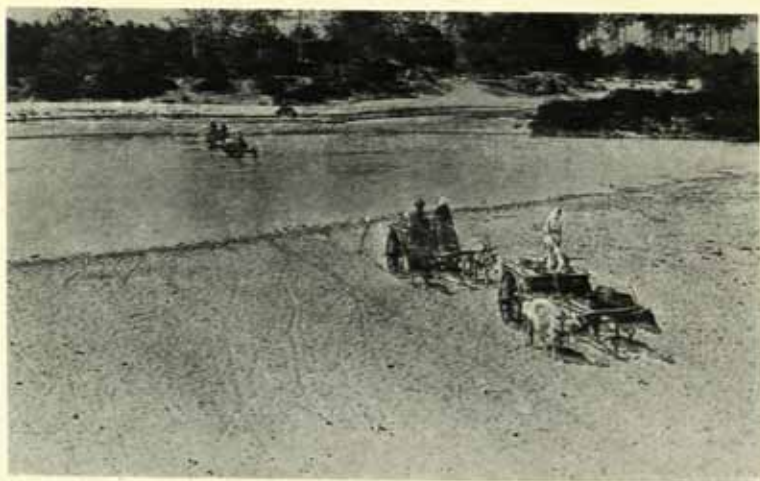
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ELEPHANTS DRAGGING TIMBER INTO A FOREST STREAM  
(NORTHERN SIAM)

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BULLOCK CARTS CROSSING A RIVER (EASTERN SIAM)

*Copyright reserved*



THE END OF "SLADANG," AN ENORMOUS WILD BISON FOUND IN  
SIAMESE JUNGLES

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EXAMPLE OF A "PRACHEDI" WITH A TEMPLE



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

## THE SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submits the following report on the work of the Association for the year 1927-28 :

The Council elected fifty-seven new members during the year, but lost nineteen by resignation and twelve by death. There is thus a net increase of twenty-six members. The losses by death include one of our most distinguished members, Lord Sinha, who from time to time took an active part in our discussions.

The year saw a quickening of interest in Indian affairs, which has been reflected in the larger membership and the good attendance at our meetings. The setting up of the Statutory Commission on Indian Reform under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, and somewhat later the appointment of the Indian States Committee, presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, were causes of this quickening of interest, which in itself is a matter for congratulation.

The Council came to the conclusion that it would be well to widen somewhat the scope of our discussions and to relate them when opportunity served to current public issues. For some time past the Council had been considering the desirability of allowing the discussions of the Association to deal more closely with current public issues affecting India, not for the purpose of supporting any particular policy or course (which would be contrary to the constitution of the Association), but with a view to providing a forum where all reasonable opinions on current questions could be ventilated within due limits, even though such questions might be concerned with methods and manners of Indian administration. Accordingly, early in the year it was resolved that, while strictly adhering to the principle of avoiding any connection with English party



politics, it was desirable to accept papers treating in a temperate and dispassionate way questions of a social and political nature affecting India, subject to such papers being submitted for previous consideration of the Literary Committee. There followed the necessary corollary of some amendment of the rules relating to our public meetings, giving the Chairman on each occasion a wide discretion as to the choice of speakers and the general conduct of the proceedings.

In conformity with our widened scope, most of the papers read and discussed during the year had close relation to immediate topics of the hour. The paper by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha (late Finance Member of the Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa) on the working of dyarchy in Indian provinces evoked so much interest that the animated discussion thereon was renewed at a further meeting a fortnight later. The views of orthodox Hindus on political issues were expounded by Pandit Shyam Shankar. The paper by Mr. W. H. Arden Wood on the problem of the domiciled community in India dealt with one of the many aspects of the Indian situation which are now engaging the attention of the Statutory Commission. It should be added that at the conversazione held in January, three days before the departure of Sir John Simon and his colleagues for their preliminary survey in India, Lord Strathcona, one of the members of the Commission, was present, and the Chairman of Council voiced the good wishes of the Association to the Commission in their great and responsible undertaking.

No less pertinent to problems of the hour than the other addresses mentioned was the lecture given by Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn on the relations of Afghanistan and India the day before the arrival in this country, as the guests of the nation, of their Majesties the King and Queen of Afghanistan. The position and prospects of Burma was the subject of a paper read by Mr. J. J. Nolan; Mr. P. R. Cadell, lately returned from India, spoke on the Indian Navy; and Sir Francis Young-husband gave a luminous paper on the exploration of the Himalaya.



To the great regret of the Council, Mr. Stanley P. Rice relinquished in December the Hon. Secretaryship on taking up an appointment offered him by H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, on the understanding that he might at a later date renew his secretarial services to the Association. Mr. Rice was Hon. Secretary for nearly nine years, and brought to the position qualifications of a high order. Mr. F. H. Brown accepted the invitation of the Council to take the vacant place.

The following members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election :

The Right Hon. Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.

Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E.

N. C. Sen, Esq., O.B.E.

Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.

Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary.

The Accounts show a balance at the bank of £214 11s. 9d., as compared with £211 os. 6d. last year.

(Signed) L. DANE, *Chairman of Council.*

F. H. BROWN, *Hon. Secretary.*



## APPENDIX A

The following Papers were read during the year :

*May 23, 1927.*—"The Exploration of the Himalaya," by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. Colonel Charles H. D. Ryder, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., in the chair.

*July 11, 1927.*—"The Indian Navy," by P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.). Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, K.C.B., in the chair.

*October 3, 1927.*—"Dyarchy in Indian Provinces in Theory and Practice," by Sachchidananda Sinha (late Finance Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa). Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*October 17, 1927.*—Resumed Discussion on above Paper. Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

*November 28, 1927.*—"Political Views of Orthodox Hindus," by Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*February 13, 1928.*—"Burma: An Unofficial View," by J. J. Nolan, F.J.I. Sir Reginald H. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*March 12, 1928.*—"Afghanistan and India," by Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*April 23, 1928.*—"The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India," by W. H. Arden Wood, C.I.E. Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., in the chair.

## APPENDIX B

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Kunwar M. Ashraf, Esq. (Student Member).

Arthur R. Astbury, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E.

Rai Sahib Ram Agarwala.

Newal Kishore Agarwala, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Student Member).

Ernest Burdon, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Mrs. Grizzel Hamilton Benham.

Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Adolphus Fleming Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.I.E.

Victor Hope Boalth, Esq., C.B.E.

H.H. Raja Ram Singh, Raja of Chamba.

Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji, Raja of Chhota-Udepur (Life Member).

Sir Arthur Herbert Cuming, I.C.S.

Mrs. N. B. Dewar.

John de la Valette, Esq.

Kansara Tribhovan Damoder, Esq., B.Sc. (Student Member).

Robert John Sherwood Dodd, Esq., C.S.I.

Robert Barnes Elwin, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

Colonel K. N. Haksar, C.I.E.

Matthew Hunter, Esq., C.I.E.

Sir Herbert Holmwood, I.C.S. (retd.).

Hugh Basil Holme, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

Mirza M. Ismail, Esq., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Rai Bahadur Sir Onkar Mull Jatia, C.I.E.

Kartar Singh Jandial, Esq. (Student Member).

Raja Md. Ejaz Razul Khan, C.S.I., Raja of Jehangirabad.

Rai Sahib Kishan Nand Joshi.

Faiz Mohamed Khan, Esq.

Major Malcolm Ellis Meade, I.A.

James Alexander Dickson McBain, Esq., C.I.E.

Satyendra Chandra Mallik, Esq., I.C.S.

Lord Middleton, M.C.

Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, K.C.I.E.

Leonard F. Morhead, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).

Alexander Montgomerie, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Meherban Sir Malojirao Vyankatrao Raje Ghorapade, K.C.I.E., Raja of Mudhol (Life Member).

George Morgan, Esq., C.I.E., M.L.C.

Frank Noyce, Esq., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S.

Ernest Alfred Notcutt, Esq.



Rev. John Newcomb, D.D., K.-I-H.  
 Lieut.-Colonel Frederick O'Kinealy, C.I.E., C.V.O., I.M.S. (retd.).  
 Dr. Raganath Purushottam Paranjpye.  
 Uma Prasada, Esq. (Student Member).  
 Mrs. Pollen.  
 Sir Edwin Hall Pascoe, M.A., D.Sc., F.G.S.  
 Leonard William Reynolds, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.  
 L. L. Sundara Ram, Esq., M.A. (Student Member).  
 Sachchidananda Sinha, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 Arthur Leslie Saunders, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).  
 Yeshwant Narayan Sukthankar, Esq., I.C.S.  
 Captain H. H. Raja Narendra Shah, C.S.I., Raja of Tehri (Life Member).  
 Lady Tighe.  
 Edmund Tydeman, Esq.  
 Sir Jugmohandas Varjivandas.  
 T. Viraraghavan, Esq.  
 Laurence Frederick Rushbrooke Williams, Esq., O.B.E.  
 Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.  
 Sir Logie Pirie Watson.  
 Ralph Alexander Wilson, Esq., I.C.S.

### APPENDIX C

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

Colonel Philip J. H. Aplin, D.S.O.  
 Sir Charles P. Beachcroft.  
 Colonel Sir Robert N. Campbell, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.  
 Barré Cassels Forbes, Esq.  
 Sir Evan Maconochie, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.  
 Diwan Bahadur Pundit Nandlal, I.S.O.  
 Sir Francis Oldfield.  
 Rai Bahadur Sir Ganga Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O.  
 The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, K.C.S.I.  
 George Frederick Sheppard, Esq.  
 H. A. Sim, Esq., C.I.E.  
 Miss Mary Vaughan.

### APPENDIX D

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Sir Muthiah Chitambara M. Chettyar.  
 Meherban Dattijarao Ghatage, Jahagirdar of Kagal.  
 George Cecil Golding, Esq.  
 Sir Malcolm N. Hogg.  
 Lady Jacob.  
 Alfred James Kay, Esq.  
 P. C. Lyon, Esq., C.S.I.  
 Edwin S. Murray, Esq., O.B.E.  
 Ernest Oughton, Esq.  
 Rev. Frank Penny.  
 Sir T. N. Sivagnanam Pillai.  
 H. S. L. Polak, Esq.  
 C. W. E. Pittar, Esq.  
 Cursetjee Rustomjee, Esq.  
 The Right Hon. Sir Lancelot Sanderson.  
 Lala Bishamber Sahai.  
 J. S. Slater, Esq.  
 Sir J. Henry Stone, C.I.E.  
 Rao Bahadur S. K. Sundarachari.



## ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-first Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 18, 1928.

The Right Hon. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following members were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Thomas Strangman, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Thomas Smith, Sir James McKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, Mr. Shantidas Askuran Shah, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. Syed A. Rafique, Mr. J. Sladen, Colonel D. Warlike, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mrs. Dewar, Miss Curteis, Mr. N. K. Agarwala, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I have no doubt you have all had copies of the Report, and therefore we may take it as read. I would like briefly to go over a few points which are raised in the Report. First of all, I desire to make a reference to the losses of the Association owing to death and resignations. However, on the year's working up to April 30 we have twenty-six more members than there were in the preceding year; since that date there have been other members admitted, and today we have a list of twelve, so that you will see our numbers can be considered very satisfactory.

Amongst others whom we have unfortunately lost I much regret was Lord Sinha, whose wise counsel can be ill spared in these days of anxious discussion. I am glad to say that his son is going to take his father's place by joining our Association. Another feature of the year has been a fuller recognition by deliberate decision of your Council and by the arrangement of our lecture programme to emphasize the principle for which the Association has always stood—in name, at least—of providing a platform for the discussion of current questions, not excluding controversial political questions. We exist to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India, and we can best do so by the unfettered ventilation of different schools of opinion, provided that these are not merely subversive and that they are expressed in a temperate and reasonable spirit. I fully agree that in these days it is desirable to have a freer discussion, but I should like to point out quite definitely that no vote can be taken, and nothing is going to be put forward from the Association as an Association. It is to be purely open discussion, and we do not want it to be taken that we have any definite views or opinions on these very vital and important questions. It is particularly desirable that we should have an open platform at a time when the future of India within the British Empire is under examination



by the Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. The members of that Commission have been the guests of the Association on more than one occasion, and notably several of them were present when the Maharaja of Burdwan gave us his strong and frank views on the problems the Commission has under consideration. I venture to think that the proceedings of our Association, as published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, side by side with other suggestive material on Indian problems, may be of real assistance to the Commission in the heavy responsibilities placed upon it.

I need not say that our range of interest covers the entire Indian Empire, and not British India alone. The welfare of the Indian States has always been an especial care of the Association, and quite a number of the Princes have shown from time to time their appreciation of this aspect of their work, as can be seen from reference to our list of Vice-Presidents and our list of members. It was inevitable that at a time when the future of British India was under review by the Statutory Commission the relations between the States and the Paramount Power should also be examined.

The inquiry on the Indian States under the chairmanship of our distinguished member, Sir Harcourt Butler, is now being continued in this country, and consequently an unusual number of the more influential Princes are now here to do some Imperial thinking. It is well known that a scheme of constitutional readjustment is being placed before the Committee under the auspices of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes.

In this connection I have a most gratifying announcement to make. The Chancellor of the Chamber, the Maharaja of Patiala, has most kindly undertaken to read a paper to the Association on the subject. The date has been fixed for Tuesday, July 24. This will be on the eve of the holiday season, but I am quite sure that there will be a sufficient number of our members and others interested in India in London to give His Highness a worthy audience on the first occasion on which, so far as I know, a Ruling Prince of a great State has addressed a public meeting in England on Indian States polity.

By a happy coincidence we have with us today Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, who after serving the Government of India as Director of Information for some years, is now Foreign Minister to His Highness. I propose the adoption of the report, and I shall call upon Mr. Rushbrook Williams to second the motion.

You will see in the Report that an allusion is made to our late Honorary Secretary's absence in Baroda. I am glad that he keeps well there, and seems to like the work, and we trust that he will be able to return after his three years and resume his duties, but meanwhile we have an excellent substitute in Mr. Brown. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He is most enterprising in looking after the affairs of the Association; he strikes out into new paths in many directions. For instance, he has proposed informal dinners for members of the Association to meet in social intercourse. We have already had one, and I thought it was a very pleasant evening indeed



made all the pleasanter by the absence of speeches. It is a charming way of meeting one's friends, and those connected with our Indian Empire.

Further, I should mention that there is to be a change in our proceedings. Instead of having our meetings at 3.30, which is a difficult time for business men and officials of the India Office and other departments, we have decided that from the commencement of the next lecturing season the hour of our meetings shall be 4.30. That will probably suit the convenience of a great number of those people who are busy in the earlier part of the afternoon. I hope that thereby we shall not only secure a larger attendance, but that we shall also have the advantage of enrolling as members many gentlemen as well as ladies interested in India, who may have held back in the past on account of the difficulty they have found in the way of being present at our meetings.

Mr. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said it gave him very great pleasure to second the adoption of the annual report. He took it as being a very happy omen of the activities of the Association, representing as he did an Indian State, that he should have been given the honour of receiving the invitation to do so. The Association, as the Chairman quite rightly said, always made it plain that it regarded all India as its province. During the last twelve months those in India who had read the *ASIATIC REVIEW* (and there were a large number, he was happy to say) had read with the greatest interest articles dealing with Indian States. (Hear, hear.) There was scarcely a number of the current issues without some reference to the interlocking problems which, both from the side of British India and from the side of the Indian States, together constituted the great problem of India. He was very glad indeed that it had been found possible to arrange for His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes to read a paper to the members of the Association. It would be a unique occasion in that it was the first time that a Ruling Prince had publicly addressed a meeting in England; but he ventured to think there was another score upon which it would be remarkable. Considering the amount of attention which had been devoted by the daily press to the coming of the Indian Princes, he believed he could assume that it was generally realized that the whole Standing Committee of the Chamber, with two exceptions, headed by the Chancellor, were coming together to England for the first time since the Chamber came into existence. Without endeavouring in any way to anticipate what His Highness the Chancellor would say in the course of his paper, he would like to take the opportunity of saying that the Princes were coming here with a most definite and a most laudable object—namely, with the idea of making a definite constructive contribution to the solution of the great problem of India. If he were to endeavour to outline, however briefly, the lines of work upon which the Princes were engaged, he would, he feared, be trespassing too much on the time of the members of the Association, and what was perhaps equally important, he would be going beyond the scope of the matter with which he was at present endeavouring to deal. But at the time when Sir John Simon and the Statutory Committee were endeavouring



ouring to form some decision upon the leading problems in British India, it was, he thought, very fortunate that the States themselves should be endeavouring actively to associate themselves with His Majesty's Government and the authorities in England for the formulation of a solution of their side of the case. If there was one thing which was obvious to those who knew India, it was that neither the British Government nor the Indian States could solve their particular problems in isolation one from the other. Two dominant factors, political forces and economic forces, which governed every situation in every country, were in India of particular importance. In the first place, from the standpoint of India as a whole, the States lay so intermingled with the territory of British India that it was impossible to draw anything like a reasoned political boundary. In the second place, the unifying forces of modern communication and modern commerce had gone so far to make the country an economic whole that it was quite impossible now, either in the interests of one side or the other, to ignore the position of the opposite party. (Hear, hear.) In concluding he said he was afraid he had digressed from his original statement that it gave him pleasure to second the adoption of the report, but he had done so deliberately, and for this reason: the Association seemed to him to have done its very best to keep these two aspects of Indian problems—namely, the States problem and the British India problem—before the British public. He thought those of them who were working in India and looking for India to make a constructive contribution, owed a great debt of gratitude to the Association and also to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for constant endeavours to form public opinion in England in relation to those problems. As the Chairman had remarked, the Indian Princes had in many cases taken an active interest in the welfare and general prosperity of the Association. He hoped that in the course of this season, with the gathering of an unusual number of Indian Princes, the rulers of several States would find it possible to attend the meetings of the Association and generally show by their presence how much they appreciated the work which the East India Association was doing.

(The Resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE said that if the value and importance of a proposal were not modified by its being moved for yet another year by himself, his own pleasure was not diminished by being asked to move that the Right Hon. Lord Lamington be re-elected President of this Association for the ensuing year. (Cheers.) Indeed, he considered it a great privilege to be the spokesman of the Association's desire that his Lordship should continue to safeguard and promote its interests as he had done in previous years. Before putting the proposal to the vote, he would crave leave to refer to one or two topics in the report which had just been adopted. The first was with regard to the Council's view to broaden the scope of subjects treated from the Association's platform. It was a wise step, and its results might be regarded with satisfaction if means could be devised for an equal opportunity as regards time and speakers being assured to the pros and cons of the subject under discussion. (Hear, hear.)



The other matter which he wished to allude to was one on which the Association had reason to congratulate itself for securing an efficient substitute in place of Mr. Stanley Rice, who had done such good work for so many years as their Hon. Secretary. In Mr. F. H. Brown they had not only a coadjutor who had intimate knowledge of the purposes and activities of the Association, but who could import into the discharge of his duties a zeal and an influence of which they had proofs already in the quality of the papers and discussions and of the distinguished persons he had secured for their meetings. (Cheers.) Not only over them, but even in minute details of their affairs, Lord Lamington had presided and taken a deep interest in the past, and it required no special emphasis on his part to commend to their acceptance the proposal that his Lordship be appointed their President for the ensuing year, and he trusted for many years to come he would occupy that position. (Applause.)

SIR CHARLES ARMSTRONG said he had much pleasure in seconding the Resolution which had been proposed by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee. They could not possibly have a better President, and he hoped very much that he would be re-elected.

(The Resolution was put by Sir M. Bhownaggee and carried with acclamation.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I assure you that it is with heartfelt pride that I accept again the honorary position to which you have elected me. I am honestly pleased to think that you should think me worthy of the position. Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, in his happily chosen and very kind words, said that he hoped I should occupy the position for many years to come. Well, years roll on, and if at any time you think it quite right to hint to me in a delicate way that you would like to put somebody else in my place, do so. I should more than understand if you thought that somebody else should hold the position after the considerable number of years that I have been connected with the Association, either as Chairman or as your President. I thank Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee and Sir Charles Armstrong for the really generous terms in which they have proposed and seconded my re-election, and I say once again that I accept it with feelings of pride and true pleasure. (Applause.)

SIR LOUIS DANE proposed the re-election of the retiring members of the Council, and also the election of new members of the Council, and said that before putting the resolution he would like to say how much he personally appreciated the references which had been made with regard to Mr. Stanley Rice and Mr. Brown. As Chairman of the Council he had a good deal to do with the Secretary, and knew how much the Association owed to those two gentlemen. He was rather surprised to find that there appeared to be one serious omission in their recent revision of the Rules, although perhaps it was his fault. There seemed to be no provision in the Rules by which they could get rid of their Chairman of the Council. (Laughter.) There certainly ought to be something, and perhaps somebody would be able to bring in a rule which would enable the Association to depose the Chairman of the Council when he had sat too long.



The following retiring Members of the Council signified their willingness to be re-elected :

The Right Hon. Ameer Ali, C.I.E.  
Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E.  
Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E.  
Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.  
Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E.

Then the following were nominated as new Members of the Council :

Sir Herbert Holmwood.  
Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E.  
Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.  
Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E.  
Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E.

The Resolution was seconded by Mr. Wilkinson.

The Resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON proposed the election of the following new Members of the Association :

Lord Sinha.  
Sir William Sinclair Marris, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.  
Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.  
Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E.  
Sir Edward M. Cook, C.S.I., C.I.E.  
Sir Rustom Jhangir Vakil.  
The Hon. Mr. Justice C. P. Blackwell.  
Shantidas Askuran Shah (Life Member).  
Abraham (Aubrey) Jacob David.  
Mrs. (Evelyn Dorothea) Chaplin.  
Miss E. L. Curteis.  
Hari Lall Varma (Student).

Mr. L. L. SUNDARA RAM, in seconding the Resolution, said it gave him great pleasure to do so, especially as it was so gratifying to note the increasing membership of the Association. He further thought that the increase in the field and scope of discussions in the Association would benefit them, more especially Indian visitors, who would be enriched by the experience and ripeness of judgment of most of the members of the Association. (Applause.)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, in concluding the business this afternoon, I ought to make some allusion to the sad event—namely, the death of Sir Alexander Muddiman, Governor of the United Provinces. It is extremely sad, having regard to his having taken up his new duties so recently. I am sure you will wish me to express our great sympathy with his mother.

The proceedings then terminated.



## THE INDIAN LINGUISTIC SURVEY AND THE VERNACULARS

BY SIR EDWARD GAIT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

If there is one statement that has been made about India more frequently than any other, it is that it must be regarded as a continent rather than a single country. Almost isolated from the rest of Asia by the mighty barrier of the Himalayas, its area is equal to that of Europe excluding Russia. It contains alike the oldest and the most recent geological formations. It has a remarkable diversity of climate, physical features, fauna and flora. Its population, which is one-fifth of that of the whole world, includes representatives of many different types of humanity.

But in no field is its diversity so remarkable as in that of language. There is no other part of the world of equal size where so many languages are spoken, or where they belong to such widely separated linguistic families or to such varying stages of development. Tibeto-Chinese dialects are spoken in the east and along the Himalayan fringe. Representatives of the Austro-Asiatic family are found in the same areas and also in Chota Nagpur and a few small tracts elsewhere. In the southern part of the peninsula Dravidian languages predominate, while throughout the rest of India the great bulk of the people speak Aryan languages. Though these languages are now the speech of three-fourths of the population, they are not indigenous, but were brought to India by tribes who came in from the north-west, possibly about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millennia ago, and gradually replaced the earlier forms of speech. The Aryan and several of the Dravidian languages have their own distinctive scripts and an extensive literature, but this is not the case with certain other Dravidian



languages nor with the Austric and the great majority of the Tibeto-Chinese languages. These are mere tribal dialects; they are unwritten, and live only in the fugitive memory of the primitive people who speak them.

#### GENESIS OF THE SURVEY

From the commencement of British rule many students, chiefly officials and missionaries, have devoted themselves to the study of Indian languages. Thanks to their efforts, the Brahmi character, in which so many ancient inscriptions were recorded, has been deciphered. The knowledge of Sanskrit has been revived, and its voluminous literature has been explored and critically examined. The modern vernaculars have been studied and developed with the aid of the printing-press; and many of the rude tribal dialects have been reduced to writing, and grammars of them have been worked out and published.

From time to time enthusiastic philologists—including Carey, Leech, Hodgson, Logan, Caldwell, Beames, Campbell, and Cust—had attempted a comparative study of more or less extended groups with a view to ascertaining their affinities and mutual relationships. But the material available for such studies was inadequate, and the efforts made met with scant success. They, nevertheless, served a useful purpose, as they brought to notice the urgent necessity for a thorough and systematic survey of the whole field. At the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886, a resolution was unanimously passed urging the Government of India to cause such a survey to be made. No action was taken until 1894, when, owing, it may be surmised, to the initiative of that accomplished scholar the late Sir Charles Lyall, who was then the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, it was decided to institute a linguistic survey of the whole of India except Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, and Burma.

Sir George (then Mr.) Grierson, at that time Magistrate



of Gaya, was selected as the Superintendent of the proposed survey. The choice of Sir George Grierson was inevitable. He was far better equipped for such a task than any of his contemporaries, either in the ranks of the Government services or outside them. He was a Sanskrit scholar of repute, and throughout his service of over twenty-five years he had made a very close study of the dialects current in Bihar and of vernacular literature generally. He was recognized as the greatest authority on these subjects, and he had for years been the mainstay of the philological section of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

#### COLLECTION OF THE MATERIAL

But, well equipped though he was, the task was one of such magnitude—the biggest thing of the kind that had ever been attempted in any part of the world—that even he might have been unable to cope with it but for the excellent Indian administrative system. British India is divided into nearly 300 districts, each in charge of a district officer. Whenever any special work has to be done, whether it be famine relief, or a census, or precautions against plague, or the preparation of crop statistics or of an electoral roll, it is the district officer who is called upon to do the needful, and he never fails to respond efficiently and promptly. So it was with the linguistic survey. The first step was to obtain from each district officer a list of all the languages and dialects spoken in his district. Similar lists were also obtained from all the Indian States. When these lists had been examined and compared and roughly classified, the same agency was utilized to obtain specimens of every language and dialect current in each district. These specimens included :

(a) A translation into each such dialect of the Parable of the Prodigal Son. This passage was selected because it presents, for its length, an unusual number of grammatical points ; it contains, *inter alia*, the three personal pronouns, most of the cases found in the declension of nouns, and the



present, past, and future tenses of the verb. As many of the actual translators were ignorant of English, a volume containing sixty-five known versions of the Parable in Indian languages was prepared and circulated, so that, if the translator did not know English, he would probably find in this collection some language familiar to him which he could take as the basis for his translation.

(b) A piece of folklore, selected locally and taken down from the mouth of the speaker. This, like the translation of the Parable, was written in the Roman and also in the local character, if there was one; and a word-for-word translation was added.

(c) A translation into the language or dialect of a standard list of words and test sentences which had already been widely used in India.

It was difficult to find anyone with an adequate knowledge of a few of the more remote dialects. For instance, no one could at first be found who spoke one of the Kafir languages of the Hindu Kush. At length, says Sir George, after a long search, a shepherd of the desired nationality was enticed from his native fastnesses to Chitral. He knew only his own language, but a Bashgali Sheikh was found who knew a little of it and also knew Chitrali. With his aid the translation of the Parable was made through Bashgali and Chitrali. With care and the assistance of the local officers a version was ultimately obtained that satisfactorily complied with the stringent philological tests to which all these translations were subjected.

But the great majority of the specimens were prepared either by native speakers of the languages concerned or by missionaries or officials who were intimately acquainted with them. The main difficulty experienced was the reluctance of educated Indians to record words and idioms which they regarded as uncouth or ungrammatical, and their tendency to substitute their own more elegant phraseology. Such mistakes were usually put right by the local officer,



but a further source of safety lay in the meticulous scrutiny of all the specimens by Sir George Grierson himself. Usually he had a considerable number to choose from, and his great knowledge and experience enabled him to select the best for each dialect. The specimens chosen for inclusion in the Survey Records were again very closely examined by him, and any expressions which seemed in the least doubtful were referred back to the local officers for further enquiry. Nothing was passed until he was completely satisfied; and we need, therefore, have not the slightest hesitation in accepting his view that the specimens printed in the Report present a true picture of the forms of speech to which they relate.

#### AND ITS ELUCIDATION

The collection, examination, and selection of specimens, and (where necessary) their revision, was practically completed in the course of four or five years. The processes of digesting and collating the raw material thus obtained necessarily took much longer. Each specimen was subjected to close analytical study; full notes were made of its grammatical and other peculiarities, and its relationship to other languages was investigated. When this had been done the next step was to come to a decision as to the place to be assigned to each form of speech—whether it was to rank as an independent language or as a dialect, and to what linguistic family or sub-family it was to be assigned.

The final stage was the preparation of a classified scheme of linguistic families, sub-families, languages, and dialects, and the arrangement, editing, and publication of the specimens under their appropriate headings, with the necessary explanatory memoranda. For example, the Tibeto-Burman languages of India are dealt with in Vol. iii. of the Report. This "Volume" (as it is called) is divided into three "Parts," each part being itself a bulky volume. Part II. deals with the Bodo, Naga, and



Kachin groups of the linguistic family in question. The section of this part relating to the Bodo group begins with a general account of that group, the habitat of its speakers, the languages and dialects it includes, and the number of persons by whom each is spoken, together with a review of the general characteristics of the languages and a sketch of their mutual affinities. Then follows, for each language in the group :

- (i.) A descriptive account of it and its development, together with a bibliography.
- (ii.) A skeleton grammar.
- (iii.) The specimens of the language, critically edited.

The enormous amount of labour involved will be understood when it is noted that in all 179 languages and 544 dialects have been thus dealt with ; that the Report of the Survey extends over twenty thick quarto volumes, and that its preparation has engaged Sir George Grierson's almost undivided attention for over thirty years. The Report is a monument of careful, thorough, and scholarly work of the kind associated more frequently with German scholars than with those of our own country.

Sir George tells us that his Report is to be regarded as containing facts, not theories, but I do not think that anyone else is likely to take such a limited view of his achievement. The facts certainly are there, but there is a great deal besides. Sir George himself admits that the arrangement and grouping of the languages necessitated the adoption of theories as to relationship ; and his volumes are packed with most informing discussions as to the nature and peculiarities of individual forms of speech and the relations which exist between them and other languages. I venture to think that he has settled finally such vexed questions as whether the individual speech-forms which he has dealt with are to be regarded as languages or dialects, and that the scheme of classification of Indian languages which he has drawn up will command universal acceptance. So far as these important aspects of Indian philology are



concerned, Sir George Grierson has said practically the last word. His exhaustive study of the various speech-forms, his skilful analysis of their structure and grammar, and his searching comparison of one with another, give to his conclusions regarding their status and mutual relationship an authority which is most unlikely to be called in question by any future investigator.

It may be that by "theories" Sir George means suppositions that are not fully proved. In that case, no doubt he is right, for he has been most careful to avoid putting forward any views regarding the many languages he has dealt with which he is unable fully to substantiate.

#### INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

Time does not permit of a detailed consideration of the results of the Survey, which in any case I should be quite incompetent to undertake. But I will endeavour to draw attention to a few matters of special interest. In recognizing the claim of Assamese to rank as a separate language, Sir George has endorsed a popular verdict. He says that if only its vocabulary and grammatical form are considered it might be regarded as a dialect of Bengali, but that its claim to be considered as an independent language is incontestable, because it is the speech of an independent nation, with a history of its own, and has a fine literature, differing altogether from that of Bengal.

But sometimes his conclusions are wholly opposed to preconceived ideas. Lahnda, for instance, which is the main form of speech in the Indus Valley, was previously regarded as a form of Panjabi, and officials who aimed at complete accuracy designated it "Western Panjabi." Sir George Grierson, however, has shown that it is neither Panjabi nor a dialect of Panjabi, but an entirely distinct language. Still more noteworthy is his conclusion regarding Hindi. This term was formerly regarded as connoting a single language, which (with numerous local dialects) is spoken throughout the Gangetic Valley between Bengal



and the Panjab. Sir George shows that the term includes three distinct languages — Bihari, Eastern Hindi, and Western Hindi. Their vocabularies are very similar, but they disclose remarkable differences in their grammatical structure. The Eastern Hindi, spoken in Gorakhpur, for instance, "is highly synthetic, with a verb the conjugation of which is more complicated than that of Latin"; whereas, in the Western Hindi of Jhansi "there is hardly any synthetic grammar at all, and the verb has but one real tense and two participles." Bihari, the easternmost of these three languages, is more nearly allied to Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya than it is to other so-called Hindi dialects. The recognition of facts like these is of the highest importance from an administrative, and still more from an educational, point of view.

The late Dr. Hoernle pointed out, half a century ago, that the Indo-Aryan vernaculars are divided into two main branches :

(a) An inner, spoken in a tract corresponding fairly closely to the ancient Madhyadesa or middle country; this is referred to in mediæval Sanskrit geography as the true, pure home of the Indo-Aryan people, and extends from the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya Hills on the south, and from Sirhind on the west to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna on the east.

(b) An outer branch, almost surrounding the inner, which runs through the Western Panjab, Sindh, the Maratha country, Central India, Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, and Assam.

Hoernle explained this state of things by suggesting that the two branches are the outcome of two separate invasions, the second being by the ancestors of the speakers of the inner group of languages, who entered the Panjab like a wedge, forcing the earlier immigrants outwards in three directions—to the east, the south, and backwards to the west. Sir George Grierson accepts the view that the two branches are derived from an earlier and a later immigration, but he does not consider it proved that it was necessarily the later



immigrants who occupied the central area; he thinks it possible that the later immigrants were those who brought to India the languages of the outer branch, and who, finding the middle tract already occupied by the earlier immigrants, made their way down the Indus Valley, and then across India to the south of the earlier settlers, and, ultimately, behind them to the east. However that may be, the two branches are sharply opposed in many respects, such as pronunciation (especially as regards the treatment of sibilants), the declension of nouns, and the conjugation of the verb. The inner languages have abandoned inflexions, whereas the outer ones, so far from abandoning them, have created new inflexions where the old ones have worn away. There is, we are told, as great a difference in grammatical structure between the inner and outer branches as there is between English and Latin.

Besides the tribes that brought to India the Aryan languages already referred to, a small allied, but independent, community entered the Western Panjab over the Hindu Kush, and settled, for the most part, in the country round Gilgit, Kashmir and Chitral, and in Kafiristan. Owing to their savage nature and the inhospitable country they inhabit, they have had but little intercourse with the outside world. Their language has thus retained a very archaic character, and words which have disappeared elsewhere are still current in the identical form in which they were used in the Vedas three thousand years ago. Very little was known about this small but interesting group of languages until they were investigated by Sir George Grierson in the course of the Linguistic Survey.

#### DRAVIDIAN AND AUSTRASIATIC LANGUAGES

It is impossible, in the time available, to give further details regarding the Aryan languages, or to follow Sir George in his interesting dissertation on the development of the modern vernaculars, through the primary, secondary, and tertiary Prakrits. We must pass on to mention a few



points of special interest in regard to the other linguistic families.

The first point I will refer to is Sir George Grierson's refutation of the old theory, revived by Hahn, that the Dravidian languages belong to the same linguistic family as the Munda—that is to say, the group of languages of which Mundari, Santali, and Ho are the principal members. It may be noted in passing that one is glad to see Max Müller's name for these languages restored, in place of the misleading "Kolarian," which was applied to them by Sir George Campbell, who imagined that there was some connection between the word "Kol," by which they designate themselves, and the Kolar district of Mysore, in Southern India. Sir George shows that the words common to certain languages of the two stocks to which Hahn attached great importance are due to mutual borrowing, or, in some cases, to the common use of Aryan loan words, and that there are essential differences between them both in structure and grammar. Though both families are agglutinative, the Dravidian lacks the great luxuriance of suffixes which distinguishes the Munda family. In gender the Dravidian distinguishes between rational and irrational; the Munda between animate and inanimate. The formation of cases differs greatly. The Dravidian languages have two numbers, the Munda three. The former count in tens, the latter in twenties.

The Dravidian linguistic family, which is spoken by 64 million people, has no known affinities with any other, in India or elsewhere, but the Munda has been shown by Pater Schmidt, the well-known Austrian philologist, to belong to the Austro-Asiatic branch of the great Austric linguistic family whose speakers are scattered over a wider area than those of any other family. They are found from Madagascar, on the one side, to Easter Island, off the coast of South America, on the other. They form the native population of Indonesia, Melanesia, Polynesia, and New Zealand.



The most remarkable feature of the Munda languages is their extraordinary complexity. "Suffix," says Sir George, "is piled on suffix, till we obtain words which, to European eyes, seem monstrous in their length, yet which are complete in themselves, and every syllable of which contributes its quota to the general signification of the whole." The enormous number of complex ideas which can thus be formed according to the simplest rules is shown by the fact that the conjugation of the verb "to strike," in the third person singular alone, occupies nearly one hundred pages of a Santali grammar.

Nouns have three numbers—a singular, a dual, and a plural—and the dual and plural have each two forms, one including the person addressed and the other excluding him. "If you say to your cook, 'We shall dine at eight o'clock,' you must be careful not to use the wrong word for 'we,' as, if you do, you will be inviting him to come and dine with you."

Apart from the Munda languages, the only living representatives of the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family in India are Khasi in Assam, the Mon-Khmer group of languages in Burma, and Nicobarese. These differ in many respects from the Munda group, and no one but an expert would suspect their relationship. Khasi, for instance, is monosyllabic; there is no neuter gender, the help words are invariably prefixes, and the order of words in a sentence is much the same as in English.

Although dialects of the Austro-Asiatic family are now spoken in India by only some  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million persons, Sir George Grierson produces evidence to show that they were formerly current over the greater part of Northern India, and also that there is a Munda substratum in the Telugu of North Madras and in certain Tibeto-Burman languages of the Central sub-Himalayan region. In Burma, Mon-Khmer languages were spoken widely only a few centuries ago, and one of them (Talaing) was the main language of Pegu when it was conquered by the Burmese in 1757. Its use



there was forbidden in 1826, with the result that a quarter of a century later it had become extinct.

The influence of the Dravidian languages on those of the Indo-Aryan family is far greater than that of the Munda, and Sir George Grierson infers that the latter must, to a great extent, have given way to the Dravidian before the intrusion of the Indo-Aryan languages. This conclusion raises the question of the relative antiquity in India of the Dravidian and the Munda families, and which of the two was originally associated with the so-called Dravidian physical type. A discussion of this question would take us beyond the scope of this lecture, and I will merely observe that divergent views have been expressed regarding it, and that the information available seems insufficient to justify a definite conclusion.

#### TIBETO-CHINESE LANGUAGES

The Tibeto-Chinese family is widespread in Asia, and claims more speakers than any other linguistic family in the world. It is believed to have had its origin in North-West China. Successive waves of immigrants brought it into the extreme north and east of India—that is to say, the Himalayan area, Assam and Burma. In these tracts it has dislodged the earlier tongues, including amongst others those of the Austro-Asiatic family, though, as already noted, a few isolated colonies of that family still survive.

According to the last census there are about 13 million speakers of Tibeto-Chinese dialects in India, though, owing to the exclusion of Burma from its operations, the linguistic survey deals only with about 2 millions. An independent linguistic survey of Burma is now in progress, and it may be hoped that this will throw light on the few remaining dark places in Indian philology, including the affinities of the Man and Karen languages of Burma, whose affiliation is still uncertain; they were thought by the late Terrien de Lacouperie to be pre-Chinese.

The Tibeto-Chinese family is divided into two sub-



families, Tibeto-Burman and Siamese-Chinese. The former is found mainly in the Himalayan area and Assam, and the latter, which was the speech of later immigrants, mainly in Burma. It is in regard to these languages that the survey has broken most new ground. Of 132 languages examined, including some spoken only in Nepal, grammars and vocabularies had been compiled only for about twenty; most of the others had never previously been put in writing.

All these languages were once agglutinating, but some of them (Chinese, for example) are now isolating—that is to say, the old prefixes and suffixes have worn away; each word is now a monosyllable, and if it is desired to modify it in respect to time, place, or other relation, this is done by adding some other word which has a meaning of its own and is not incorporated with the main word. In some cases these secondary words are losing their significance as separate vocables and are becoming mere prefixes or suffixes—in other words, the agglutinating principle is again superseding the isolating. This process is now going on in the Siamese-Chinese languages, while in the Tibeto-Burman it has practically been completed.

A prominent characteristic of most of these languages, as contrasted with those of the Mon-Khmer family, is the use of tones. Thus in Siamese the same word “ma” means “come,” “soak,” “horse,” “beautiful,” or “dog,” according to the acoustic pitch given to it. It is thought that the tones may be the survival of prefixes which have disappeared. They are most numerous in languages like Chinese and Siamese, which have now no prefixes, and least so in those like Burmese, which use prefixes freely.

Thanks to ancient Buddhist missionaries, Tibetan and Burmese have long since been reduced to writing. The other languages of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family are unwritten, and are peculiarly liable to change. Where communications are difficult they quickly split up into dialects which, in their turn, develop into independent languages. This is the main reason why the Tibeto-Burman languages



dealt with by the survey are spoken on the average by only 17,000 persons as compared with an average of 13 million in the case of Indo-Aryan languages.

#### RACE AND LANGUAGE

The tribes that brought the Indo-Aryan languages to India were probably very small in numbers compared with the earlier inhabitants, yet, at the present day, three-quarters of the people of India speak such languages. It is clear, therefore, that they are spoken by many who have little or no "Aryan" blood in their veins. The original invaders were a virile race who imposed their language on the people they conquered. As their culture and social system and religion spread over the country so also did their speech, until it became current over almost the whole of Northern India. It is only in comparatively inaccessible tracts, such as the Sub-Himalayas and the jungles of Chota Nagpur and Assam, and in a large part of the peninsula area, where the Aryan infiltration was weak and the main Dravidian languages have a written character and literature of their own, that the earlier forms of speech have been able to survive.

A striking instance of the dominant nature of the Aryan languages in India, *vis-à-vis* those of other linguistic families, is to be found in the Brahmaputra Valley. This tract was conquered in the thirteenth century by the Ahoms, a Shan race. They had a powerful priesthood and a written character and literature of their own; and they successfully maintained their independence when the greater part of India was subjugated by the Muhammadans. Yet, in less than five centuries, their kings had embraced Hinduism, and had abandoned their tribal tongue in favour of an Aryan language. When this happened in the case of a relatively advanced and organized race like the Ahoms it will readily be understood how much more easily it may happen to small primitive tribes whose dialects are unwritten.

Sir George Grierson points out that in India proper at



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the present day the process of linguistic change is invariably in the same direction. It is always a case of Aryan languages superseding the non-Aryan. Never do we find the reverse process. In other words, the Aryan languages are dominant and the non-Aryan decadent. The dying languages of today may, however, have been dominant at an earlier epoch. We have already seen how, in Burma, Burmese has supplanted Mon-Khmer dialects in very recent times, and even at the present day hillmen who descend into the plains adopt Burmese or Shan as their language within a single generation. It would, therefore, be almost as unsafe to assume that the speaker of (say) a Dravidian language is a descendant of the people with whom that language originated, as that a speaker of an Aryan language is a descendant of the tribes that brought those languages to India. It is, in fact, impossible to draw any conclusion regarding a man's race from the language which he speaks.

#### CONCLUSION

I have given only a few brief notes of some of the main features of the colossal work which Sir George Grierson has now brought to a highly successful conclusion. But I hope I have said enough to show the extraordinarily complete and comprehensive character of his Report on the Linguistic Survey of India. Every language and every dialect in the great area dealt with has been described and analyzed; its peculiarities of grammar and structure have been laid bare, and its relationship to other languages clearly defined. The great value of the achievement to philologists has already received widespread recognition. Learned societies in France, Germany, America, India, Denmark, and other countries have shown their high appreciation by making Sir George Grierson an Honorary Member or Fellow of their societies, and various Universities have conferred on him honorary degrees. We all rejoice in the bestowal upon him last month of the



Order of Merit, an honour which has never before been conferred for service in the Indian sphere.

Sir George Grierson's work is of far more than merely scientific value. It is of value to all who are interested in India, and especially to officials, teachers, and missionaries, and should serve to bring home to them the great pleasure and profit to be derived from a study of the local dialects. It may be possible to exchange ideas to a more or less limited extent, by means of some *lingua franca*, such as Hindustani, but if real confidence is to be established with the masses of the people, and if they are to be persuaded to open their minds freely, it is essential to be able to converse with them in their own mother tongue. Now that all the local dialects have been explored and elementary grammars and vocabularies provided, it is to be expected that they will be studied as they have never been before, and that closer relations with the people will be established which cannot fail to redound to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity to acknowledge the indebtedness of Indian Census Officers to the great and unselfish assistance which Sir George Grierson gave them in 1901 and again in 1911. It was arranged at the census of 1901 that Sir George should write the language chapter of the All-India Report, in which he would embody the results ascertained by his linguistic survey up to that time. Most people in that position would have been tempted to reserve the information they had collected for their own contribution. Not so Sir George: he placed all his information at the disposal of the Provincial Census Officers, so that they might make use of it in their provincial reports, which were published a considerable time before the report for the whole of India. Though, unfortunately for me, Sir George did not write the language chapter of the All-India Report on the Census of 1911, he came to our assistance in the same generous way as before, and freely gave us all the further information which he had obtained up to that time.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING was held on Monday, July 16, 1928, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I. C.I.E., on "The Indian Linguistic Survey and the Vernaculars," Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., presiding.

The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present :

The Rani of Jasdan, The Tikka Rani of Kapurthala, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir George Grierson, O.M., C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Lady Gait, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmed, C.I.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. V. H. Boalch, C.B.E., Mr. and Mrs. Kirk, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Martley, Colonel D. Warliker, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. T. Williams, Mr. Greenshields, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mrs. M. E. Twyman, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. D. Rose Pringle, Miss Stephen, Mr. S. A. Rafique, Mr. G. Piwell, Mr. Paul King, Mrs. Herron, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mrs. Taylor, Mr. Scott Bremner, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : I feel it a very great honour to be asked to preside on this occasion, which is no doubt due to the position I happen to hold in connection with the School of Oriental Studies, and I welcome the opportunity of paying a tribute to my old and valued friends, Sir George Grierson and Sir Edward Gait.

Sir Edward Gait then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure we are all most grateful to Sir Edward Gait for giving us what is a very lucid account of a very remarkable book, quite inaccessible to most of us. I feel that there are a good many people present who would like to speak, and it is quite natural that they should wish to speak, not only of, but actually to, Sir George Grierson, as he is present. Before calling upon Sir George Grierson to open the ball for us, I would like to say one word about the lecturer, in case he is lost sight of. Sir Edward Gait represents that marvellous group, headed in old days by Sir William Jones, of men who have managed to combine with the onerous duties of office (and who in such office have attained the highest heights) scientific studies such as are usually undertaken only by professional scholars and students. Their number is not great, but we are familiar with all of them, such as Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Bryan Hodgson, and in later times, Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Sir Herbert Risley. In this list must be included Sir Edward Gait, who, as we all know, was Governor of one Province and wrote the history of another. His admirable "History of Assam" will bear comparison with



most regional histories that I know of; but the work with which his name will be for ever associated is the Census Report of 1901, in which he took a large share, and the Census Report of 1911, of which he bore practically the whole burden.

Having paid a tribute to our lecturer, to which you have responded by your applause, I will now call upon Sir George Grierson to honour us with a few words.

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, who was received with loud applause, said: If I venture to make a few remarks on Sir Edward Gait's lecture, I must begin by offering my thanks for the very kind words in which he has referred to me throughout. The satisfaction experienced on the completion of a long task is doubled by recognition from a friend so competent to judge its value. My gratitude, too, is tinged with a feeling of envy at the ability with which he has explained to non-experts a state of affairs so complicated as that exhibited by Indian languages. That is an ability to which I can in no way pretend, for I have lived for so many years in the heart of a linguistic jungle that I too often fail to see the wood for the trees; and it is a pleasure to me to hear the main outlines traced out so clearly by a master hand.

The complexity of the position of India in regard to language has been so well described by Sir Edward that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon it, save to urge that it illustrates the difficulties that must be encountered by everyone who desires to look upon that country as a single unit, whether from the point of view of languages, races, customs, or religions. A land in which tongues so diverse as the Dravidian Tamil, the Aryan Hindostani, the Austro-Asiatic Santali, and the Tibeto-Burman Angami, are all spoken, cannot be compared with any single country of the West. We should have to think of a tract two-thirds the size of Europe with, say, Turkish spoken in one quarter, Italian in another, and Norwegian in yet a third.

Let me give you, as an example, one rather pathetic instance of this diversity of Indian speech that has been communicated to me by an officer in the Indian Medical Service who is stationed in Bombay. The Naga Hills are in the extreme east of the Province of Assam. During the war a number of Nagas were enlisted to form a Labour Corps, and in course of transfer found themselves in Bombay, some fifteen hundred miles as the crow flies—or about as far as London is from North Cape—from their home. One of these Nagas was there admitted to hospital under the name of Mpta'i. Poor Mpta'i was very ill. He lay in a crowded Indian hospital utterly alone, for there was no one who could speak to him nor anyone who could understand a word of what he said; and—so—he died. The official forms were filled up and the headquarters of his corps were notified, but they, in their lists, could not trace anyone named Mpta'i. On further enquiry, that word proved to be the Naga for "I do not understand," which, on his admission to the hospital, was the poor fellow's reply to the Hindostani for "What is your name?" When you come to think of it, here, as my correspondent wrote, was one of the tragic heroes of the



war—an Unknown Warrior who found no resting place of honour. What can be more pathetic than the picture of this poor Naga, lying in the Valley of the Shadow, able to speak, and yet unable to communicate a single wish or message to those he loved in the far-away hills that were his home. Nevertheless, he was an Indian, in India, and surrounded by kindly fellow-Indians who were most anxious to help him.

As regards the Survey, I myself have gained much from it, and what I value most of all is the long list of friends that it has given me. Time will not permit it, nor may I weary you with a recital of the names that have been added to it one by one during more than fifty years—for the Survey really began long before its formal institution. India, America, the Continent of Europe, and the British Isles have all contributed to it. What friends they have been! How great a debt do I owe to each and all of them! Ever ready with help, ever ready with kindly criticism, and never, in all these years, even when I blundered, uttering or writing a word of harsh detraction. Here, indeed, the Survey has taught me that we students of things Indian are a real band of brothers, and long may this brotherhood continue!

Sir Edward has made some very kind remarks about the magnitude of my task. In all modesty, may I explain that, if I have succeeded in completing it, that is due to the training that every Indian civilian gets in pegging away at his job, and, in my case, that was easy, for the job was a pleasant one.

But enough of personal observations. I am sure that I am giving voice to the thoughts of all who have heard him, when I express my appreciation of the lucidity with which he has explained a complicated but most interesting phase of Indian life.

MR. ZIA-UD-DIN AHMED said they had heard a very interesting and a very lucid lecture. Sir George Grierson had done a monumental work. They had a good deal of material now, and would have to investigate how the different languages and different dialects developed. It might be possible to throw some light on some very important historical problems. He thought that in the future, when they had one mother language, the different dialects would either disappear or gather together round a few main centres. Sir George Grierson's research would help in deciding which of the languages should be developed as main centres. Sir George Grierson had pointed out that when one spoke of India one should not think of countries, but should always think of a continent. He thought that if the analogy of the continent was always applied to Indian conditions, the question of languages, along with other problems, would probably be solved. He hoped that in time all the different dialects would be replaced by a few languages which would be used not only for teaching, for administration, and for university purposes, but which would also develop a large amount of literature.

Rev. C. H. K. BOUGHTON (General Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society) said he was very grateful for the opportunity of joining in the tributes of praise which were being paid to Sir George Grierson.



There was a special reason, he thought, why the Bible Society should join in them. He noticed on the last page of Sir Edward Gait's paper the remark that Sir George Grierson's work would be of value to officials, teachers, and missionaries. The Bible Society worked in closest co-operation with missionaries. Moreover, the Bible had been extremely valuable as providing in the parable of the Prodigal Son one of the texts by the aid of which Sir George was able to do his work. Sir George's work would be of enormous value to the Bible Society, which had up to the present issued some parts of the Bible in about one hundred of the languages of India. The whole of the Bible was available in twenty-one of them, and at least the New Testament in twenty-six more. The Bible Society was indebted to Sir George not only for his book, but for the immense amount of help personally given. Sir George had joined the Bible Society's Committee in London in the year 1901, and had been a regular member of the Editorial Sub-Committee for twelve or thirteen years. Although he had not been to the meetings of the Committee since 1914, he had always been available for counsel and advice; and his advice had never been wanting when it had been applied for. Giving an illustration of the help received from Sir George, he said that the Society was now engaged in a version of the Tamil Bible, which was the oldest in any of the languages of India; it went back for just over 200 years. There were two versions current at the present moment: the Fabricius (Lutheran), which went back to 1772-96, and the Union version which was published in 1871. There could be no more important question in Biblical translation than settling what word was to be used for God, and there was a different word in each version. It had been proposed that a third word should be used, and both the earlier words rejected. When the London Committee of the Society were asked for their opinion, he went to Sir George and asked him about the whole question. It was an example of the enormous debt which the Society owed to Sir George Grierson in connection with many versions.

Dr. WEITBRECHT STANTON also paid a cordial tribute to Sir George Grierson for what he had done to help missionaries in India in their linguistic tasks. As a missionary who had tried to work in the cause of vernacular literature, he had had to do particularly with the Urdu version of the New Testament, which was translated about 120 years ago and revised at the end of the last century. In the case of a growing language like Urdu, when an endeavour was made to bring a new version up-to-date, a most important point was the standard to be adopted for style and idiom. The revisers took, of course, the advice of Indian experts of various sorts, but they were also most materially helped by Sir George Grierson in settling that standard for the Urdu version of the New Testament. While they honoured the Linguistic Survey by Sir George as a unique monument of research and learning, they also wanted to build upon it for the future of India. In the development of national life the problem of education was coming to the forefront, and sundry proposals were being discussed for the extended use of the great Indian vernaculars as vehicles of higher



education. As a help in judging which languages were specially worth using for this purpose Sir George Grierson's survey was of inestimable value. It might also well afford guidance in possible amalgamation of dialects, such as was being brought about in the language of the Ibo tribes, numbering several millions, in West Africa. They owed special thanks to Sir George Grierson for giving them a basis from which important conclusions could be drawn that would affect the intellectual and moral welfare of untold millions in time to come.

MR. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM: As the time is so limited, my remarks will be chiefly personal. It has been a pleasure to hear the tributes paid by some previous speakers to what is perhaps one of the most noticeable traits in Sir George's character, his selflessness and readiness at any time to help others, even the humblest inquirer.

It is indeed a privilege to join in the discussion this afternoon for one who, though unqualified otherwise, has always felt unqualified admiration for the work done by Sir George Grierson, not only in connection with the Linguistic Survey of India, but also in other fields of research. It is more than thirty years ago that I assumed charge of the Gaya district in Bihar, of which he had held charge some four years previously, and where his name was respected, nay, revered, by the people. It was there that I first studied his "Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihari Languages," published by him when he had been but ten years in India; it was there that I first realized the valuable nature of his "Bihar Peasant Life"—that encyclopædia of information about the people of Bihar, their customs and work-a-day life and its surroundings; it was there that I studied his fascinating "Notes on the District of Gaya," written to supplement the information contained in the dry Statistical Account (the District Gazetteers had not yet been published), a little book that proved a delightful companion for five years, and may well be compared with that best of district memoirs, "Mathura," by F. S. Growse. These works afforded an insight into the remarkable powers of the man, the breadth and depth of his knowledge; his wide linguistic attainments, his scholarship, combined with a deep human interest in the lives of the people, their history, languages, religions, social and agricultural customs; his striking capacity for organization and for getting through work promptly. It is these qualities, combined with others—an enthusiasm that infected all who worked with or under him, a mind always fair and impartial, a sense of humour that never failed him in the most trying circumstances, and, above all, perhaps, that genuine affection for the country and its peoples that has inspired him throughout his long labour—that rendered him pre-eminently fitted for the great task that fell so naturally upon his shoulders, which he has so finely performed.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he was incapable of discussing the subject from a linguistic standpoint, but he would say a word from the administrative point of view. All in that gathering, British and Indian, looked up to Sir George Grierson as their revered *guru*, while they were his *chelas* or disciples. Those of the older generation had cause for regret that Sir



George Grierson and his work did not exist in their time; it would have made their task in assimilating the various dialects they came into contact with so much easier and pleasanter. At various times he had had to struggle with some half-a-dozen of these languages with more or less success. Sir Michael mentioned that he went on duty to Jerusalem in 1920 and he wanted to see the mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's temple. The Governor explained that it was impossible to issue a permit as the Muhammadans were holding a very sacred festival on the day in question. He went down to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Saturday and then passed on to the mosque, which adjoins it. A sentry of an Indian regiment was on duty. Recognizing him to be a Pathan, he spoke to him in his own language, Pushtu; his face lit up with joy, and he asked, "Sahib, what are you doing here?" Sir Michael replied: "I came to see this famous mosque of Omar, but I am told it is only open to Muslims today." Whereupon the soldier, a transborder Mahsud, said: "That is all right; what am I here for, except to show you round?" Sir Michael declined the man's offer as he did not wish to infringe the rules, but the incident showed what a knowledge of language might do in a faraway part of the world. That was why he regretted the tendency nowadays to consider a knowledge of the vernaculars as almost superfluous. You cannot get into the minds of the people, he said, unless you know their language; not only the main language, but the dialects.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know that I need in any way sum up what has been said, because it has been one continuous tribute to which I feel I can add nothing; but I should like to tell those here that for the first few years of the existence of the School of Oriental Studies Sir George Grierson used to come to London month after month to attend the meetings of its management committee. You can all imagine what it meant to us to have the advice of a man like him, during the young days of an institution of that kind. With regard to the conferment of the O.M. by His Majesty, Sir Edward has said it was the first time it had been given to India; more than this, it is the first time such public recognition has been given to Oriental studies. There is in connection with Sir George Grierson's great book one point, a somewhat delicate one, perhaps, to which I wish to refer. The example set by Sir William Jones and others was, indeed, followed from time to time by men in civil or judicial employ, but curiously enough not by men outside such employ. We all know that under the old English system it was to your advantage if you knew a language when you were in the country, but the mere knowledge of an Indian language was no guarantee that you would find employment in India. It has always been a matter of surprise to me that more Englishmen did not take up these studies in order to find a way to India and to be useful there. Things are, I think, better now, but they are not as good as they should be. I am not sure even now that I should recommend a young man, unless he kept a Rolls Royce, to take up Oriental studies for a career. When the first results of this magnificent discovery of Sanskrit were brought to the West, the French and the Germans, who were equipped for such matters in their universities,



turned them to good account. They were, however, almost neglected in England; and thus it came about that when somebody with knowledge of Indian languages was required for educational posts, we had to go to the Continent to find them; it was a strange thing that you could never call upon England to fill these posts. My point is this, that it really is a matter of great satisfaction that the Linguistic Survey should have been entrusted to an Irishman, when we remember that such work was usually entrusted to foreigners. Of course, I do not say that their work was not admirably done, for we owe a very great debt to many of the Continental scholars who have filled posts in India.

We live in an age of peace pacts when every possible effort is being made in the direction of goodwill and co-operation. Sir George himself said that his work had brought him into contact with every continent, and that he has always been on the most friendly relations with all his collaborators. I think it is the scientific experts who can do more to contribute to the peace of the world than any other class, because they realize more than anyone else the value of co-operation. I remember the time during the War when we had the most extraordinary difficulty of knowing what Germany was doing, what they were working on and what they had done in Oriental subjects. Those days have now passed. I only am glad to think that in spite of, or because of, the work done by so many nationalities in India, this great Linguistic Survey should have fallen to, may I say, an Englishman to carry out. No one can deny his great scholarship. I wish to mention one thing which is very important in connection with Sir George Grierson's work—namely, his early recognition of the value of the gramophone. We owe it to him that we have in the school a whole series of gramophone records from various districts in India, sometimes covering a dozen different dialects. That work has to be completed in the same way that he has completed the Linguistic Survey. Finally, I would like to see the parable of the Prodigal Son printed in all the languages of India and published in a handy form; I think it would have a warm welcome and make an ideal gift book. I wish in conclusion to thank Sir George for all he did for the School of Oriental Studies. I may be permitted to mention that this year we have reached the height of 601 students, which is 100 more than we have had in previous years.

Sir L. DANE in proposing a vote of thanks said he hoped that all present realized that they had been very privileged to come to that meeting and hear some most distinguished Oriental scholars of world-wide reputation, whom we had the honour to claim as British subjects. Sir Denison Ross was a very distinguished and successful chief of the School of Oriental Studies in London, which was practically an Empire school. Sir Edward Gait was well known throughout India and practically throughout Europe and the world as one of the greatest authorities on ethnology and Oriental languages. His lecture was really a wonderful synopsis of a wonderful work, and he was sure everyone was wiser for having heard it. They also had heard Dr. Stanton, who was one of the greatest Indian linguists we possessed, and finally he came to Dr. Grierson, as he would



prefer to call him. He had to say that he could not adequately praise him. Sir George Grierson entered the Service the year before he (the speaker) did, and came from the same country, Ireland. They had been proud of Irishmen as soldiers, as administrators, and as judges. They had, perhaps, never been able to do very much to compete with their cousins from the Tweed in the matter of commerce, but to a certain extent they felt that in other lines they could vie with any race in the British Empire. He thought in the matter of scholarship they might have been challenged, but thanks to Dr. Grierson the position of Ireland now had been thoroughly established upon an impregnable foundation. There was not the remotest possibility of any scholar within the present or succeeding generation being able to achieve a work such as Dr. Grierson had achieved in the Linguistic Survey of India, and he thought that those present were very fortunate to have seen him and to have heard him, as also to have heard the very distinguished Chairman and Lecturer. On behalf of everybody he proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to all of them, and especially to Dr. Grierson, to whom they were very much obliged for coming.

The proceedings then terminated.



## THE INDIAN STATES AND THE CROWN

BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DHIRAJ OF PATIALA

(Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes)

YOUR HIGHNESSES, MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN, When I received the kind invitation of my old friend, Mr. Brown, your Honorary Secretary, to address you this afternoon, I was very pleased at the compliment paid to me; but I hesitated as to whether the compliment was one which I ought to accept. In the first place, I had some natural diffidence, because I believe this to be the first occasion on which a Ruling Prince has personally addressed a learned gathering of this description. In the second place, I realized that certain aspects of the subject which it was proposed I should discuss are being examined by the Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler. But on reflection I decided that both these grounds for hesitation were more apparent than real. I knew that I should find in you a kindly audience, very tolerant of any shortcomings on my part; and I soon found, on thinking the matter over, that there were many aspects of the relationship between the Indian States and the Crown or, at any rate, many topics necessary for a right understanding of that relationship, falling entirely outside the scope of the Committee's enquiry. So I made up my mind that I would come and address you.

May I begin by taking my stand upon the hard facts of geography? It seems to me that it is difficult to understand the relations between the States and Crown unless one realizes the great importance of the position which the States occupy in the actual geography of India. I wonder how many of my audience realize that it would be possible to fly in an aeroplane from the most northern border of the



territory ruled over by my friend and brother, His Highness of Kashmir, to Cape Comorin at the extreme south of India, without traversing more than a very few hundred miles of British territory. Yet this is a fact. If one were to go from the extreme northern border of the great State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is almost the size of France, due southward, one would only cross that very narrow neck of the Punjab which intervenes between Kashmir and the Simla Hill States. The Simla Hill States, in their turn, are joined by the territory ruled by myself and the descendants of our common Phalkean ancestor to the enormous block of territory known as Rajputana, the original home of my own and the great majority of the ruling dynasties of India.

Continuing our line due south through Eastern Rajputana, we should come without a break to Central India and the great Mahratta territories. On leaving these we should traverse a narrow neck of land between Bombay and the Central Provinces before entering the great State of Hyderabad. Hyderabad is directly linked with Mysore, and by the time we had attained the boundary of the latter State we should already be south of Madras. There is then a small piece of British territory before the Southern Indian States of Cochin and Travancore are reached. Beyond them is the sea.

Almost equally striking would be the result of observations made in the course of a direct east to west flight from Calcutta to the boundaries of Baluchistan. From Calcutta, it is true, one would first traverse a considerable strip of British territory, but one would quickly find oneself—as speed is measured in the air—passing through an outlying portion of the Orissa Feudatory States. Another small stretch of British territory, and we should come to the large Baghelkhand group of States, whence we should make our way almost uninterrupted into Rajputana. The very small British province of Ajmer in the heart of Rajputana would be the last British territory we should see until we touched



the Indus. From the Indus westwards we should traverse another narrow neck of British territory until we came to Baluchistan, and with Baluchistan and its tribal chiefs to the borders of India.

#### LINES OF COMMUNICATION

These two bird's-eye views, north to south and east to west, serve to show in what a remarkable manner the territory of the States lies across, and from one point of view dominates, the whole of India. There are only two stretches of British territory which continue without interruption for many hundreds of miles; one is the Gangetic Plain and its continuance, the basin of the Five Rivers. From the Punjab there is, it is true, uninterrupted access to the sea at Karachi; but this long neck of British territory is flanked by States on either side. Secondly, along the east coast of India, British territory runs in an uninterrupted band from Bengal to the extreme south; but between this band and the centre of India there lies a solid block of States territory. It is impossible to travel from Bombay to Calcutta, from Bombay to Delhi, or from Bombay to Madras, without traversing in one's journey hundreds of miles of territory which are not under British rule.

From these facts there is one deduction which I should like to make immediately. The Indian States are so situated that the main arteries of communication, which are vital both for the safety and the well-being of the Indian Continent, run principally through State territory. Does not this seem to argue that the prosperity of India as a whole is very largely dependent upon effective co-operation between the governing authorities in British India and the governing authorities in the Indian States?

Before I develop this point, I should like to answer very briefly a question which I am sure must have formed itself in the minds of many of my hearers. How is it that the map of India—India which is popularly supposed to be



a British dependency—has assumed these extraordinary characteristics? For I believe extraordinary is the right word. Great Britain controls the destinies of India, and yet inside India there are a number of autonomous political units over whose actions the Government of British India has relatively little control. In order to answer this question I shall have to look to the past, and I hope you will forgive me for introducing some history into my talk.

#### THE DAYS OF "JOHN COMPANY"

If I were to endeavour to trace, no matter in how summary a fashion, the history of the relations between the Indian States and British India, I should really be tracing the whole rise and progress of British rule in India. I will not attempt so impossible a task, and will content myself with saying that the East India Company found it necessary for its own existence to enter into treaty relations with some of the Indian rulers in order that it might subdue, or protect itself from, other powers. Between 1757 and 1803 the Company dealt with the Indian States on more or less equal terms. It made treaties with them on a reciprocal basis; it entered into alliances with them of a kind which varied from time to time. When it was strong it would dictate terms to the greatest States; when it was weak it would welcome the smallest as an ally. In short, its principal object was to maintain its own position against possible rivals; and to do this it surrounded its own territory with a ring of friendly States, whose main contribution to the common defence was an exclusive alliance with the Company, and a subvention for the maintenance of its troops. The Company was not concerned with the internal affairs even of those States which were its border defences, and time after time deliberately refused to interpose its shield between more distant States and those who attacked them.

Before long, however, this policy was found to be dangerous; and in the time of the Marquis of Hastings, the British



pursued a policy which remained almost unchanged until the eve of the Mutiny. The Company rigorously refrained from intervening in the internal affairs of the States, took the entire obligation of their military protection upon itself, and controlled the whole of their external relations with an iron hand. Each State was kept in isolation, the only link between them being the common control of external affairs. All pretence of equality between the British Raj and the States had been abandoned ; and by 1832, Sindia, the last of the independent powers, was entirely surrounded by territory belonging either to the Company or to its allies. But no sooner was the process completed than its own peculiar dangers became apparent. The system was really impracticable, because it condemned the States to unhealthy stagnation generally, while it insisted upon the rigorous discharge of heavy external obligations towards the Company. Each little Government in its watertight compartment tended to grow less competent, and each ruler tended to fall more and more into the hands of the Company's local representative. Despite all the rebukes which were delivered to these representatives by successive Governors-General, there was an increasing tendency on their part to interfere more and more in the purely domestic affairs of the States, to set the treaties at naught, and to interpose their own authority over the head of the ruler.

#### ABSENCE OF CLEAR POLICY

The real truth is, of course, as is plain from contemporary records, that no one, either in India or in England, had any very clear ideas upon the future of the Indian States. So far as British India was concerned, people like Monroe and Macaulay could at least speculate upon a time when, enlightened by centuries of Liberalism, the Indian subjects of Britain could "frame a regular Government and preserve it," but the Indian States did not fit into the picture. It was recognized that their treaties must be honoured, at least in name ; and this recognition formed an awkward obstacle



for those who enthusiastically advocated the extension of British rule. What was to become of the States? The answers to the question varied from time to time. Some men were for annexation, regardless of the treaties; others were staunch upholders of obligations involving the honour of the British race. Actually nothing much happened till the time of Lord Dalhousie, except that the earlier tendency of the residents to interfere unduly was more or less successfully checked. The States Governments regained a measure of their prestige, even if they were not very efficient according to Western ideas. But it is plain from a study of the literature of the time, that in the eyes of the average British administrator who had spent his service in British India, all the States alike were of little account.

Looking backwards, we can see why the position was so unsatisfactory. The very proper reluctance of the Company to interfere in the internal affairs of the States involved the assumption that the States Governments were adequate to their task. This in turn involved harmonious co-operation between the States and British India—and this was something for which the system made no provision. In rare cases, such as Oudh, the Company's abstention from interference led to an accumulation of evils which eventually reduced the administration to chaos. We can now see that there was no necessity to have annexed Oudh—an enforced abdication, a few British administrators, the management of the country as Mysore was managed—and the State would have been saved. But the difficulty was that the British did not at that time really want to save it, since the value of the Indian States as a factor in the politics of the country was not realized.

#### STAPLE POLITICAL UNITS

All this changed with the Mutiny. For nearly half a century the territories under the control of the Company had been free from serious internal disturbance, while successful campaigns had extended the British Raj from Afghanistan



to Indo-China. In contrast with the brilliant achievements of the Company with its wealth, and with the splendour of its dominions, the Indian States collectively as well as individually appeared poverty-stricken and negligible. If it had been hinted to the civil or the military servants of the Company in the last year of Lord Dalhousie's rule that the Indian States, weakened by isolation and perturbed by the doctrine of lapse, would nevertheless be hailed as the only stable political units in India, and would intervene, with decisive effect, in the hour of Britain's greatest need, the comment would assuredly have been neither courteous nor credulous.

Yet precisely this thing happened. In May, 1857, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces was officially informed from Calcutta that if he were hard pressed he must apply for aid to the rulers of Patiala or of Jind. But for our States Lawrence and Nicholson would have found themselves unable to strike at Delhi. "If it had not been for the Rajah of Patiala," wrote Forsyth, the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala and the adjacent districts, "none of us here would now be alive." The services of the Indian States in the Mutiny were not forgotten, and when the Crown assumed the direct government of India, Queen Victoria, in her gracious Proclamation, assured the States of her desire scrupulously to maintain the treaties, and to safeguard the honour and dignity of the Indian rulers as her own. The British in India seemed definitely to have cast off the old tradition of regarding the Indian States as possible rivals, only to be prevented from attaining dangerous eminence by a policy of rigorous and unremitting suspicion.

From the time of Lord Canning onwards, there may be noticed an increasing desire to regard the Indian States as allies. But the effective operation of this desire soon proved somewhat limited. Indeed, a quarter of a century after the Mutiny, the position from the standpoint of the States seemed almost the same as it had been before that



upheaval. It is true that the Indian Princes were no longer treated with the same suspicion; but they felt neglected, and they also felt that the position guaranteed to them by their treaties and engagements was not entirely secure. These conclusions resulted first from the increasing economic progress of India, which tended to overleap political frontiers; and secondly, from a very remarkable process of centralization which made of British India practically a single great unit, controlled by the Governor-General in Council. Under the influence of these two factors, British India advanced very rapidly, while the States dropped behind. Despite their services in the Mutiny, the British Government could not conquer its traditional habit of dealing with each State separately, and forbidding each Prince to concern himself with anything but the affairs of his own particular State. The States remained poor, partly because their territories were as a whole less fertile than those which the Company had acquired for itself, partly because they were forbidden access to the capital expenditure which would have enabled their immense mineral wealth and other natural resources to be effectively developed.

#### ISOLATION

At the same time, it is a mistake to regard them as constituting, even at this epoch, mere backwaters or stagnant pools. Within the scope of the resources available to them, they were modernizing their administrations, developing their communications, and undertaking beneficent activities of every kind. Further, the foundation of the Chiefs' colleges was rapidly producing a change in the ideas of the aristocracy and of the Princes themselves, who became at once more progressive and more ambitious to do well for their people. With changing times there came also to the Princes an increasing consciousness that their position was unsatisfactory; and that those rights and privileges which according to their treaties and engagements they believed themselves entitled to enjoy, were in practice



infringed very often in deference to the imperious political and economic requirements of British India. And while from the beginning of the present century the personal relations between the Princes and the Imperial throne, and the Princes and the Viceroy, became ever more intimate and ever more valued by either side, the fact remained that it was not possible for each Prince, as an individual ruler, effectively to protest against what seemed to him to be infringements of his treaty rights.

Indeed, it was just because the Princes were treated as isolated powers that no exit from their difficulties proved possible. Even the largest State is so small, as compared with India as a whole, that ordinary administrative tendencies decreed the subordination of the individual rights of each State to what was conceived to be the general good. In other words, the infringements of treaty rights, of which the Princes complained, were so far from being deliberate that they existed side by side with the most solemn and authoritative declarations of the British Sovereign, Viceroys, and Secretaries of State to the effect that the Treaties would be observed both in spirit and in letter. The fact is that from the standpoint of the practical administrator, acutely alive to the requirements of British India and indeed of India as a whole, it was quite impossible to deal with several hundred separate entities, who did not speak with a common voice, and who could only be brought to the acceptance of a common policy by overruling their protests with a strong hand. Unless Indian India, the India of the States, could be in some measure organized for common purposes, the individual rights of its isolated units must necessarily be overridden in pursuit of a policy to which it was impossible, from the standpoint of practical politics, to invite their individual adherence.

#### PROPOSALS OF 1917

In the first twenty years of the present century matters advanced considerably. The new generation of Princes



became alive to the necessity of some organization for common interests; the new generation of British administrators realized that the time had come when such a combination was essential. The experience gained by the specially summoned conferences of Princes was encouraging; and no objection was taken by Government to meetings of the Princes themselves. Once more, as destiny would have it, a great Imperial crisis tested the loyalty of the Princes, and that loyalty emerged, as before, unscathed from the fiery trial. The time seemed ripe for a consideration by Great Britain of the whole position of the Princes in their relation both to the Crown and to British India; but the more pressing political exigencies of the moment secured for British India dominant attention. However, the Princes themselves had devoted much time and thought to their own problem, with the result that when my very dear and deeply lamented friend, Mr. Montagu, came to India on his Imperial mission in 1917, a number of Princes, with whom H.H. of Bikaner and myself had the honour to be associated, were ready to present to him our scheme for the safeguarding not merely of our own interests but of the interests of India as a whole, and, as we believed, those of the Empire.

The scheme was intended to afford a basis for co-operation between the Indian States and the Government of British India, as well as to provide the means of rectifying the particular difficulties which the Princes had begun to experience in the working of the existing system. We contemplated the creation of three separate pieces of machinery: a Council of Princes; a permanent Advisory Board; and a system of arbitration. The Chamber of Princes was intended to enable the States to speak with a common voice, and thus to provide the foundations upon which negotiations between the States as a whole and British India as a whole could be based. The Permanent Advisory Board was to be associated with the Political Department in the management of the everyday relations between the



States and the Crown, in order to ensure that the Princes' point of view was adequately represented when policies were framed. The system of arbitration was devised to secure the impartial decision of justiciable matters in dispute between States *inter se* and States and the Government of India.

#### THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT

I am speaking with the fullest sense of responsibility when I say that we were able to convince Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford of the strength of our case. In support of my assertion I need only refer you to Chapter X. of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which contains some very remarkable admissions as to the danger of the existing position, from the standpoint of the Princes. Now the recommendations which we made were perhaps too radical and far-reaching; they perhaps involved too wide a breach with past traditions. I express no opinion upon this point. But the fact remains that while the Joint Report endorsed what I may call the externals of our recommendations, it deprived our proposals of the scope and functions which we had postulated. And when the proposals of the Report in their turn came to be translated into practice, those of us who had been responsible for framing the original scheme might well have rubbed our eyes in astonishment when we observed the shape which our suggestions had finally assumed.

The Chamber of Princes was indeed set up, but it was set up under conditions which made it almost useless for our purpose. The Advisory Council of our original proposals is represented today by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, with none of the functions which we had originally desired for it. The system of arbitration is represented by a Government of India resolution which enables that Government, when it so desires, to employ the form of an impartial arbitration to settle differences between itself and a State; but allows the Government of India to accept or to refuse the result of the arbitration, as seems to



it more desirable. I do not think I am overstating the case when I say that the result of all our thought and all our work was profoundly disappointing to us.

#### THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

We had, however, gained this much: the majority of the more important States were now brought into political relations with the Government of India—a change for which we had been pressing for some time. But unfortunately the principle was not applied with the completeness we desired. For the rest, the majority of us realized very clearly that our position in India as well as in the Empire was such that we should undoubtedly gain a rectification of our grievances, if only we could secure a patient hearing. Accordingly, we pursued the policy of doing our best with what had been given to us. In the Chamber of Princes, it is true, we had, until a couple of months ago, no control over our own agenda or our rules of business. In passing, let me say that through the statesmanship of Lord Irwin we have achieved the first of these two points.

But even while the Chamber of Princes was thus hampered, it performed one very useful purpose. It brought together to Delhi every year a very large number—usually some fifty or sixty—Rulers of Indian States. In the Chamber itself we could only discuss a rather stereotyped agenda; so we devised a plan of holding informal meetings in a building which we rented as our headquarters, where we discussed the things which seemed to us to require attention. By this means we were enabled to build up a very strong body of public opinion among the Princes in support of a definite line of policy. This line of policy may briefly be defined, first, as a fixed endeavour to bring home to every Ruler a sense of common responsibility to the order of Princes as a whole; secondly, a deliberate encouragement by every means of efficiency and good government in the States; thirdly, a fixed determination to press for what we regarded as our undoubted rights under the treaties. This policy



was steadily pursued with the object of inducing those Princes who took an interest in the Chamber—and their numbers increased year by year—to press once more, with added authority, for the adoption of the scheme which we had put forward to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.

#### ARBITRAL MACHINERY

So much for the Chamber of Princes. But in regard to the Standing Committee and the arbitral machinery, I must frankly confess that we could not make much of the position. The Standing Committee has been supposed to be engaged, along with the Political Department, in the standardization of political practice. But the process adopted has been such that we have not been able to make much progress. We found in practice that as soon as we had come to some tentative outlines of agreement with the Government of India, the opinions which that Government elicited, either from provincial Governments or from local political officers, were such as to throw the whole thing into the melting-pot once more. The upshot was, of course, equally unsatisfactory both to ourselves and to Government. We often felt that we had gone to the very verge of compromising what we regarded as our undoubted rights, in order to meet the wishes of the Political Department. But the system of reference to which I have alluded effectually destroyed all real chances of satisfactory compromise. I am afraid the same thing is largely true in regard to the arbitration machinery. Since the time when the resolution was issued, there have been several cases which, to an outsider like myself, might have seemed very proper to be referred to an impartial body, identified with the interests neither of Government nor of the States. But in no case has a tribunal been appointed, and Government has preferred to give the final word itself.

#### GUIDING PRINCIPLES

I think I can fairly claim that we have persisted in co-operation despite our discouragement. We felt sure that



this was a right policy, because we were conscious of being animated first by our profound and deep loyalty to the Person and Throne of the King Emperor; secondly, by a belief in the character of British justice; thirdly, by a sincere conviction that we were asking no more than, on any reasonable view of the facts, we were entitled to obtain. We always had in our minds the three main requirements which we put forward to Mr. Montagu: an effective Chamber of Princes, a real Advisory Council, and a system of impartial arbitration. As time went on, however, and as we found that our position was becoming increasingly difficult, we decided to approach the Viceroy in person in order to ask for an impartial and authoritative enquiry into the whole of our position. For, during the years which had elapsed since the introduction of the Reformed Constitution into British India, we had become increasingly conscious of the fact that while there was never any intention on the part of the framers of that constitution to trespass upon the rights of the States, yet in actual practice the working of the reforms had been such as to affect our interests very deeply.

I need not go into details, which, indeed, are being authoritatively investigated in another place, but I will simply say that one glance at the map of India, from the standpoint which I took at the beginning of my address, might have convinced those who were legislating for British India in 1919 that anything which they did for those portions of India not under the rule of the Princes must necessarily affect, both directly and indirectly, the portions over which the Princes held sway. In a great variety of directions, for example, the fixing of the Rupee ratio, the introduction of protective duties, experiments with prohibition, and the like, we have found ourselves most deeply and vitally affected by policies in the framing of which we had no hand. Even before 1919, as I have already hinted, we had imagined that something of the kind might happen; and it was for this reason that we laid such stress upon the Chamber of Princes, as providing an



institution upon which might be based some machinery for joint consultation between the Indian States and British India, in matters of common concern to both. But I must confess that the actual working of the Reformed Constitution in British India, and the degree to which our interests were affected without our knowledge or control, came as a surprise to all of us. Hence it was that our previous desire to obtain the machinery of which I have already spoken became strengthened into a request for an authoritative examination of the whole of our position.

#### THE STATES COMMITTEE

Lord Birkenhead and Lord Irwin were kind enough to accede to part of our request, and to appoint the Committee which is now sitting under the able Chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler. The terms of reference of this Committee are not as comprehensive as we originally desired, a limitation which I personally regret, because the revision of the position in British India after the report of the Statutory Commission—which itself has a much wider reference than the Indian States Committee—will both permit and necessitate a revision of the machinery for co-operation with the States. But we believe, nevertheless, that the investigations of the Indian States Committee can do us nothing but good, since they will enable us to put forward at least some portion of our case in all its strength.

In regard to the force of our case, and the desirability from our point of view, at least, that the present system should be altered, every Prince in India is agreed. Regarding the precise form of the constitutional machinery which is to inaugurate, as we hope, a new era, there are still some differences between us. I think it is fair to say that we are all agreed that there must be something like a federation for India; and by federation I mean nothing more than a machinery which will enable British India and Indian India to meet together at the top, and to discuss jointly, in a manner consonant with the interests



and importance of each, all policies and proposals which affect India as a whole. Concerning details, as will be obvious, there is plenty of room for difference of opinion; but on these three broad lines—viz., the strength of the Princes' case, the importance of finding a remedy, and the necessity of some federal scheme—I think I may say there is entire unanimity among us.

#### BRITISH INDIAN NATIONALISM

Before I close, there are some few remarks which I should like to make. I want to emphasize most strongly, in the first place, that there is not, and cannot be, any ill-will on the part of the Indian Princes towards the Nationalist movement in India. We Princes, like all the greatest of the Nationalist leaders in British India, are firm believers in the value of the British connection. We do believe, however, that it is perfectly compatible with that connection that Indians should have greater power over the management of their own affairs than they possess today. We have not the slightest desire to thwart the progress of British India; indeed, we hope we shall run a friendly race with them along the lines of national development. For reasons which I have already indicated, the States have some leeway to make up; but I should like to emphasize most strongly my belief that this leeway is not so great as is sometimes represented.

May I remark in this connection that I have often been struck with the curious ignorance concerning Indian States which is to be found not merely in England—where it is quite natural—but even in India itself? I do not quite know why this should be the case, for, as far as my knowledge runs, every State welcomes visitors, is perfectly prepared to supply them with every information, and has no desire whatever to pursue a policy of secrecy. And yet, somehow or other, very little is known about us. When visitors come they are, as a rule, far more interested in our ancient forts than in our modern hospitals; and



when they have to choose—for the cold weather is a busy time in India—between a duck shoot and a visit to the Secretariat or to the village school, there are very few people indeed whose choice is not made with little sign of hesitation.

Probably, too, there is something in the idea which I personally have often held, that the States are a little shy of entering into intimate relations with British India, particularly since the emergence of the Nationalist movement, for fear lest their attitude might be misunderstood by the Government of India. I hope and trust that everyone, in England as well as in India, is now so firmly convinced of the loyalty of the States to His Majesty, and of their attachment to the Empire, that they would believe it no conclusive evidence of seditious tendencies if a Prince were to invite even an advanced politician from British India to visit him. But in the past, I am afraid, such an action would have been taken as proof conclusive of the most undesirable tendencies on the part of the Prince in question. However this may be, I do plead in all earnestness for a real effort by people in England and people in India alike to understand the Indian States.

#### PROGRESS IN THE STATES

I only wish that those persons who take advantage of an occasional folly or extravagance in one individual among what is, after all, a very considerable number of Rulers, to pillory the whole order of Princes, could spare time to come and visit, I do not say the model States, but the States whose Rulers constitute the rank and file of the princely order. I think these critics would be surprised. Only the other day, in my capacity as Chancellor of the Chamber, I had occasion to glance over some statistics, admittedly incomplete, but nevertheless, I think, illuminative. I happened to see the replies sent by thirty-four States up and down India to an interrogatory which was sent out. Not one of these thirty-four States was a large or



particularly well-known State; they varied in geographical location from the North to the South, and from the West to the East. In other words, to all appearances, they were a thoroughly typical sample of the whole mass. Yet out of these thirty-four States, twenty-three had regular legislatures and definite machinery for enlisting public opinion on any State act, and five had the establishment of such machinery under consideration. Twenty-five of them had regular pension systems for their administrative services under their own civil service regulations; twelve had a complete separation between judicial and executive machinery, a stage which has not yet been attained in British India; while ten had the incomplete system of separation which obtains in British India itself.

#### FIXED PRIVY PURSE

Very interesting, I am sure, to my hearers will be the next point upon which I should like to touch. It may not be news to you that in the last session of the Chamber of Princes, my dearest elder brother and friend, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, introduced a resolution bringing to the notice of every State the desirability of a fixed personal Privy Purse separate from the State revenues, and the desirability of ensuring a systematic and properly organized judicial machinery. Now, out of these thirty-four States, whose replies have come in quite at random in accordance with the promptitude with which the enquiry happened to be answered, twenty-six already possess the fixed Privy Purse system and three are introducing it; while, so far as the judiciary is concerned, twenty-two possess High Courts of a regular type modelled on those of British India, while eight have courts in which the Ruler associates with himself one or more Ministers in the discharge of appellate functions. I do not say that there is not ample room with us, as with everyone else, for all the effort which enlightened Rulers, with the assistance and co-operation of their people, can bring to bear in the im-



provement of the internal condition of the States; but I do assert with some confidence not only that the will to improve is there, but that very real improvements have in the course of a very few years been actually carried out.

#### OBLIGATIONS OF KINGSHIP

It is the characteristic tendency of the States, at the present moment, to lay down the lines of a stabilized administrative system, which shall be independent of changes in the personality of the Ruler, and which shall operate with something like the same consistency and steadiness as characterize the work of Governments in advanced countries. But here again let me speak very plainly. It has sometimes been said that Rulers of Indian States are autocrats. I do not quite know the full implications of that term to Western ears; but this I do know: that no Indian Ruler can resist, or would dream of resisting, the public opinion of his people. That is not our conception of kingship at all; nor is it the idea which our people hold. To us, kingship is an office which has rights and which has obligations. The two are indissolubly linked. The same is true of the subject. He has his rights just as he has his obligations; and the King can no more transgress the former than he can permit the subject to transgress the latter. There is thus a really Indian conception of responsible government which needs to be appreciated; the conception of a government in which every subject knows what his rights are, since those rights are secured to him by custom and by religion; in which public opinion is the final sanction for every act of Government, and is able at any time to bring irresistible, because direct, pressure upon the administration. In those States where the subjects have desired to substitute for this system the machinery of the West, they have done so. But if in most States this substitution has not yet taken place, it is because the people of the State have shown no desire to change the system under which they live.



One last word, and I have done. It may seem to my hearers that I have said very little upon the subject of the relations between the Indian States and the Crown. In reality, as I hope reflection will show you, I have really said a great deal ; for I have done my best to explain to you as effectively as I can in the time at my disposal the manner in which the Indian States themselves conceive of this relation ; and the manner in which they believe it can best be implemented, for the benefit of Great Britain and the Empire, of India herself, of British India, and of the States.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1., on Tuesday, July 24, 1928, a paper was read by Major-General H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E. (Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes), on "The Indian States and the Crown." Sir Walter Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., C.B., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present :

Lord Sinha, the Raja and Rani of Jasdan, the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan and daughter, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Maneckji B. Dadabhoy, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Evan Cotton, Sir Lennox Russell, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., and Lady Holland, Sir Thomas and Lady Strangman, Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Denison E. Ross, C.I.E., Sir Hugh S. Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., and Lady Barnes, Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir George S. Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., and Mrs. Saunders, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., the Hon. Edward Cadogan, M.P., the Right Hon. G. R. Lane-Fox, M.P., Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Mr. V. H. Boalch, C.B.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., and Mrs. Williams, Mr. Chance, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. G. V. Holmes, Mr. M. C. Keymer, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. J. A. Richey, Mr. J. Nissim, Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Richards, Miss Moffat, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. Bickerton, Lieut.-Colonel M. O'Dwyer, Diwan Bahadur Dr. P. N. Lakshmanan, M.E., etc., Mr. Rustom P. Jehangir, Mr. R. K. Sorabjee, Sardar Gokal Chand, Miss M. Sorabjee, Mrs. John Nicholson, Mr. P. Cox, Commissioner and Mrs. F. Booth Tucker, Rev. Father T. Van der Schueren, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. J. Brants, Mr. C. W. Kirkpatrick, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. H. Willmott, Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, Miss Gray Hill, Miss A. A. Morton, Dr. Rose Pringle, Mr. S. B. V. Karandikar, Mr. Lal Singh, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. San Po Lwin, Mr. and Mrs. Ghulam Quadir Khan, Mr. B. C. Singh, Mr. M. K. Maitra, Mr. G. R. Bhatt, Mr. R. K. Roy, Mr. Uma Prasada, Mr. T. M. Ramaswami, Mr. K. N. Sen Gupta, Mr. A. Latif, Mr. G. Chatha, Mr. Bachan Singh, Mr. Rana Jagpat Chand, Mr. S. T. B. Parl, Mr. K. V. Apte, Mr. A. N. Patel, Dr. S. Kapadia, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Mr. Nowrosji Hormusjee Contractor, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. R. N. Tandon, Dr. H. K. Dikshit, Mr. L. D. Kochhar, Mr. G. Sinanan, Mr. S. C. Magotra, Dr. H. S. Sharma, Mr. H. N. Dewan, Mr. R. S. Marya, Dr. W. C. Narula, Mr. Jamsedjee S.



Bhumgara, Miss Collis, Mr. A. D. Bonarjee, Mr. H. E. Prescott, Mrs. A. J. Kennedy, Mrs. Gerard Barnes, Miss Nina Eldridge, Mr. Cumming, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. James Buncle, Mr. W. M. Beckett, M.B.E., Mr. J. Faletti, Mr. W. H. Swales, Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Bason, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. G. Scott Bremner, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Venning Thomas, Mrs. C. H. Thomas, Mrs. Given Wilson, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir LOUIS DANE apologized to the meeting for the absence of the President, Lord Lamington. He also had to regret that Lord Ronaldshay was prevented from occupying the chair owing to a family bereavement. Fortunately, however, they had been able to secure the services of Sir Walter Lawrence, who was so well known to all of them. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN read the following letter from the President, Lord Lamington, to Lord Ronaldshay:

HARROGATE, *July 23, 1928.*

MY DEAR RONALDSHAY,

Having been ordered here for treatment, I had hoped to come to London for the day to be present on the notable occasion of the East India Association being addressed by one of India's great Princes. But I regret that the doctor forbids my going. It would be of special value to hear what H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, says on the momentous subject of his address.

Whatever reactions the changes in administration in British India may have on the Indian States, I expect if these changes are to be successful they will have to be modelled on the forms and in the spirit of administration in the Indian States rather than on the lines of our Western bureaucratic and representative systems.

Please express to His Highness and to the meeting my true concern at not being present.

Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) LAMINGTON.

The CHAIRMAN: I am conscious of the fact that a good chairman should say very little and merely introduce the speaker. But I would like on this occasion to say a few words. I have known His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala since he was a boy. I have watched his career with admiration and sympathy, and I feel sure that when he addresses you on this very difficult subject of the relations between the Indian States and the Crown he will, from his full knowledge, his experience, and his sense of fairness, give us some guidance.

I have known the House of Patiala for nearly fifty years. When I went out to the Punjab in 1879 I heard from my elders of the great services which the Patiala State had rendered to us in the perilous days of the Mutiny. (Applause.) In 1879 when I reached India we were at war with Afghanistan, and in the very valley where I was sent there was a fine contingent of Patiala troops. I am sure I am right in saying that in every major operation conducted by the Indian Army since 1879 the troops of Patiala have been there, shoulder to shoulder with the Army of the King.



(Applause.) The Maharaja, as you know, is senior of the Phulkian States. I had the pleasure of knowing a very great chief of the Phulkian States, Raja Hira Singh of Nabha. He told me, when I was staying with him once in his capital: "I and all the other chiefs of India have two ideals—two ambitions: one is to fight for the King-Emperor, and the other is to do him personal service."

If I know the Maharaja aright I feel sure that he, like all his brother chiefs, whether from reticence or some other cause, will say very little about the services that he and others have rendered to the British. I fancy he will also be silent on another subject which is very dear to all their hearts—sacred, almost sacrosanct: it is their devotion to the King-Emperor, their suzerain. But whatever the picture the Maharaja may present to you today, whatever the scheme he may frame, behind that picture, illuminating it, and underlying that scheme there will be the wonderful love and the underlying loyalty for the King-Emperor. (Applause.)

(The lecturer then read his paper.)

Sir LENNOX RUSSELL said:

His Highness has mentioned that this is the first occasion on which a Ruling Prince of India has addressed a gathering of this description. This in itself is a notable fact. But what is perhaps still more notable is the fact that his address deals with a subject of peculiar difficulty, a subject which in the past it has been the practice to some extent to shroud in mystery, and in connection with which private criticism is sometimes easier than public constructive effort.

I have been asked to speak this afternoon on the ground that it is a comparatively short time since I left India. It has long been inappropriate to speak of the unchanging East. If His Highness is correct in saying that at the present time there is entire unanimity among the Princes on the basic point of the need for some federal scheme, then the change wrought in the three years since I left India has been far greater than one could have ventured to predict. I do not allude merely to the fact that up till quite recently the leading Prince in India had not only never attended a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, but had studiously declined to associate himself either with the Chamber or with those who took a leading part in its councils. If His Exalted Highness the Nizam has more recently abandoned his earlier attitude of deliberate aloofness, the change would represent a real move forward towards the solution of the difficult problems involved.

But even if the initial aloofness on the part of certain Princes has been overcome, there must still remain more fundamental difficulties. I well remember how one of the leading States objected to the proposal to institute an advisory Council of Princes on the ground that the scheme did not go far enough, and urged that there should be "a properly constituted deliberative assembly with well-defined powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally as well as questions of common interest between British India and the Indian States."

Despite this pronouncement, the latter went on to make reservations



which appeared to nullify the proposal that there should be definite powers. The grant of powers presupposes their exercise, and the exercise of powers presupposes the issue of decisions binding on some party. The idea of decisions binding on any or all of the Princes was apparently negatived. Can it have been intended that the contemplated powers should be used to bind the British Government alone? In fact, it is difficult to see how such an assembly can be vested with definite powers until those who are members of it are prepared in some measure to entrust to the keeping of a corporate body rights which at present they enjoy as individuals.

The prospect of eventual unanimity in preparedness for any such surrender would seem to depend on the success of the Chamber acting as a consultative body in the first instance. In other lands and in other strata of society problems not altogether dissimilar have presented themselves. Nominal organization has not always at once secured either full responsibility or complete cohesion. But in spite of obvious drawbacks and difficulties, organization has generally been found to make on the whole for progress and sound development. It is evident from what His Highness has told us this afternoon that it may not be long before the Indian States arrive at some system of joint organization as the only means of securing a position which will enable them to meet the problems with which they must necessarily be faced in the years to come.

By taking the bold step of ventilating the subject on a public platform, His Highness has, if I may say so, added to the notable services of his illustrious House. (Cheers.) It is a memorable advance that the leading Prince of the Punjab and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes should himself stand up and put forward suggestions which cannot fail to stimulate the constructive thought without which no progress is possible. (Cheers.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said that they must all be glad to know that His Highness had overcome the natural reluctance to address them that afternoon, because there was no one who was more competent to expound the existing relations between the Indian States and the Crown than the Chancellor of the Council of Princes, and the ruler of a State which was famous in all India for its practical loyalty to the British Crown. During the troublous years of the War there was no Prince in India who achieved more for the British cause than the Maharaja of Patiala. (Cheers.) Not only did his troops serve on many fronts, but the Maharaja placed the manpower of his State at the disposal of the British Government. Patiala supplied between 20,000 and 30,000 combatants to the Indian Army; His Highness was, therefore, eminently in a position to speak on the subject, and his résumé of the history of the relations between the Princes of the States and the British Government was lucid and instructive. Sir Michael said that historically he was prepared to accept most, if not all, of what the Maharaja had said. But there was one significant fact which ought to be brought out clearly—namely, that the reason for the change in the status and attitude of the British Government towards the Indian States was that



from the middle of the eighteenth century for 100 years the British Government was faced with a prolonged struggle against the aggression of the "country" powers that had arisen in the decline of the Moghul Empire: Tippu and Haidar in the south, the Mahrattas in the centre, the Sikhs and Gurkhas in the north, the aim of which was to wipe out and annex the Indian States then existing. The triumph of British arms, aided by many of the States, had saved them from extinction. The result was that the Indian States as known today were either the direct creation of the British Government, as in the case of Mysore and Kashmir, or, as in the case of the Punjab, Central Indian and Rajputana States, were rescued from the aggression of other Indian States and established on their present footing by the British Government.

The States therefore differed markedly in Treaty rights, status, and relative importance. So much so that it was very difficult to find any common denominator. But there were certain points on which the Chamber of Princes could function for their common good. In one instance mentioned by the Maharaja, that of the imposition by the Legislative Assembly of high protective duties on iron, steel, and other imports, he felt that the interests both of the masses of the people and of the Indian States had been disregarded. Neither the Princes nor the peasants had been heard. If, as the Maharaja had suggested, the Princes were disappointed with the outcome of the examination of their position in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, it was because that document, in Chapter X., which dealt with the States, as in the chapters on British India, did not take sufficiently into account either local conditions or expert opinion. Hence many of our present difficulties. The Princes had a very strong claim upon us when they asked for a readjustment of relations, and their reasonable wishes should be met, subject to the proviso that British paramountcy remained unimpaired, and that in the last resort the British Government should have the right to interfere on behalf of the people of a State suffering from gross maladministration. (Cheers.)

Mr. B. DUBÉ said that the origin of British rule in India was as benevolent as possible, and it was a corollary from that position that the British Government should recognize in some form or another the existence of Indian States for that purpose. It was a fact in British India that reforms had been introduced, and at the present moment what was troubling the Princes, and some of the relics of the despots who seemed to be present there, was how were they going to regulate the relations of the Princes on the one hand and the people of India on the other? (Hear, hear.) Everybody who knew anything about the political situation in India knew perfectly well that the demand from Great Britain was that the Government of India should be so constituted in the future as to represent the constitutional sovereignty of the people. He desired to join in the statement that they had feelings of loyalty to the King of England, but speaking as a cold-blooded constitutional lawyer, he held that the King of England did no more than represent the constitutional sovereignty of the British people. It was therefore useless to go back to times in the past and say they had



that loyalty to the person and the House of the King of England. The truth had to be recognized that in the British Government of today the King of England represented nothing more than the constitutional sovereignty of the people of these lands. The Colonial Empire policy was very much the same. Dominion policy today was very much approximating to what it was in England. That was the demand in India—namely, that the Government of India should be so constituted that it should be representative of the constitutional sovereignty of the people. With regard to the Princes, if he read it rightly, it seemed to him that the basic policy of the Indian States was the divine right of kings. He desired to state very seriously that in his opinion those two proposals were impossible to work not only in India but in any country today.

Mr. R. S. NEHRA said that if he had heard the Maharaja aright, there appeared to be some fear in the minds of the Princes in India that if India became democratic the position of the Princes would be jeopardized.

The MAHARAJA OF PATIALA: If you had read my address you would not say so.

Mr. R. S. NEHRA said that he had heard the address, and his impression was that the Maharaja was against any democratic reforms in India for British Indians. He associated himself with the remarks of Mr. Dubé.

Mr. SORABJI said he most profoundly disagreed with his friend Mr. Dubé as to the attitude of India to the Crown of England. Mr. Dubé had been away from India for many years, and did not realize that throughout the length and breadth of India there was a personal devotion to the Crown comparable to nothing which was known in any other part of the Empire. With regard to His Highness's address, Mr. Sorabji said he thought that it was a very sad thing that the States were not better known in England. If romance, beauty, hospitality, and delight were wanted, they had only to visit the Indian States. The States ought to have an agent in England to make known these wonderful parts of the Indian Empire.

He felt sure His Highness would agree that there had been a good deal of advantage to the Indian States in the treaties with England, and that it was impossible to differentiate between the Indians in British India and Indians in the Indian States. They were all one, and they must have one bond, and there was no bond so strong as that of personal devotion to the King-Emperor, which already existed. If Mr. Dubé had seen the people rushing forward in their thousands to worship the thrones on which their Majesties had sat in Calcutta, he would not have dared to make the statement he had made.

The present was a memorable occasion. They had had Sir Walter Lawrence in the chair, and all of them who had read his book knew how devoted he was to India. They had a Ruling Prince for the first time coming to address them, and showing what the Ruling Princes of India were. If a few young men got up in assemblies in England to tell them that the devotion of the vast masses in India to the Crown had in any way cooled, or was merely constitutional, he could only say that



those young men were trying to fool them, but they would not be fooled. (Cheers.)

Mr. DUBÉ: May I be allowed to say that I never for one moment cast any doubt upon the devotion of India to the Crown?

Sir LOUIS DANE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, said that he could not refrain from making a few remarks with regard to the lecture. They were probably all aware that the Indian States covered one-third of the area of India, and included one-fifth of the population. It was the case not so very long ago, and it was not at all inconceivable to contemplate the possibility of the Indian States again including more than half of the area and more than half of the population of British India. They were an example of the greatest stability in Indian polity, and he would venture to say that they represented the oldest form, and in existing conditions perhaps the only possible form, of true self-government in India or Swaraj. Therefore, it was impossible to ignore the Indian States when they were dealing with constitution-mongering in India. He would venture to remind those who spoke so glibly of the views of the people of India of the very sad time in British history when once it became necessary to try and eventually to execute one of our Kings. When the indictment was framed and read in the name of the people of England, there was a very courageous lady present who voiced what were the actual facts of the case; she said: "Not one-tenth part of them." When he heard protests and pleas and arguments being urged in the name of the people of India, he was inclined to re-echo the remarks of that lady. In the first place, he did not know, and he did not believe anybody else knew, who the people of India were. (Hear, hear.) There was no people of India as such, so nobody could claim to speak in the name of the people of India. There were many peoples in India, as in Europe, and just as he could not pretend to speak on behalf of the Czechoslovakian, in the same way it was impossible for a Madras to pretend to know what the Punjabi felt. They were not in the same village, so to speak, and could not even understand each other's language, and in political discussions had usually to fall back upon the language of the Government which they professed to detest.

For the last thirty years, in season and possibly out of season, he had urged the claims of the Indian States to the fullest consideration of the British Government. He believed that the Indian States were our greatest asset and sheet-anchor in India, and everything should be done to strengthen their position, and even to extend their area where this is possible. (Hear, hear.)

He desired to propose a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman. He had some claim to do it. He was on duty in Patiala in January, 1877, when His Highness's father was installed by Lord Lytton. He had practically grown up with the Maharaja, and the Maharaja honoured him with his personal friendship, and very often, as young men would do, when he got into some little trouble he used to come and talk to him about it. In 1895 at Lord Elgin's Durbar at Lahore the late



Maharaja, in spite of the counsels of his Ministers, had created a precedent by leading his troops in person past the Viceroy. It was a loyal and courageous act. And now his son, following his father's example, had set another precedent by coming forward to read a paper on the rights of Princes before such an audience as the present. They had heard a most excellent lecture given by a gallant gentleman and a great Prince, and he was proud to think that first as Chief Secretary in the Punjab, and then as Lieutenant-Governor, he had been able to watch over his early career. (Applause.)

Then they had Sir Walter Lawrence in the chair. What Sir Walter Lawrence did not know about India was not knowledge. He was sure they would all agree that their thanks were due to the Chairman, Sir Walter Lawrence, and to the most gallant, princely and learned Lecturer, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane announced that His Highness the Maharaja had very kindly consented to accept a Vice-Presidentship of the Association. (Loud applause.)



## THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS

THE East India Association was represented at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists in Oxford by the Chairman of the Council, Sir Louis Dane, and by Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Member of Council. The following address was presented to the Congress :

"We, the Delegates chosen to represent the East India Association, offer our greeting to the scholars assembled at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists in Oxford.

"The East India Association is deeply interested in many of the matters with which the International Congress of Orientalists is called upon to deal, and they therefore feel that upon this occasion of the eminently successful meeting of the Congress, after sixteen years, in one of the most ancient homes of Oriental study, they must offer their humble but sincere congratulations upon the very useful work which is in progress, and trust that this may prove to be a fresh start for many such future successes."



## MARCO POLO\*

BY N. M. PENZER

(Author of "The Ocean of Story")

## I.

## INTRODUCTORY

ALTHOUGH the accuracy of Marco Polo's statements has been confirmed again and again, it seems that a halo of romance has permanently settled itself round his name. He is still put in a class with Mandeville rather than with Columbus. The trouble apparently lies not so much in the fact that he describes strange and curious things, but rather in that he has come down to us as the first European to draw aside the curtain which for untold centuries had completely veiled the mysterious East from Western eyes.

If America, the Cape, or even Australia, had been Polo's objective, the story might have been very different. But as it is, the name of Polo, instead of conveying to us the memory of the greatest of land pioneers, summons up, as if one had rubbed a magic ring, a picture of fabulous splendour and lavish display, of pearls and rubies, of rich silks and rare velvets, of red wine and heavy perfumes, of dark-eyed houris and sumptuous palaces. In such a setting Polo plays the Sindbad to Kublai's Harūn-al-Rashīd.

Thus, at the very outset, the breath of romance enters into the story. And it has proved too strong and too fascinating to be allowed to escape. So it is preserved, and whatever scholars may discover and publish, whatever is proved or disproved, Marco Polo remains in too gorgeous and semi-mythical a setting ever to rank as an ordinary pioneer of geographical discovery.

\* "Marco Polo: Il Milione." Prima edizione integrale a cura di Luigi Foscolo Benedetto sotto il patronato della città di Venezia. Comitato Geografico Nazionale Italiano. Pubblicazione N. 3. Limited to 600 numbered copies. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1928. 14" by 10". Pp. ccxxi + 283. With eleven plates of manuscript reproductions, of which three are in colour, two are double page, and one has two on the single page. Loosely stitched for binding, in thin parchment cover. Price Lire 600.



At the same time, we must not allow the spell of far Cathay to blind us to the fact that in Marco Polo we have one of the greatest explorers of all time.

Thus the appearance of a new and magnificent work, recording fresh discoveries and embodying the latest research work on Polo, is not only one of the most important geographical publications for over a quarter of a century, but is one that we all must hail with unreserved congratulations and gratitude.

Before we entangle ourselves in the intricacies of textual discussion, let us remind our readers, in the briefest possible manner, of the main events of Polo's life.

Andrea Polo, our hero's grandfather, had three sons—Marco, Nicolo, and Maffeo. All three were traders. In about 1260, Nicolo and Maffeo were carrying on their business in the Crimea, when a series of events resulted in their reaching the Oriental court of the great Khan Kublai. For the first time, the Khan set eyes upon Europeans, and listened with the utmost interest to tales of the wonders of the West. He asked for missionaries to convert his people to Christianity. Accordingly the brothers returned home, *via* Acre, which they reached in 1269. Nicolo found that his wife was dead, but had left a son, now fifteen years old, whom she had named Marco after his uncle.

They chanced to arrive during a Papal interregnum, and after waiting two years for a new Pope to be elected, the two brothers and young Marco started back to Cathay, and arrived safely at Shangtu, the winter residence of Kublai, early in 1275.

The young Polo at once found favour in Kublai's eyes, and was employed in public service, as well as being sent on important missions to distant parts. In fact, the Khan became so devoted to the trio that it was only by a lucky chance they were allowed to leave his dominions at all. This occurred in 1292 when they were chosen to escort the young princess Cocacin, bride-elect of Arghun, Khan of Persia.

The three travellers arrived home at the end of 1295, having accomplished one of the most amazing journeys ever made. The tale of their difficulty in proving their identity is too well known to warrant repetition.

Marco Polo's claims to glory are absolutely unique. Apart from being the first man who personally visited and described every Asiatic kingdom right across the whole continent, he was the first traveller to tell us of Tibet, Burma, Siam, Cochin China, Japan, the Indian Archipelago,



Java, Sumatra, the Nicobars and Andamans, Ceylon, India, Madagascar, and Abyssinia!

The sequel is well known. In 1298 Polo was aboard one of the Venetian galleys dispatched against the Genoese, in the capacity of *sopracomito*, or gentleman-commander. The engagement resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Genoese, and seven thousand prisoners were taken to Genoa, of whom our author was one.

His imprisonment resulted in the writing of his travels.

### THE POLIAN MANUSCRIPTS

And here, after having briefly refreshed our readers' memories, we can turn our attention to the literary history of the work, and the book which lies before us.

When Sir Henry Yule had completed his great work on Marco Polo, he was fully aware that the tangle of the early MSS. had not been finally unravelled. This is clearly shown by the fact that he produced a text that cannot be described as other than eclectic.

Apart from the lesser queries which remained unanswered, no evidence was forthcoming to show from what MSS. Ramusio had obtained those portions of his printed text which find no parallel elsewhere.

To quote Yule's own words on the subject: "And the most important remaining problem in regard to the text of Polo's work is the discovery of the supplemental manuscript from which Ramusio derived those passages which are found only in his edition. It is possible that it may still exist, but no trace of it in anything like completeness has yet been found. . . ."

Professor L. F. Benedetto has now brought to light a copy of a MS. which, without doubt, must have been at any rate derived from *one* of those used by Ramusio containing the unique passages. Before we say more of this very important discovery and explain exactly what use Benedetto has made of it, we must explain, for the sake of those who are not fully acquainted with the difficulties of Polian research, exactly how Ramusio fits into the story.

Marco Polo died in 1324, or thereabouts, and although copies of his work had appeared as soon as it became known, "till all Italy became filled with it," yet they continued to be made in various languages after his death.

It was not, however, for two hundred years that any attempt was made to free Polo from the aureole of romance which threatened to enshrine him permanently among the



legendary immortals, or even to swell the ranks of famous impostors!

In 1550 the first volume of a collection of travels appeared under the editorship of one Gian Battista Ramusio, an illustrious member of a noble Italian family of Rimini. In 1556, another volume (vol. iii.) was issued, while vol. ii., containing Ramusio's account of Polo's travels, did not appear until 1559—two years after the editor's death.

Other editions of the *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, as the collection was called, soon followed, and the "Ramusian Recension" of Marco Polo took a unique place of honour in Polian tradition.

Ramusio was a good scholar, and enjoyed a great reputation for learning and critical research. His chief pursuit was geography, and he is believed to have opened a school for its study in his own house at Venice. In fact, everything we know about him compels us to treat his work with the utmost consideration and credence, as he fully justifies his title of "the Italian Hakluyt." Bearing this in mind, we can more readily appreciate the disappointment with which Yule had to record the absence of those MSS. from which Ramusio had obtained certain parts of his information. The discovery of Benedetto, then, is of the greatest interest, but he has not contented himself with merely giving a transcription of the MS. which he found in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. He has devoted three years to the classification of all the texts at present known to exist, in order to present the best of all, the so-called Geographic Text (fr. 1116)—of which more anon—in a form worthy of its importance. This he has accomplished with great skill and careful editing.

The unique passages of Ramusio and of the newly found Milan MS. (Y. 160 P.S.) are arranged as a kind of commentary to the Geographic Text.

Thus we must congratulate Benedetto not only on what he has done, but on what he has *not* done. We mean that less erudite scholars might well have been tempted to have placed their new discovery before the Geographic Text, and to have made it the *sine qua non* of a "restored original text."

He has divided his work into two distinct parts. Firstly he gives us an "Introduction" on the entire manuscript tradition, running to over two hundred pages, while secondly we have the newly transcribed and properly edited text of fr. 1116, together with critical notes, as well as additional passages from the other texts.



The Introduction is divided into seven chapters, the first five of which deal respectively with the Geographic Text, Grégoire's version, the Tuscan recension, the Venetian recension, and the version of Fra Pipino. Chapter VI. deals with the phase antedating fr. 1116, while Chapter VII. is devoted to the various fragments. We shall discuss each chapter separately.

As is only natural, Benedetto starts with the MS. which is the oldest and best that has come down to us—the "Old French Text" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fr. 1116 (formerly 7367.) In 1824 it was published by the French Geographical Society, since when it has been known as the Geographic Text. Benedetto refers to it as *F*. Although that letter also includes all French MSS. (twenty in number) in this group, fr. 1116 is its only complete representative. We know little of its history, except that it is supposed to have come from the old library of the French kings at Blois. It is round this MS. that scholastic controversy has chiefly centred, and since the appearance of Yule's *magnum opus* we have been perfectly content to accept the view that in fr. 1116 we have a direct representation of what Marco Polo dictated to his fellow-prisoner in Genoa.

In the light of Benedetto's new evidence we find that we have to reconsider the whole question. In the end we shall see all our pet theories destroyed, with little hope of settling points concerning the early history of the book until various new lines of research have been exhausted to their utmost.

At first sight this may seem a hopeless position, but one thing is certain, and that is that we can never hope to clear up the history of any important work until we know what data we have to work on, and are satisfied that such data are arranged in its correct order, each separate item in its proper place. This, then, is the achievement of Benedetto. He has brought order into chaos. We are now in a position to ascertain what the MS. tradition can teach us, and once we are on the right path there is no telling what headway may be made in the future.

Our discussion opens in the prison at Genoa, where Polo's fellow-prisoner, a Pisan, is called in to help in the writing of the narrative. The name of this man is shown definitively to be Rustichello, instead of such forms as Rustician or Rusticiano\* (p. xiii). It was natural to suppose that he had

\* It should be noted that Yule fully realized that the form *Rustichello* was the correct one (see his Introduction, p. 63). He only used *Rusticiano* as being the nearest to the form given in his text. Certain reviewers have credited Benedetto with the sole discovery of this.



been chosen by the Genoese authorities because of his reputation as a writer of French Arthurian legends. Scholars have, therefore, been at pains to compare the style of fr. 1116 with that of his other works. They have considered (Yule especially) that the language of fr. 1116 is much more crude, inaccurate, and Italianized than that of Rustichello's other romances. This supported the theory of Polo's dictation, which, it was said, clearly betrayed itself in the halting style of the narrative.

Benedetto, however, after comparing numerous passages of fr. 1116 with portions of Rustichello's other works, has found practically identical phrases and idioms, some of which clearly betray the same hand. From this he argues that the same care and diligence that produced the romances also produced fr. 1116—in other words, that Rustichello did not copy down at Polo's dictation, but produced fr. 1116 (or rather a version of which that manuscript is a descendant) after a prolonged and detailed study of all the notes with which Polo supplied him. Polo was no trained writer, and, moreover, would not trust himself to present his story in a style acceptable to Western ears after his prolonged absence in the East. Here was a professional story-teller ready to hand! What more natural than to allow him to "write up" the work, after supplying him with all the necessary information! As Benedetto puts it:

"Compito espresso di Rustichello dev' essere stato quello di stendere in una lingua letteraria accettabile quelle note che Marco, vissuto così a lungo in oriente, non si sentiva di formulare con esattezza in nessuna parlata occidentale. Abbiamo intravisto abbastanza com' egli, assolvendo un tal compito, sia rimasto fedele allo stile ed alla visuale dei romanzi d'avventura. Ma non possiamo dire nulla di più."

Thus the style of fr. 1116, with all its "story-teller" mannerisms, does not necessarily betray dictation, but rather the usual style of a professional romance writer, who saw in Marco Polo a King Arthur come to life! Moreover, as regards the Italian words, we find quite a large percentage of them in fr. 1463, a MS. which we *know* was not dictated. We may note in passing that Ramusio, in the Introduction to his version, neither states that Polo *dictated* his work, nor that a *Pisan* had anything to do with it. He says that Polo was "assisted by a Genoese gentleman" who "used to spend many hours daily in prison with him," and helped him to write the book. It has always been taken for granted that facts had become muddled, and it was Rustichello the Pisan to whom reference was made. Now



Benedetto argues (p. xxxi *et seq.*) with considerable skill that fr. 1116 must represent only a later copy of the original Polo-Rustichello compilation. Might it not be possible that Ramusio, so correct and reliable in other points, is also correct here—and that one of the numerous Genoese, who without the slightest doubt *did* visit Polo, became very friendly with him, and helped in the editing of the work, *in addition to Rustichello*?\*

However this may be, the fact remains that we must no longer regard *F* as the one and only direct and immediate descendant of the original Genoese text. Nor must we imagine that all subsequent recensions can be traced back to *F*. As will be seen later, they originate in lost prototypes dependent on lost MSS. which we must regard as brothers of *F*. The Cottonian Codex Otho D. 5 at the British Museum, fragmentary though it be, is of importance in proving that the Franco-Italian recension was diffused, as well as all those MSS. dependent on purer French texts.

In Chap. 2 Benedetto discusses what he calls the Grégoire version, a detailed study of which has led him to believe in the existence of a lost version, *F*<sup>1</sup>, very akin to *F*, but containing just those differences necessary to the production of an elaborated version (the lost *FG*) from which the Grégoire group is descended. In order to prove that *FG* is *not* a revision of *F*, as hitherto believed, it is necessary to determine the exact status of *F*<sup>1</sup> and to reconstruct it as far as possible.

This can be done chiefly by comparing the existing types of *FG* with *F*. This will show that *F* does not possess all the points necessary to produce *FG*—some of the *lacunæ* should be different, and certain passages should be much more detailed. Thus the *FG* group must come from a MS. similar to *F*, but certainly not *F* itself. This lost MS. is Benedetto's *F*<sup>1</sup>. *F* and *F*<sup>1</sup> can, therefore, be regarded as brother MSS.

We now examine *FG* as a separate group. Yule only knew of five MSS., while Benedetto has been able to add another ten. He divides *FG* into four sub-groups, A, B, C, and D. These again are subdivided into single MSS. which are closely connected. Thus B has seven sub-groups, of which B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> are closely related. So also B<sup>4</sup> and B<sup>5</sup>. B<sup>3</sup> differs slightly from these two latter, while B<sup>6</sup> and B<sup>7</sup> form a more collateral branch. By arranging the MSS. in this way a genealogical table can gradually be built up.

\* This suggestion was first made by Rev. A. C. Moule.



We might note in passing that Pauthier's "A" type, which formed the basis of his, and Yule's, translation, consisted of A<sup>1</sup>; his "B" type of A<sup>2</sup>; and his "C" of B<sup>4</sup>. B<sup>3</sup> and B<sup>4</sup> (to which now must be added B<sup>5</sup>) are especially interesting, as they bear the curious certificate of one Thibault de Cepoy, on which Pauthier placed such great importance. It appears that Thibault was a captain in the service of Philip the Fair. After beginning as valet and squire, he rose to the rank of Grand-Master of the Cross-bow men. He then entered the service of Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, who sent him to Constantinople to substantiate his claim to the throne on the grounds that his wife, Catherine de Courtenay, was the daughter of Philip de Courtenay, titular Emperor of Constantinople. Thibault left Paris on September 9, 1306, and proceeded to Venice, where he concluded a treaty of alliance in December, 1306. During his stay there he met Marco Polo, who in August, 1307, presented him with a copy of his book, inscribed as "the first copy of his said Book after he had made the same." After Thibault's death, his son Jean made a copy of the book, which he gave to Charles de Valois. He also made other copies for those of his friends who asked for them.

The three MSS. mentioned above thus describe in the Note attached to them Polo's gift to Thibault, and how copies of it came to be distributed in France.

The great importance that Pauthier attached to these MSS. on account of the note has long since been proved quite unjustifiable. Although Yule realised this, he still made Pauthier's MSS the basis of his own translation.

Benedetto has entirely discredited the Note and will not even allow Thibault to give his name to the group at all. He points out that it is impossible to believe that no copy of Polo's work should have been made until 1307. Certainly it is, but where is the evidence to prove it *was* made in 1307? Perhaps it had been written in 1299, and Polo had kept a copy by him for any important presentation such as this. Or, on the other hand, there may be something in Langlois' suggestion\* when he says: "Mais, avant 1307, Ser Marco avait dû faire à bien des gens semblable politesse, peut-être avec des protestations analogues qu'il la faisait pour la première fois. . . ."

Benedetto credits Grégoire with being the founder of this group because his name appears on two of the MSS. (A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>3</sup>), while the date of the work is given as 1308

\* "Histoire Littéraire de la France," Tome XXXV., Paris, 1921, p. 255.



on the grounds that "this present year 1308" appears on another of the MSS. (D). We cannot feel convinced, however, that our author has proved his point in preference to accepting the original Thibault copy as the earliest extant MS. of the group.

As we have already mentioned, *FG* is subdivided into four main groups. Among these, *A*<sup>2</sup> is the beautiful MS. fr. 2810 at the Bib. Nat. containing 266 miniatures, of which 84 belong to the travels of Polo, occupying the first 96 folios of the MS. A convenient table, showing Benedetto's arrangement of the groups and sub-groups of *FG*, will be found on p. lxxv.

Chap. 3 deals with the Tuscan recension. At the commencement of the fourteenth century a Franco-Italian copy of the original Genoese prototype was translated into Tuscan. This copy must have been very similar both to *F* and *F*<sup>1</sup>. We can therefore call it *F*<sup>2</sup>.

The group known as *TA* is divided into four sub-groups, of which *TA*<sup>1</sup> is the famous MS. II. iv. 88 of the Bib. Naz. at Florence, better known as the *Codex della Crusca*.

Apart from *TA*<sup>1-5</sup>, two other versions must be mentioned. The first is a Latin one (Bib. Nat. Lat. 3195) in which the Tuscan translation is corrupted by Pipino's version (to be mentioned later). It was this text which formed the basis of H. Murray's English translation in 1844. It was published in 1824 by the French Geographical Society in the same volume as fr. 1116.

The second is a free *résumé* of *TA* found in the *Zibaldone* attributed to Antonio Pucci (d. 1388), the Florentine poet.

Owing to the differences found in the sub-groups\* of *TA*, it is necessary to utilize them all in attempting to restore the prototype of *TA*. Although *TA*<sup>1</sup> is the oldest codex, it is incomplete (as also *TA*<sup>2</sup>) and less close to *F* than the others.

When we have restored *TA* as best we can with the help of all the sub-groups, we find that we have a complete text save for the omission of certain historic-military chapters and some minor details. It is of assistance in

\* Here (p. lxxxix) we begin to feel the great want of a "list of symbols" used throughout the work. In the latter part of this chapter Benedetto talks about *A*<sup>1</sup> and *A*<sup>2</sup>, but he should still call them *TA*<sup>1</sup> and *TA*<sup>2</sup>, as in Chap. 2. *A*<sup>1</sup> and *A*<sup>2</sup> referred to important subdivisions of *FG*. We also find inconsistencies in the modes of reference to lines and pages of the printed text, as well as to MSS.



revising certain corruptions in *F*, as some of the *lacunæ* in fr. 1116 could not have existed in *F*<sup>2</sup> from which *TA* is descended.

When we turn to Chap. 4 in which the Venetian version is discussed, we find that its extensive ramifications immediately call for a genealogical table to guide us through the labyrinth of sub- and sub-sub-groups. This we are happy to find on p. cxxxii. We at once see that the primitive Venetian codex is represented by five MSS. (*VA*<sup>1-5</sup>). Although *VA*<sup>3</sup> and *VA*<sup>4</sup> are the only complete MSS., *VA*<sup>1</sup> is by far the most important, as it consists of the Casanatense fragment (Bib. Cas. 3999) which is a direct descendant from the prototype which served as the source of Fra Pipino's famous version. The great fame that this version achieved from its first appearance, and the eulogistic manner in which Pipino referred to his sources, led to the popular opinion that the Venetian version was nothing less than Polo's original!

Apart from Pipino's version (*P*) and also that of an anonymous Latin writer (*LB*), we must add a group of six Tuscan translations of the Venetian (*TB*<sup>1-6</sup>). This Tuscan group in its turn gave rise to a German translation (*Ted.*) and another Latin one (*LA*).

Finally, from a MS. similar to that on which the Tuscan group was based, we have two other variations of *VA*. The first consists of a fifteenth-century Venetian MS. at Lucca (Bib. Governativa, No. 1296\*), and a Spanish version from a Venetian codex. It was from this latter that John Frampton made his English translation in 1579. The second is a little group having a common origin in the Venetian text printed by Sessa in 1496. This completes the complicated ramifications of *VA*. In view of the genealogical table already referred to, it is unnecessary to give further details of the various MSS. in the different sub-groups. It will suffice to say that *VA*, *P*, *LB*, and *TB* are all simple variations of a single text. *VA* proceeds direct from a Franco-Italian text—a third brother of *F*, which we are calling *F*<sup>3</sup>. *P* is such an important version of *VA* that a separate chapter is devoted to it. *LB* is in all probability based on *VA*, while *TB* is merely *VA* in Tuscan dress.

It will thus be seen from these first four chapters that :

1. *F* includes the best Franco-Italian codex extant.

\* In the Yule-Cordier list it forms No. 49 (p. 544), but the MS. is given as 296 instead of 1296.



2. Three other MSS. must have existed at one time which were very similar to *F*.

3. These three MSS. can be conveniently called *F*<sup>1</sup>, *F*<sup>2</sup>, and *F*<sup>3</sup>.

4. *F*<sup>1</sup> gave rise to the prototype of *FG*.

5. *F*<sup>2</sup> produced the prototype of *TA*; and

6. *F*<sup>3</sup> had the largest family, *VA*, which we have just been discussing.

(*To be continued.*)



## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND THE STATUTORY COMMISSION

SIR,

In an interesting letter which appeared in the July number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* Mr. Webster has dealt with certain points raised in the article on the Future of India and the Statutory Commission which was contributed to the previous number. He asks, it is understood, for further development of the suggestion there made that for the purposes of the Commission a fundamental question is whether "Indian conditions do not indicate with considerable certainty that the future government of India by Indians for Indians must take some form other than democratic, and if so what form?" More particularly he wishes to know what form of government other than democratic is contemplated, and what is the unitary government which is envisaged as an alternative to complete provincial autonomy.

The question thus raised is clearly a large one, which was left for treatment by the Commission, assuming that it had previously reached the necessarily prior conclusion that India as a whole is not, and will not be a suitable field for democracy of the Western type. It is this view which Mr. Webster appears to challenge in his letter. It was put forward, it may be noted, in the article under reference, not as final and conclusive, but as one in support of which so many important considerations unite that a thorough examination of it is essential before further substantial development is given to a scheme of constitutional reform which either has democracy of a Western type for its goal, or, if not, is itself inconsistent and unintelligible.

Mr. Webster dwells at some length on the elements of so-called rural self-government, which in a more or less decayed condition are to be found in India; laying stress on them as showing "that democracy is not foreign to the spirit of India." Such a generalization, contradicted as it is by many other aspects of Indian social life, scarcely seems to rest firmly on its somewhat slender basis. Primitive organs for the crude satisfaction of the merely rudimentary local needs of social existence have made their appearance among most, if not all, peoples, however little advanced in civilization and culture. They were evolved of necessity in order to supple-



ment, as far as might be, the strictly limited and deficient administrative activities of such central government as existed; that being, as regards effectiveness, which was mainly directed to financial exploitation, extensive in area rather than intensive in operation. Such organs can be a prelude to real democracy where, and only where, they are from an early stage in some living and felt connection with a wider communal consciousness embracing successively a group of tribes, a nation, a modern State, and so forth. Otherwise the primitive organs will continue to function as discrete local units, to which the application of the term "democratic" is a misnomer. Such, it is suggested, has been the origin and history of the localized Indian institutions to which Mr. Webster has referred. At the same time it is undoubtedly true that any attempt to build up, however slowly and painfully, true democratic feeling in India must take the most serious practical account of the primitive local institutions, whose relics still exist; but to hold that their existence shows, *ipso facto*, that democracy is not foreign to the spirit of India is surely an unsafe conclusion. Mr. Webster asserts that Islam is essentially democratic. Space forbids treatment of that large topic; but if democracy is to bear its modern meaning of a body of more or less definite communal ideals embodied in a particular type of polity, then there is much to be said against his view. On the other hand, a democracy riven by such an institution as Hindu caste is clearly a self-contradictory and inconsistent conception. Again, from the modern point of view, with which only are we now concerned, the existence of democracy in Greece must certainly be denied.

The indigenous and traditional Indian ideal of polity is an aristocracy using a bureaucracy as its instrument, modified and relieved in the case of a benevolent and well-intentioned autocrat by some measure of intimate intercourse with his subjects in more or less formal and frequent audience—a simple system, and under favourable conditions not entirely ineffective in securing communal well-being in its broader aspects. Doubtless Mr. Webster is right in thinking, as he appears to do, that we cannot at this time of day relegate British India to that school of political discipline; but the fact remains that if within any definitely measurable length of time she is to be left to guide her own destinies in accordance with her own political instincts, it must be under a group or groups of autocracies of some such type as the above, functioning under the searchlight of cosmopolitan criticism. The prospect is certainly not a promising one. What is the alternative? Evidently a constitutional system, which, while securing efficiency, honesty, and solidity of administration of a progressive type, will at the same time provide the widest possible facilities for the expression of public opinion and criticism as these develop in increasingly sane and articulate form. Pseudo-democratic control of the Government by legislative assemblies which, at the present stage of India's political development, or want of development, cannot in any true sense be democratic, is not a vitally essential element. Any attempt to deal from a historical point of view with the origin and growth of representative institutions is impossible here; but it seems by no means irrelevant to



observe that such growth, when healthy, has almost invariably been a process of gradual development from a primary stage in which the function of assemblies, in whatever degree representative, was one of discussion of the proposals of an autocratic ruler and of the ventilation of popular grievances; while real power of control over the form and personnel of government and its legislative and administrative action has been secured at a much later period as a result of the growth of popular enlightenment, and of an articulate national and public opinion. In our own country the process, so far as it has been completed, occupied some hundreds of years. In India, on the other hand, under the reformed constitution, an attempt has been made, with various safeguards, to introduce *ab initio* the stage which in a normal, healthy political development comes later, by decades, generations, and it may be centuries. And not only so; a further abnormal and striking feature in the present constitutional feature in India confronts us in the fact that the governments, central and provincial, cannot with confidence count on support, either adequate or definite or permanent, in the assemblies which have been endowed with a large measure of definite control over their action. Veto and certification are not instruments which can be constantly used. On the other hand, in the absence of aught which can claim to be even the semblance of a democratic electorate, direct *de facto* responsibility for the well-being of India must for long continue to rest with Government as the embodiment of British authority. The attribution of such responsibility to pseudo-democratic representative assemblies can be no more than a make-believe.

What is necessary is that the Government should be in direct and permanent contact in a consultative aspect with such comparatively small volume of educated, if not always enlightened, public opinion as does exist. Considerations of space preclude a full treatment of the subject. Very briefly the broad lines suggested are as follows:

1. Unitary provincial governments with unified responsibility, consisting of a Governor with a body of counsellors, or ministers, or whatever other term may be considered suitable, of whom an adequate proportion—say, one-half—would be British and one-half Indian, all selected by the Governor; a majority of the Indians being taken from the local representative assembly, and a majority of the British being officials. Dyarchy would thus disappear.

2. The primary recognized function of the local representative assemblies would be consultative and advisory rather than one of control over the provincial government. At the same time it is not suggested that the existing powers of such assemblies should be generally curtailed, except in so far as the disappearance of dyarchy would entail modification. No doubt this is to some extent anomalous *vis-à-vis* of the postulated primary function of the assemblies; but unfortunately some degree of anomaly is inevitable in any conceivable scheme of Indian constitutional development; while the continuance of legislative powers, more or less in their existing form, is necessary in order to secure that the primary function may be discharged with a due sense of responsibility.



A scheme such as that very baldly sketched above would, it is believed, provide, so far as the provinces of India are concerned, a constitution more suitable to actually existing Indian conditions than that which is in force at present. Moreover it contains elements of elasticity and possibilities of modification which would render it not unsuitable, if at any time in the distant future India as a whole should become capable of real self-government on national and democratic lines. Such a contingency seems at present to be a very remote one; but let us assume that a hundred, or perhaps even fifty, years hence its premonitory signs should be unmistakably manifest; such as the growth of a real national feeling and a nationalistic sense of community among the masses of the population, accompanied by the spread of education and by the exhibition of intelligent interest in public and national questions on the part of the electorates; then it would not be difficult to Indianize to a greater degree, or even fully, the provincial governments; to render them responsible, in a parliamentary sense, to the representative assemblies; and to enlarge the powers of control to be exercised by the latter under the scrutiny of the electorates, which would, in the conditions assumed, be able to stand comparison with similar bodies in Europe.

Yours, etc.,

THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE.

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"WITHIN THE WALLS OF NANKING."

SIR,

In the last number of your important JOURNAL there appears a review of Mrs. Hobart's book "Within the Walls of Nanking" to which I have contributed a Proem dealing with the culture indigenous to China. Your critic so completely misunderstands my exposition that I would beg the favour of a little space to correct his impression. He says: "Whatever exactly may be the function of this otherwise interesting prologue, it is not easy to understand its presence here. . . . On page 9 Mrs. Ayscough admits that 'the summit on the Mountain of Perfected Civilization is still as remote . . . as the peak of Mount Everest.' When the terrible pages so vividly depicted . . . have been pondered, there will be time enough to discuss 'Perfected Civilization' in the flowery period of Chinese scholars."

My reference to the Mountain of Civilization is general, not particular. I consider that every race has accomplished certain progress on its own path, and that the Chinese had gone no inconsiderable distance on the path they had chosen. I use the past tense because in 1905 that path was deliberately abandoned, and so far the Chinese as a race have found no other. The system which I outlined was no figment of a scholar's brain, but a very concrete actuality which had stood the test of practice for at least two millenniums. The natural result of its swift reversal is the present chaos.

I do not suggest that the system, which was unsuited to international



intercourse, could have been retained, but I deprecate the assumption that new methods can be assumed "in the turning of one's palm."

Regretting that I did not sufficiently dot my i's and cross my t's, I am, with apologies for this intrusion on your space,

Yours, etc.,

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

*Saumarez Park, Guernsey.*



## RECENT BOOKS ON ARCHÆOLOGY

## III

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

"THE Epic of Gilgamish" is perhaps the oldest poem in the world. It has come down to us in a series of fragments written in cuneiform characters on Assyrian and Babylonian clay tablets in a number of different languages or dialects, including Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, and Assyrian. Centuries before the time of Homer, this venerable epic had its origin, but the most complete surviving copy of it is that which was made for the royal library of King Ashurbanipal at Nineveh in the seventh century B.C. In the British Museum, amongst the vast collection of records from Nineveh, are preserved twelve clay tablets, closely written with cuneiform characters and containing about three hundred lines each. These tablets have recently been newly collated by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, and as the result of this exacting labour, together with a further study of the older and later fragments, he has published a new translation of the epic.\* The original cuneiform text is written in metre, and Dr. Campbell Thompson has appropriately given us a metrical English translation in hexameters. The result is altogether felicitous, for the author, without departing a hair's-breadth from the most literal translation of the original texts, has imparted a grandeur and cadence to the narration of the stirring events related in the poem that no prose translation could convey.

There is good reason for believing that "The Epic of Gilgamish," in the form that has come down to us, is an agglutination of many legends that had gathered about the hero's name in very remote times. Just as the Egyptians immortalized many of their early kings in popular legends and stories, so Gilgamish, one of the earliest kings of Erech in Southern Babylonia, became the hero of the legend that found final expression in the epic. Gilgamish, according to the legend, was a tyrannical ruler (just as, according to Herodotus, was Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid), and his subjects appealed to the gods

\* "The Epic of Gilgamish," a new translation from a collation of the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum rendered literally into English hexameters by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.Lit. London: Luzac and Co. 1928. Price 10s. 6d. net.



for deliverance from his oppression. In answer to their appeal, the gods created Enkidu the wild man, and after a series of exploits, Gilgamesh and his adversary come to grips. They engage in a tremendous duel, and this has a curious termination, for each is so much impressed by the bravery of the other that a firm friendship springs up between the two heroes, who resolve to go on a journey together to the Forest of Cedars which is guarded by a terrible ogre. The ogre is killed, and at the bidding of Ishtar a divine bull that can kill legions of men with its fiery breath is sent against Gilgamesh, who had rejected the goddess's advances. Enkidu interposes and kills the bull, and is himself punished with death. Gilgamesh is spared, and, to avert a similar fate, he goes in search of the Elixir of Life. We cannot now follow the hero through all his adventures, in the course of which he meets with Uta-Napishtim (Noah), who relates to him the story of the Deluge, and tells him that at the bottom of the sea there grows a certain plant that can confer eternal youth. Gilgamesh, by tying heavy stones to his feet, reaches the bottom of the sea and successfully gathers the plant, but he is cheated of his prize by a serpent. He then decides to recall his companion Enkidu from the underworld, and in this endeavour he eventually succeeds. Enkidu emerges and relates to Gilgamesh the sad fate of the dead in the netherworld, and at this point the story comes to an end.

The slight sketch of this remarkable poem that we have just traced is necessarily the barest outline. The story is packed with interesting features from beginning to end. There is a wealth of detail concerning the mythology, folk-lore, and eschatology of the ancient inhabitants of Western Asia, and many points that invite interesting comparisons with the customs and beliefs of other countries. Dr. Campbell Thompson's work deserves the highest praise, and it will amply reward its readers.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is a far cry from India to Britain, but that the one influenced the other in ancient times there can be little doubt.\* The well-known traditions that Buddhist missionary activities extended into Western Europe have been regarded with open scepticism by many scholars, but the evidence afforded by the study of Celtic civilization reveals striking confirmation. The discovery of a remarkable silver bowl in a dried peat-bog at Raevmose in Jutland

\* "Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain," by Donald A. Mackenzie. London: Blackie and Son, Ltd. 1928. Price 10s. 6d. net.



(now in the national Museum of Copenhagen) has afforded very definite evidence of the reality of the contact of Buddhism and Celtic influence about the beginning of the Christian era. This silver bowl is adorned with a series of repoussé figures, the most striking of which is the remarkable representation of the well-known Celtic god Cernunnos, who is depicted in the typical squatting attitude of Buddha, and is surrounded by animals and other emblems connected with Buddha on the one hand and with Celtic mythology on the other. The Gundestrup Bowl (as this silver vessel is called) is the most illuminating feature in the whole problem. Mr. Donald Mackenzie, with his accustomed literary charm, has presented in this well-illustrated and pleasantly-written volume a great array of most valuable and interesting information concerning the mythology of early Britain (and especially of Scotland), which becomes more intelligible and assumes a new importance in the light of the Buddhist origin, or influence, that he proposes. Buddha became the Celtic Cernunnos, who reached our shores as Bran in Wales and Ireland, as Herne the Hunter in England, and as St. Kentigern in Scotland. The animals and other emblems associated with Buddha and with Cernunnos give valuable hints as to the interpretation of many enigmatic figures engraved on ancient stones of France and Britain, and of many myths and stories in the folk-lore of England, Ireland, and Scotland. As Mr. Mackenzie aptly says: "The loose confederacy of Celtic states and of states tributary to the Celts, extending from Asia Minor to Ireland, may not have constituted an Empire in the Roman sense of the term, but they appear to have constituted an avenue along which for centuries 'flowed' or 'drifted' those alien cultural influences which can be traced in Celtic religious complexes and Celtic sociology."

\* \* \* \* \*

The diffusion of culture, especially from the Old World to the New, has for some years been a subject of keen controversy between ethnologists. In the series of little handbooks called "The Psyche Miniatures" the question is presented once more.\* The work is called a symposium, but instead of the evenly-balanced debate which such a designation leads us to expect, we have a brief statement of the case for diffusion by Professor Elliot Smith, followed

\* "Culture: a Symposium," by G. Elliot Smith, B. Malinowski, Herbert J. Spinden, and A. Goldenweiser. "Psyche Miniatures." London: Kegan Paul and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.



by attacks upon it by three contributors who do not subscribe to the doctrine—Professor Malinowski, Dr. H. J. Spinden, and Dr. A. Goldenweiser. On the merits of the case thus presented we will express no opinion, since by this three-to-one contest it is evident that the issue is prejudged.

Referring to Professor Elliot Smith's contention that Egypt was the principal inspiration of the world's culture, one of his opponents is driven to such "arguments" as quoting the names of three well-known archæologists (two of them not Egyptologists) who "have laughed to scorn the suggestion that Egypt has been, even to a limited degree, the source of civilized life." But it is well to recall that the doctrines of Galileo, of Newton, and of Darwin were each in turn "laughed to scorn"; but has this scornful laughter in the least influenced the judgment of serious thinkers who are endeavouring to estimate the real merits of the cases advocated by these pioneers?

\* \* \* \* \*

Leaving these controversial topics, we have now to examine some recent historical works. One of the most important contributions to ancient history that has appeared for some time is Professor A. Moret's interesting volume on the history and civilization of Egypt.\* In an earlier volume, "From Tribe to Empire," the same author gave us a masterly outline of the development of settled kingdoms and vast empires from the early totemic clans of primitive times, and showed how the peculiar characters of the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and especially the Nile Delta, favoured—and indeed compelled—such development. In the present volume the development of Egyptian civilization from these early beginnings is briefly traced once more, and the country's history, after the establishment of a unified monarchy, is followed in detail. The former book, "Tribe to Empire," is so frequently cited that the present volume is often scarcely intelligible without it, and we think that it would have added considerably to the cogency of the case, as well as to the reader's convenience, if the two works had been amalgamated and presented as one. In this form, their combined bulk would not have exceeded the limits of a single manageable volume, as a good deal of repetition could thus have been avoided. We seriously commend this suggestion to the publishers

\* "The Nile and Egyptian Civilization," by Alexandre Moret. London: Kegan Paul and Co. 1927. Price 25s. net.



when they are considering a second edition, the early necessity for which may be confidently predicted.

Hitherto, the recorded history of Egypt has been severed by two great gaps of uncertain length: the first intermediate period fell between the close of the Old Kingdom with the fall of the sixth dynasty and the revival of national prosperity with the rise of the eleventh dynasty. The second break occurs after the close of the Middle Kingdom, a period that corresponds, at least in part, with the foreign domination of Egypt by the Hyksos. Professor Moret, by a new and careful study of the social and political organization under the Old Kingdom, has for the first time explained and interpreted how this inevitable period—the “first intermediate period”—came about. A well-known literary papyrus, often called “The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage,” affords interesting corroboration of the historical data, but we think that the author is inclined to place too much reliance on this papyrus, which is purely a literary composition and not an historical document. The only known copy of it was written long after the events it records, and whilst we fully agree with Professor Moret that it undoubtedly has an historical, or at least traditional, foundation, we must beware of interpreting its statements too literally. This work is an able and interesting summary of practically the whole field of Egyptian archæology. Art, architecture, religion, mythology, literature, science, and social organization are all dealt with; and although the detailed information on some of these topics might have been brought more up to date, the reader will find a most valuable and readable account of the ancient and fascinating culture of the Nile Valley from the earliest times. One fact emerges very clearly, and that is: the cause and the mainspring of Egyptian civilization was the River Nile. The great river that rolls between two narrow strips of fertile land between the limestone cliffs of Egypt not only called into being and nursed the greatest empire of the ancient world, but has had the profoundest influence in shaping the destinies of the human race.

The great value of Professor Moret's splendid work to students would have been greatly enhanced had he entrusted the revision of the English edition to an Egyptologist. The bibliographical references are often unsatisfactory and sometimes incorrect: in the first reading of the book, the present reviewer noted many inaccuracies, and a second reading has added to their number. Moreover, the material execution of the illustrations is unworthy



of so important a work. The text-figures are sketchy, and many of the photographic illustrations are far from clear, and are often reproduced on so small a scale that their subjects are barely recognizable. Apart from such blemishes, however, we earnestly recommend a careful reading of Professor Moret's book, not only to those whose studies are confined to Egypt, but to all who are interested in the development of human history in a wider sense.

\* \* \* \* \*

Professor Moret's book, to which the preceding paragraphs have been devoted, is a general survey of Egyptian history. We now have before us the detailed study of a particular phase of the social history of Egypt—one of those devoted and detailed studies of original documents that go to make up history as a whole.\*

The Turin Museum contains the richest collection in the world of Egyptian hieratic papyri of the Ramesside period. Amongst these treasures may be mentioned the great Canon of Kings, the world's earliest map (that of the gold-mines near Wadi Hammamat), the architect's plan of the tomb of Rameses IV., the judicial papyrus dealing with the trial and conviction of the *harim* conspirators in the reign of Rameses III., the love-songs and poems, a number of official letters of the twenty-first dynasty, and a large series of magical texts. In addition to the documents enumerated above the Turin collection includes a large series of fragments of a diary or journal recording the daily events in the Theban Necropolis during the latter part of the twentieth dynasty. It is with this journal that the publication now before us is concerned.

Dr. Botti of Turin has expended endless patience and skill in bringing together the many scattered fragments of what he perceived to be parts of one great whole—the Necropolis Journal. He has been most fortunate in his collaborator, Professor T. E. Peet, whose work on the similar papyri of London and Liverpool is so well known and so justly appreciated. The outcome of many hours of patient toil by these two scholars is the splendid folio containing photographs, transcriptions and translations of these mutilated and difficult texts which throw a flood of light upon the social and industrial history of Egypt under the Ramesside kings. We have already called attention

\* "I Papyri Ieratici del Museo di Torino—Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe," by Giuseppe Botti and T. Eric Peet. Turin: Fratelli Bocca; Paris: Paul Geuthner; London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. Three volumes, folio, with 63 plates. 1928.



from time to time in this journal to the interesting data afforded by various papyri upon the conditions of work, the wages, social life, organization, and other factors connected with the great population of workmen and their families, who toiled in the construction, decoration, and upkeep of the vast tombs that constitute the Valley of the Kings in Western Thebes, a spot whose world-wide fame has recently been redoubled by the discovery of Tutankhamen and his treasures.\*

The Necropolis Journal is, as we have already indicated, a diary kept by the official scribes of Western Thebes. It is the main stem to which we can attach numerous other documents (papyri and ostraca) that deal with the same events and name the same persons. The diary is concerned mainly with the doings of "the men of the gang" or the great corps of workmen of various grades employed about the tombs of kings and nobles. The daily entries vary in length: often they contain no more than a note that on such and such a day the men were working, or not working, as the case may be. We do not yet know why on so many consecutive days we read the entry, "The gang did not work." Some of the entries, however, specify some religious festival which provided a reason, or an excuse, for stopping work. Such is the case, for instance, during the five epagomenal days of the year, which were regarded as unpropitious days fraught with ill-luck. On some days work was stopped through sickness, and often through lack of rations. Thus we read: "Day 7. The workmen were idle because they were hungry, not having received their rations [for the previous month]." These overdue rations were slow to arrive, for two days later we find the following entry: "Day 9. The workmen were idle because they were hungry and exhausted through insufficient food." Such records of the non-delivery or late delivery of rations (the men were paid in kind) compel us to believe that the workmen's lot was often a pitiable one, and it can be scarcely wondered at that they went on strike from time to time, and that many of them were thieves. The journal makes frequent reference to prisoners who had been arrested for theft and were confined pending their trial. These trials are recorded at length in a number of juristic papyri which are preserved in various museums.

It is tempting to find further extracts from the interesting entries in the journal, but space forbids. From these

\* ASIATIC REVIEW: vol. xvi., pp. 127-128; vol. xvii., pp. 181-184, 339-342; vol. xix., pp. 319-329, etc.



entries can be gleaned an immense harvest of information as to the personnel, employment, and remuneration of the workmen as well as to the nature and value of the food and clothing allotted to them and the various objects which they manufactured or handled. Moreover, the frequent references to priests, officials, and workmen whose names are known to us from other documents afford many a valuable clue to the reconstruction of Egyptian social life during a period of great historic interest. In concluding this brief notice, it is the reviewer's pleasant duty to pay a warm tribute to the industry, patience, and sagacity of Dr. Botti and Professor Peet in their admirable handling of a laborious and difficult task.

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Ethiopia is the name that was given by the Greeks to a vast and ill-defined area which in course of time was limited to the district of North-Eastern Africa bounded by Egypt on the north, and by the Red Sea on the east. Originally, however, it is probable that the term was applied almost indiscriminately not only to this region, but to all lands between it and India. In the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably for some time before, Ethiopia was understood to mean that great tract of land which today we call Abyssinia and Nubia. Confining himself within these geographical limits, Sir Ernest Budge has recently published a history of Ethiopia in realization of a proposal that was first made to him in 1905, but which it has not been possible to put into execution until now.\* The history of Nubia dealt with by Sir Ernest dates from the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. till the conquest of the country by the Kingdom of Axum, about A.D. 350,† whilst that of Abyssinia dates from the time of the Patriarchs almost to the present day—1916, to be exact.

The materials for the history of these two regions differ much in character. Nubia was in cultural contact with Egypt from very early times, and the inscriptions of Egypt afford a considerable amount of authentic contemporary historical information. Apart, however, from the chronicles of Egypt, Nubia has been the scene of a great amount of archaeological exploration during recent years, and a vast amount of local evidence has been unearthed. With the decision of the Egyptian Government to raise the

\* "A History of Ethiopia: Nubia and Abyssinia," by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. 2 vols. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd. 1928. Price £3 13s. 6d. net.

† Cf. *ASIATIC REVIEW*, vol. xxiii., 1927, p. 167.



Aswândam, a step finally decided upon in 1907, the necessity arose for a systematic exploration and record of all the monuments and sites that the alteration in water-level would affect. This was carried into effect by the establishment of the Archæological Survey of Nubia, and by independent excavations undertaken by numerous universities and scientific bodies. The publication of the results of all this active field-work during the last twenty years, taken in conjunction with the ancient Egyptian records, has given us the materials for as complete a picture as it is possible to hope for of an obscure and interesting region. Sir Ernest Budge has availed himself of this mass of detail that from its very nature was "getting out of hand" and has distilled from it a very full and interesting account of the ancient history of Nubia. Abyssinia, on the other hand, presented far greater difficulties. Much of the early history of that country is purely legendary, and legend passes almost imperceptibly into recorded fact. Sir Ernest Budge's profound knowledge of Ethiopic literature has stood him in good stead. His editions of Ethiopic manuscripts must far outnumber those of any other scholar, and his wide experience of the language, diction, and literary style of the Ethiopic or Ge'ez books has enabled him to form a just estimate as to their value or otherwise as historic documents.

The long historical narrative revealed in these two handsome volumes is enriched with much information as to the language, literature, religious beliefs, and customs of the inhabitants of Abyssinia from age to age. As the bibliography printed at the end of the second volume shows, the material for the study of Abyssinian history and culture is scattered in a vast number of works, many, if not most, of them rare and difficult to obtain. Sir Ernest Budge's work is also a valuable contribution to the history of an important, but little known, phase in the annals of the Christian Church, and it will accordingly be of great advantage to students of ecclesiastical history. The whole work will be read with interest as an illuminating instance of the struggles between barbarism and culture, between human credulity and incredulity, of the influence upon one country of its neighbours, and of the clash of conflicting faiths.

The illustrations displayed in the text and in forty-nine plates are interesting and well chosen, but we think it would have been an advantage had these, and the chapters of the text, been numbered. Such a course would greatly have facilitated reference.



## LITERARY SECTION

## LEADING ARTICLE

## THE CULT OF THE COW

BY STANLEY RICE

It is our English fashion—perhaps it is universal—for all intelligent and thinking men to adopt without question the latest theory of the pandits, provided that it is sufficiently often repeated and has a respectable following among the members of that eclectic caste. Poor Galileo suffered from a splendid isolation, but when, too late for him, his theory was established by the professors everyone followed. I have no doubt that public opinion lagged even further behind Lister than did the sceptics of his own profession, and all the world accepted the etymological causes of malaria until Manson and Ross taught them that they were looking in the wrong place.

The problems of ancient India, like those of other hoary civilizations, are left severely to the pandits, who are, naturally enough, inclined to speak *ex cathedra*. And since these ancient Indian questions are so left to the Sanskrit scholars, they are, of course, interpreted in terms of Sanskrit. He who would convince anyone that these scholars are wrong is under a great disadvantage: he is tilting with a very ordinary spear of common make against those who wield the spear of Britomart, and equally, of course, it is more than likely that the fall will be his and not theirs. In this matter of the cow the Sanskrit gentlemen have frequently announced that the custom of cow worship is derived from the extreme utility of the cow to the Aryans. And so often has this theory been reiterated that it is now taken for granted by almost all who pretend to any knowledge of India and her customs. Its weakness lies in our comparative ignorance of the kind of civilization which the Aryans found in India and with which, of course, they must have come into contact. Over-emphasis upon the Aryan aspect may well lead to false conclusions.

Now the Vedas, to which everything of this kind must be referred back, are four in number. The first and by far the most important is the Rig-Veda; the Yajur, and Sâma-Vedas have in fact little interest for the student of ancient



cults, since they contain hardly anything that cannot be found in the Rig. The Atharva-Veda, which is much later, and which deals mainly with incantations and magic, lies under strong suspicion of being the product of the blend of Aryan civilization with its predecessor, namely the Dravidian.

Sacrifice is, of course, known to almost all ancient peoples, and the Rig-Veda mentions it frequently; but it is significant that the offerings of milk, ghee, and grain, and of the intoxicating liquor which was deified under the name of Soma, take equal rank with the sacrifice of animal life. Greater stress, it would seem, is laid upon the latter by the Yajur-Veda, which prescribes formulæ for the priest and is conceived in the spirit of Leviticus. What was it that brought about the change? How came it that as time went on the sacrifice became more important than the gods for whom it was performed and changed the hymns of praise into the formulæ of ritual? It is, of course, possible to argue that such a transition was simply the result of evolution. The change of climate and of habits, the influence of a more settled life, and the tendency of religion to develop into a system combined to give the priests a more dominant status and their sacrificial functions a certain factitious importance, just as in modern times the severity of certain forms of Christian worship is based upon the fear lest the accompaniments of ritual should obscure the deeper meaning of religion. It is equally possible to argue that the earlier Aryan religion became modified by contact with the cults already established in the country. The observation of Bishop Whitehead has shown us what an important part animal sacrifice plays in the village cults of the Telugu country, and the bloody sacrifices of Kali, who is usually considered to be an incarnation absorbed into the Hinduism of Bengal from an earlier cult after the accommodating fashion of the religion, are further evidence that points to the same conclusion.

But although blood flows freely in the sacrifices, the cow is a notable exception. How came it that this extraordinary reverence for bull or cow arose and became so deeply rooted that, as everyone knows, it is now not only a Hindu tenet, but is the cause of endless strife between Hindu and Muslim? It is usually suggested that when the invaders reached the fertile plains of India they settled down to a pastoral life, and that the oxen became the staff of existence—the cow for milk and butter, the ox for draught and field work—so that, dependent as they were upon the cow, the



Aryans in time came to worship her. Thus Professor Berriedale Keith, after recording that the Aryans slaughtered oxen, as "in some degree a sacrificial act" and in any case as an act of hospitality, is driven to point out that "there is no inconsistency between the eating of flesh and the growing sanctity of the cow, which bears already in the Rig-Veda the epithet 'aghnya,' not to be killed." But he adds significantly, "if this interpretation of the term is correct," implying that there is some doubt about it. And he draws the conclusion that it is "merely a proof of the high value attached to that useful animal, the source of the milk which meant so much both for secular and sacred use to the Vedic Indian." But the practice of eating flesh, and even the flesh of cows and oxen, continued, for the same author tells us that though "the eating of meat is indeed here and there censured, as, for instance, in a hymn of the Atharva-Veda, where meat-eating is censured . . . it was still the custom to slay a great ox or goat for the entertainment of a guest." The mention of the Atharva-Veda should be noted, as it has a bearing on the argument. Later on, in the period of the Sutras and Epics, it is, according to Professor Washburn Hopkins, "an old rite of hospitality to kill a cow for a guest." But the practice of "ahimsa" had been growing, and it was common to offer the animal to the guest, who refused it. It was nevertheless killed if the owner wished to kill it; the offer to the guest seems to have been a piece of formality, to be refused formally, much as swords are offered and returned as a knightly and graceful ceremony today. Clearly, then, the Aryans both ate and sacrificed the cow, and the custom very gradually grew into disfavour, until it disappeared altogether.

The utilitarian argument must always be regarded with some suspicion, especially when dealing with Eastern customs. It is true that the rite of circumcision and the denial of pork to Moslems are attributed with great force to hygienic causes which have been elevated into religious sanctions in order to make them obligatory. In those cases the connection is obvious; it is not at all obvious in the case of the Aryans. We have seen that the argument from the Rig-Veda depends on a single word of doubtful interpretation, though there are certainly other references to cattle in the hymns. On the other hand, the Aryans would naturally have prized the horse more as the animal of battle and conquest; and so we find that the gods "drive through the air in cars drawn chiefly by horses,



but sometimes by other animals." And later on it is the horse sacrifice which is the emblem of Imperial claim, and therefore to be performed very rarely, and only by kings. The comparison of gods to bulls, which occurs in the Rig-Veda, proves nothing; Eastern literature is full of imagery, and even we describe men as "bold as a lion" and "sly as a fox." On the other hand, "actual direct worship of animals is hardly found in the Rig-Veda." It is a far cry from prizing an animal to worshipping it, and yet worship is hardly too strong a term for the feeling of Indians towards the cow today. Now the Rig-Veda nearly always mentions cattle simply as valuable property. A typical hymn to Indra says:

"Who slew the serpent, freed the seven rivers,  
Who drove the cattle out of Vala's cavern.

\* \* \* \* \*

A conqueror in fights; he, men, is Indra."

Indra, too, slew the demons Arbuda and Visvarupa, whose cows in each case he seized. Cows in such cases simply mean wealth, and it would seem therefore that the theory of Aryan origin for the reverence paid to the cow rests on very inadequate grounds.

There are more solid foundations for the suggestion that the sanctity of cattle is in origin Dravidian. The cow is every bit as holy in the south as in the north, and perhaps the more so because the south is pre-eminently the home of the Saiva cult, and, as everyone knows, the bull is sacred to Siva. If, as Professor Rapson says, the Dravidians retain their own customs, it is difficult to see why they should have adopted the reverence for the cow, unless in obedience to the laws of Manu, which no doubt became universal. Just as caste is said to be more strictly observed in the south than in the north, so one might have expected that an Aryan custom would have been observed in the north with enthusiasm, in the south with indifference. But, as I have just said, this is not so.

It is admitted that the Dravidian civilization preceded the Aryan in North India, and it is in accordance with all theories and known facts of primitive races that, after the nomadic and hunting stages were passed, the pastoral stage supervened. It requires no great straining of argument to assume that the Dravidians followed the usual law, and had settled down in the fertile plains of India when the Aryan invasion burst upon them. Now pastoral people are inclined to worship deities of fertility, for it is a tendency of all



early races to suppose some supernatural power in charge of the various departments of human welfare. In Egypt the bull Apis has been identified with Osiris, though whether as an incarnation of the god or as the fusion with him of other separate deities does not exactly appear. That, however, does not matter. This incarnation of the fertility spirit is found also in various parts of Europe, and incarnations of other animals in other parts of the world. As the Aryans came from outside India, it might be that they had adopted the custom from their previous contact with other races, but this can hardly be the case since, as we have seen, the *Rig-Veda* is silent on the worship of animals, and the mention of cattle never suggests that they were held in any particular reverence. But we do know that the aboriginal tribes, displaced by the Dravidians, conceived the idea of a fertility spirit, the best-known example being that of the Khonds with their human "Meriah" sacrifice. A more civilized people would naturally object to human sacrifice, though even that is not wholly unknown in parts of India. What, then, is more probable than that the cow was looked upon as the fertility spirit, for which, of course, she would be admirably suited as the beneficent giver of natural gifts to man?

It will be admitted that this hypothesis is more satisfactory than the Aryan theory, because it does away with the utilitarian explanation which is not, and substitutes the religious basis, which is, in accordance with primitive custom. It also explains why the Aryans did not reverence the cow at first, and yet subsequently came to regard it with almost superstitious veneration, exalting it practically to the position of a minor deity. As they advanced into India they found the cult of the fertility deity already established, and grafted it on to their own creed as conquering nations are so prone to do when they settle down in a land already occupied by a cultured people. Gradually the idea of fertility would disappear, the sacrifices would be discontinued, and the cow, retaining its sanctity, would be regarded as a being which to kill would be sacrilege. The Dravidians who had settled or been driven farther south would, of course, have retained their own customs, which, as in many other cases scattered over the pages of Sir J. G. Frazer's historic work, would have undergone a like process of modification. We have thus a perfectly rational and probable explanation of the universal respect for the cow, even in the inconvenient south. The opposite hypothesis assumes that the conquered peoples of the north took on a



custom which was itself foreign to their conquerors, and that it was then imposed upon the south, which was perfectly free to reject it, either because it approved the idea, or in obedience to laws promulgated for the whole country. This involves a great many difficulties, which, if not insuperable, can only be solved in an awkward and unsatisfactory way.

The argument would be greatly strengthened if it could be shown that Siva was originally conceived as a fertility god, for the attribution of the bull to him would then be parallel to the case of Apis and Osiris up to the point of the complete absorption of the one into the other. The proposition does not seem capable of exact proof, but there are certain indications which suggest that it may be correct. It is usual to label the Trimurti with the three general names of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer; but it is evident that all three require explanation, if we are not to be deceived by catchwords. In what sense are we to interpret these names? If Siva were simply the Destroyer, we should expect that his worship would be dictated by fear, as was the case in Greece with the Eumenides; but in the south, where Saiva-worship has its stronghold, there is no indication of this. It seems rather that Siva should be regarded as the Destroyer and Regenerator, or, in more mystical language, the Purifier. This view is supported by two legends—the one in which Siva, as Nilakanta, swallows the poison intended for the injury of the human race, and the other, in which, as Rudra, he quenches the personification of lust with his fiery eye. In both cases he is working for the good of humanity—in the first as Protector, and in the second as Destroyer of evil things. It is significant that the worship of Kali, the Shakti of Siva, and the Destroyer *par excellence*, is either not known in the south, or has at least no importance. If Kali be a survival of an older cult, we should expect to find her worship predominant in the Dravidian country rather than in Bengal, which has been so much more subject to Aryan and other influences. It would seem that Bengal adopted her from some primitive cult as the female counterpart of the Vedic Rudra, rather than of the less terrible Siva of the south. No great stretch of imagination is needed to see how the attributes of Siva were gradually transferred from the physical to the moral sphere, from the destruction and regeneration of nature to the purification of the soul.

A further justification for this view is to be found in the association of the lingam with the bull as the special attri-



butes of Siva. Whatever may be thought of the bull, no one has ever doubted that the lingam represents the principle of reproduction, as indeed is sufficiently obvious. What, then, is the bull? Is it simply the vehicle of Siva, like the horses of the South Indian Aiyamar, which are put ready for him to ride upon in making his rounds of the village? If so, why is it so constant, and why is it so generally in the same position, facing the shrine, as though it were the custodian? Siva is not conceived as requiring a steed always ready for use, and the vahanams of other deities are not placed in this conspicuous and invariable position. At Conjivaram, during the Garuda festival, the gods ride round the town on various steeds, but these are taken from the store rooms of the temple, where, during the rest of the year, they are kept. In its immobility, in its position, in the artistic care of its fashioning, the Saiva Bull or Nandi seems to be in a class by itself. If this be granted, there must be some special motive for the peculiarity, and that motive, taken together with the lingam and with the character of Siva as the Destroyer and Reproducer, can hardly be anything but the worship of the principle of fertility.

But it may be objected that Siva is only the development of Rudra, who is without any doubt whatsoever a Vedic god. He is said to be the god of the Storm Blasts, whose children are the Maruts, personifications of the wind in its various phases, from the thunder-gales of the tropics to the beneficent breezes. Says a hymn :

"When mountains bow before your march,  
And rivers, too, before your rule,  
Before your mighty roaring blast."

And again :

"From heaven Maruts bring to us  
Abundant wealth, distilling joy,  
With plenteous food all nourishing."

*Rig-Veda*, viii., 7.

Rudra is the Vedic deity who is malevolent, but he too has his beneficent side. Though he is "implored not to slay or injure in his anger his worshippers and their belongings," he is also invoked as "best of all physicians."

"Where is that gracious hand of thine, O Rudra,  
That is so full of remedies and coolness?"

*Rig-Veda*, ii., 33.

Professor MacDonell explains that "the deprecations of his wrath led to the application to him of the euphemistic epithet



Siva, 'Auspicious,' the regular name of Rudra's historical successor in post-Vedic mythology." Nearly all this has been lost in his later character. He is no longer a nature god of the Storm, nor is he specially connected with medicine, but the attribute of Destroyer certainly suggests the storm as one manifestation of destruction, as his attribute of Reproduction suggests as one manifestation the healing physician. On the other hand, though the former is self-evident, it is only by a process of *a posteriori* reasoning that we can read the Reproducer into the physician, and it is significant that in the later mythology the healing side of Rudra's character has been dropped. For with the exception of Vishnu, Rudra is the only Vedic god who has kept his place in the hierarchical system, and as embodying one side of the god Siva he is always the terrible god. Mahadeva and the many variants of Iswara may inspire awe, or reverence, fear, or even love, but Rudra fear alone. This complete disappearance of one side of Rudra's character and the transference of the other from the Storm god, who destroys the just and unjust alike, to the Destroyer of all evil things suggests that the Vedic god came into contact with some other god already established who possessed similar attributes, and having regard to the usual custom of primitive peoples, it is not unreasonable to suppose that that deity was a god of fertility. The fusion of one god with another is not unknown, as we have seen in the case of Apis and Osiris, and though the Egyptian culture may have been single and undivided, it is quite probable that the Vedic Aryans after they had settled in the country combined with Dravidians to form a distinct civilization. The fact that the original Vedic nature gods gradually vanished suggests that the Aryans had come into contact with new ideas which profoundly modified their metaphysical conceptions. Let it be remembered that it was only the monotheistic and patriotic fervour of such men as Elijah that prevented the Israelites from combining the worship of Jahveh with that of the tribal gods revered by the surrounding peoples.

Lest the foregoing discussion should offend any Indian friends, let me remind them that of the four great world religions, only two go back to those prehistoric times when primitive man first put into shape his conceptions of the supernatural. Christianity is as much the offspring of Judaism as Buddhism of Brahmanism, and, to go no further back than the great exodus from Egypt, we know that Jahveh was at first the tribal god who had taken Israel into his special protection—a jealous god who visited the sins of the



fathers on the children, and an awful god who appeared in storm and thunder. The loving kindness of God was a far later conception, and the Fatherhood belongs specially to the Christian development. The God whom Christians worship is no more like the original Jahveh than is the Siva of today like that conjectural god whom we have been considering or the Rudra of the Rig-Veda.

The cult of the bull, which if there be any validity in the argument may be claimed by South India as the modern representative of Dravidian culture, has had an almost incalculable effect on Indian life. One may indeed hazard the conjecture that out of it arose the doctrine of ahimsa which appealed so strongly to Gautama and reached its extreme limit in the religion of Mahavira. On the other hand, the sanctity of human life is a doctrine specially characteristic of the West, which again is somewhat prodigal of animal life. The very existence of capital punishment and the controversy that has raged round it is proof of Western respect for human life, for it is the main argument of its supporters that nothing short of the punishment of death is sufficient to meet the case of intentional homicide, while their opponents contend that in no circumstances whatever is man justified in taking the life of his fellow in cold blood and under the shelter of supposed justice. But to hunt the fox, to shoot the tiger under conditions that give him no chance, to kill birds and slaughter sheep and cattle for food and to capture fish—these are all everyday occurrences which it is only the occupation of a crank to dispute. In India, however, those very men who showed such scrupulous care for animal life clung tenaciously to the custom of burning the widow, showed the utmost fortitude in their extremity by slaying wives and children before going to their own certain death in battle, slew father or mother by consent to take revenge on an enemy, and submitted sometimes to a voluntary death in the ecstasy of devotion. Is it not at least probable that the whole idea of ahimsa arose from the peculiar sanctity of the bull and cow, to slay which was ranked among the most heinous offences?

There are two main directions in which the effect of this cult is seen. The first is, of course, that it has provided a fruitful source of friction between the chief elements of the population. Apart from the frequent collisions which it has occasioned, it shows itself now and again in unexpected places. I once had to try a case in which a Hindu killed a quite inoffensive Mussulman whom he had never seen before merely because he belonged to a class which killed



cattle. He had worked himself up to this frenzy by walking in the dead of night several times round the slaughter-house, which his imagination no doubt peopled with the ghosts of slaughtered cattle, and proceeded at once to slay the first Mussulman he met, who happened to be a fellow scaring birds in a fruit garden. The sin of murdering the innocent man was in his eyes slight beside the awful crime on cows committed not by the victim but by the class to which he belonged.

The second effect is economic. The cult of the cow is the despair of agriculturists in India. Except in the case of the temple bull, sacred *par excellence*, which wanders through bazaars taking mouthfuls of what he fancies, the Indian reverence only extends to the actual preservation of life, and this naturally results in the survival of the unfittest. Indian pasture grounds are usually inadequate both in quantity and quality—in quantity owing to the pressure of cultivation for the subsistence of ever growing numbers, in quality chiefly because of the natural conditions, but partly also because over-grazing never gives Nature a chance. Not only does this involve inadequate nourishment for the stronger stock, but the crowding together of all sorts and conditions often leads to indiscriminate breeding and to feeble offspring, chiefly owing to the mothers, since castration of bulls is an everyday practice. This, of course, reacts on the by-products and especially on the supply of good manure, but so deeply rooted is the cult that the eyot would rather forgo material advantage than be guilty of sin against a cow or bull—a proof, we may note in passing, of the spiritual claim of India.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

## INDIA

STUDIES OF AN IMPERIALIST. By Lord Sydenham of Combe. (*Chapman and Hall.*) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK.)

OF the many forcible articles or speeches by Lord Sydenham reproduced in this volume the three relating to India are naturally those which will attract most interest from the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. They represent the author's views in 1913 on Indian nationalism, in 1918 on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and on the actual working of the Reforms in 1923.

In the first of these articles we have the author's impressions when he was fresh from his administration of the Bombay Presidency, and he quotes with approval Sir Valentine Chirol's pronouncement on the illusory character of Indian nationalism, based on a temporary and unnatural alliance between Brahmanism and the Western educated. It is customary among persons who imagine that they have the monopoly of liberal ideas to dismiss Lord Sydenham's utterances as those of a reactionary and a diehard. These like to think of themselves as the only people possessed of vision, forgetting that there is all the difference between the man of vision who knows the facts as they are, and the pure visionary who ignores all the facts and whose visions are nothing but castles in the air. But Lord Sydenham's "diehardism," if that term be conceded for the sake of argument, is not based on that obstinacy of self-assurance which distinguishes the doctrinaire, but on hard facts and bitter experience. A man of wide knowledge of men of affairs, he went to Bombay with the strongest possible desire to cultivate and bring out the very best faculties of the Indian *intelligentsia*. So strong in this desire was he that in the early period of his Governorship he was freely criticized by British opinion in India for excessive indulgence to extreme Indian politicians. It was only when he found, after fair trial, that an attempt to conciliate Indian agitators was a mere labour of Sisyphus that he felt obliged to take new bearings. His description of the Indian Nationalist whose national ideal is confined to "the attainment of power for himself and his class" was true in 1913, and is still true today. It is not the fault of the Indians of today that they are not a nation any more than it is the fault of Europeans that there is no nation which can call itself the European nation. Indians belong to several nationalities, which, though to some extent intermixed, have never amalgamated into one because, firstly, the area called India is too vast, and, secondly, intermarriage has been interdicted, and disobedience by individuals to this prohibition, entailing as it does loss of property and social status, has been confined to a negligible



few. Such union as there is between these various races in India consists of their common allegiance to British rule. Take away that rule and the bond of union is gone. As Lord Sydenham has said: "Were we to abdicate in favour of the 'Nationalists,' there would be no materials from which to form and no democrats to administer a democracy."

The second study on India is a speech which Lord Sydenham delivered in the House of Lords in 1918 in criticism of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. It was trenchant criticism—what he said was true. Nothing was truer than his statement that the Report came before Parliament without any *pièces justificatives*. That was Mr. Montagu's political adroitness. Nothing before the Report was to count, for it brought into the horizon what he called a new angle of vision. All, therefore, that had been written on the subject was "raw material." So far from much of it being the raw material of the Report, it was material thrown into the waste-paper basket, because the recommendations contained in that Report would have been seriously prejudiced if the rejected matter had been published. Lord Sydenham's wise words of warning were just neglected, because in the atmosphere that then prevailed no one wanted to listen. Mr. Montagu was so carried away with enthusiasm for his great ideal that he no longer wanted advice. But that his insight was at fault should have become clear to him because of the many checks and safeguards which even he was obliged to introduce into his scheme, checks and safeguards which clearly showed that the soil was quite unsuitable for the exotic plant that he sought to produce. If Mr. Montagu had listened to those who, from long observation, understood the people, educated and uneducated, and what the objectives of the former were, he would have known that the attempted conciliation of this class never could bring peace. On the morrow of the last concession given to them the agitator begins asking for something more, and every new concession merely increases the demand for something greater. In the meantime, in his eagerness to "produce a calm atmosphere"—one of Mr. Montagu's favourite fallacies—safeguards at first proposed were either given up or made nugatory. Deluded by his own optimistic imagination, Mr. Montagu proceeded to shed much of the caution which here and there appeared in the famous Report, and, as Lord Sydenham tells us, "the Bill emerged in a form which rendered the Government of India far weaker, especially in regard to finance, than the Report itself appears to have contemplated, and all the conditions which Lord Curzon had laid down were flagrantly violated."

In the third of his Studies, written in 1923, Lord Sydenham refers to some of the actions of the Legislative Assembly. By 1928 members of this Assembly have excelled in their attacks upon the Government of India and have dealt blows at its influence, which are having the most disastrous effect on its reputation and on the future and peace of India.

The frank utterance of Mr. Lionel Curtis which has been quoted by Lord Sydenham—viz., that "we may have to look on while the helpless people are being injured by their own electorates"—is the utterance of a constitu-



tion-maker who apparently did not at the time think of the nature of the injuries involved, when the words he used came to be translated into actual facts. "That," says Lord Sydenham, "is what I think we can never do while we remain in India." From our position in India the people expect us to interfere in such circumstances, and have a right to do so. They will blame us and not their representatives if they suffer such injuries, and the representatives themselves will take care that the blame is attributed to the British Government and its officers.

Lord Sydenham has examined the results of the first three or four years of the working of the Reforms, and shows how differently things have turned out from the optimistic anticipations of the authors. He once more reviews the manner in which Mr. Montagu secured the assent of Parliament to the scheme as finally embodied in the Act of 1919, and his evidence on this point is unquestionable, for he was an inside witness of the procedure followed. The greatest error that the reformers made was in believing that the scheme would bring satisfaction and peace in those Indian political circles which affected to feel the greatest discontent. All prophecies that this peace would not be brought have been proved up to the hilt by subsequent history, and still there are people who will not be convinced by these prophecies, "even though one rose from the dead." It is now the task of the Simon Commission to recommend the course that should be followed. But it must surely be clear, to all who have followed the recent proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, how illogical it is to give power to politicians over the Central Government who, in their own Provincial Governments, are not yet entrusted with the maintenance of peace and order. The Assembly, in the opinion of many, while triumphantly wrecking the measures of the Government of India, and indeed of the Parliament at Westminster, *vide* its rejection of the Navy Bill, has been steadily digging the grave of its own reputation.

Lord Sydenham's book is styled "The Studies of an Imperialist." To some shallow-thinking minds this title is self-condemnatory as an index of a jingo mentality, but only to those who have no understanding of what the British Empire stands for, not only in India but in the whole world to-day, or of the truth that, if the British Empire fell, with it would fall the greatest bulwark of human liberties in the world.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF C. R. DAS. By Prithwis Chandra Ray.  
Illustrated. (Oxford University Press.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

This book, to use the author's words, describes "the greatest Bengali in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the founder and builder of the best organized school of political thought in India," together with a systematic account of the rise and growth of the Nationalist movement in Bengal and its subsequent effect on other provinces of India. No authentic or standard work dealing with the history of the political



evolution of India during the lifetime of C. R. Das has hitherto appeared, but, though the want of such a work is in part supplied by the volume under review, sufficient material remains for a thoroughly exhaustive account of the subject. The author of this work, Mr. P. C. Ray, whose lamented death occurred shortly before its publication, was well qualified for the task he undertook. Not only was he one of the most accomplished journalists of his time in India, but his moderation and sobriety of judgment always commanded the respect of the more reasonable section of Indian politicians, while he had the advantage of an intimate acquaintance with Mr. C. R. Das.

The author surveys the history of Bengal during the mid-Victorian era, when a strong spirit of unrest pervaded its literary, social, political, and administrative conditions, and draws a vivid picture of the state of the province at the time of the birth of the future political leader of Bengal, who was destined to lead his countrymen still further towards the goal of self-determination and national self-consciousness.

Chitta Ranjan Das belonged to a well-known family in the Dacca district, whose interest in the reform movement in Bengal had been social rather than political. Mr. Das was destined to depart from the family tradition. Neither in India nor in England was his academic career of a brilliant character, but he achieved striking success both in the profession of law and also as a political leader of his countrymen. He had considerable literary ability and possessed some talent for poetry. The sterling qualities of his character were such that his inherent Indian culture and tradition remained unaffected by the influence of his Western education. To these qualities were added a generous support of all philanthropic work and a readiness to make personal sacrifices for the good of others. He had been for some years in practice at the Bar when he made his mark by defending political cases of a seditious nature, and his able advocacy of the Manicktollah bomb conspirators established his fame as a great criminal lawyer.

Mr. Das did not begin to take an active part in politics till 1917, but between that time and his death in 1924 he gradually rose to the position of undisputed political leader of the province. The question of India's demand for *Swaraj* occupied a great deal of his time and thought, and his interpretation of the word *Swaraj* differed at various times. It is difficult to estimate the effect of the efforts made by him towards the materialization of *Swaraj*. The author of this book has admirably summarized the history of the constitutional development in India; the Gandhi cult or the Non-co-operation movement; the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms; the boycott of the Councils; and has emphasized the fact of Mr. Das's active participation in the opposition to the measures initiated under the reforms advocated by the bureaucracy. In 1922, in his presidential address at the Gaya Congress, Mr. Das made a new departure in his policy by advocating the entry of Indians into the Councils, and in the following year devoted his attention entirely to the organization of the *Swarajya* party and the initiation of a fresh political movement in the country. His activities



in that direction continued till the end of his life, and no other leader of Bengal commanded in the same degree the respect and confidence of his followers. This was amply demonstrated after his death by the crowds which accompanied his body to the funeral pyre. Mr. Ray summed up the work of C. R. Das in the following striking passage :

"Taking everything together, Chitta Ranjan's memory will be cherished by his grateful countrymen as that of a builder rather than a destroyer. When he entered Indian politics he found political ideals and parties in a most nebulous and chaotic condition. The masses generally, and a large portion of the classes, were still sleeping in the long night of mediæval mysticism and inaction. Chitta Ranjan whipped up his people from this deep somnolence, brought them face to face with the gravity of their condition, and awakened them to a consciousness of nationhood. He worked day and night for a few years, spent laborious days and sleepless nights, and left behind him a party which, for the first time in the history of India, knows its mind, and can gather courage enough to follow its convictions. This will remain the principal landmark of his political work—a whole people brought under a common standard, inspired by ideals of self-help and determination, and set to work out their own destiny without any extraneous aid or help."

Mr. Ray's book everywhere gives evidence of a well-balanced judgment, and its value is further enhanced by the incorporation in the Appendix of a number of important documents, such as extracts from the political speeches of Mr. Das and others bearing on Indian reform and administration. The book is not, however, without some defects. Mr. Ray's style is at times wanting in strength, and his comparisons of historical characters are not always happily made. For some other minor blemishes, such as the misspelling of Indian names, responsibility cannot be said to rest with the author, whose untimely death prevented him from seeing the work through the press. Considered as a whole, the work appears to be a valuable contribution to the history of the Nationalist movement in India.

GREAT QUEENS (FAMOUS WOMEN RULERS OF THE EAST). By the late Lady Glover. (*Hutchinson.*) 16s. net.

(Reviewed by MRS. N. C. SEN.)

A very fascinating book. The authoress was a great traveller, and had an intimate knowledge of the East and an intense love for her own sex. She made herself one with the women of every land, and was proud of their achievements.

She has shown in this book, over and over again, that ability is not a monopoly of one race, nor of one sex, and that women of intelligence, given opportunities and education, are capable everywhere of adapting themselves to any responsible position.

She has depicted portraits of many well-known women rulers of the



East, some of past ages and some of the present day. Among the latter is Her Highness the Maharani Regent of Cooch Behar, whose picture on the title-page makes an attractive introduction to the subject of the book. Lady Glover has stated facts with true understanding, and thus has made it very pleasant reading.

The examples of Queen Chand, the Rani of Jhansi, the Dowager Empress of China, the Empresses of Abyssinia, the Begums of Bhopal, and of the New Zealand Heroine are all inspiring.

It is a pity that the price of the book is so high. I hope there will be a popular edition for the general public.

A work of this kind helps people of different nationalities to know that human nature all over the world is the same.

The authoress evidently had a shrewd mind and always saw beneath the surface. It is sad to think that she did not live to see the publication of her book. She rendered a great service both to the East and the West. The women of the West are sure to find in the narratives of these Eastern women counterparts of many great women of their own—as the authoress herself found—and I think it would make a fine textbook for schoolgirls in all the English-speaking countries.

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REPORT ON LABOUR CONDITIONS IN INDIA. By A. A. Purcell, M.P., and J. Hallsworth. (*British Trades Union Congress Delegation to India.*) 1s. net.

The writers of this report should have started with agriculture and made it the basis of their whole report, for without a careful study of the agricultural labourer and small farmer, an understanding of the Indian factory labour problem is impossible. The Indian worker in organized industry is an agricultural labourer spoiled. He has been squeezed off his tiny plot of land or out of his village by his inability to make a living with his existing methods. He brings to his new employment neither skill, physique, nor an ambition to succeed; merely the capacity to do inferior work for a low wage, ample, however, for his material needs in most cases, and far higher than anything he could earn in his village, to which his only ambition is to return, as soon as he can save enough money.

So long as these conditions last, he will never acquire operative skill. But he loves not town life; to pay rent at all seems to a man who lived rent free in a hovel built by his own labour of free materials a monstrous imposition, and he mitigates it as far as possible by taking two or three more families as lodgers into his ten foot by ten room, till it contains, one cannot say accommodates, twenty or more persons.

To achieve intellectual uplift, sanitary surroundings, or a decent wage for good work, for such a man is almost a matter for despair. His earning power and that of the infinitely more numerous farm labourers and small tenants that make up the vast majority of the population of India is far too small to support the cost of modern ideals in education



and sanitation—a cost greatly increased by the stolid resistance which meets the would-be reformer. A year's work as health officer of an Indian municipality or as finance member of a local Government would show the authors a few of the obstacles which stand between the state of affairs which they see, or think they see, and that which they would fain have.

For they do not always see what they think they see. The juxtaposition of a whip-holding tea-planter to a gang of coolies does not mean the application of the whip to the coolies, or the young "creeper" would lose his job in five minutes. The "fiscalism" which the Indian cotton trade "have had a generation of," "all in its own way," consisted of a five per cent. excise tax levied on Indian cotton mills at the dictation of Lancashire. European education in India is more expensive than Indian education because it costs a European more to live in India than an Indian. But the European pays for a much larger share of his own education than the Indian does. The cost of education plays no part in the backwardness of the working classes, for primary education is free, and far more generally available than "availed of." The expenditure of the local Governments on education is not the only public money so spent; the various local bodies subsidize it largely. This error has been often repeated and exposed.

The delegates have rightly pointed out that labour unions received a great impetus from the Washington Conference of the I.L.O. (and a still greater one from the industrial boom that synchronized with it). But they do not mention that the way had been paved years before by European and Anglo-Indian unions, which have now for the most part found it impossible to co-operate with Indian unions. They are right also in refusing to be alarmed by the fact that labour leaders in India are not labourers; but the process of substitution will be much slower in India than in England.

The report is interesting, and by no means only from mistakes like those pointed out above. The delegation forms a distinct landmark in the history of Indian organized labour. Visits like this may teach Indian labour some of the lessons of self-help, self-respect, and solidarity that English trade unions have taught themselves; let us hope that they will be often enough repeated to teach the delegates themselves a little more about India and the difficulties that beset those who work for her progress under the most Socialistic Government that the world has so far seen.

THE GURKHAS: THEIR NAMES, CUSTOMS, AND COUNTRY. By Major W. Brook Northey and Captain C. J. Morris. (*John Lane.*) 18s. net.

There are not many books of recent date dealing with the interesting country of Nepal, and apart from this fact the present addition to this literature will be appreciated on account of its reliable information. The volume opens with a short history of Nepal of sixty-two pages.



Then follow chapters on the People, the Language, Religion, Government, and a description of the various parts of Nepal.

Although Nepal is an independent State, the British are entitled to enlist Gurkhas for service in the Indian Army, and both officers have had occasion to live in the country and to be in charge of Gurkha contingents. It can safely be stated that the information provided is authoritative, and that especially the social life has been adequately described. There is no doubt that this volume will be read with profit in India as well as in England.

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INDIAN FINANCE IN THE DAYS OF THE COMPANY. By Professor Pramathanath Banerjea. (*Macmillan.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The author has already made a name through his previous works on Indian Economics, and has now added one which is the first sound and comprehensive treatise on the period of 1765 to 1858.

Though Mr. Banerjea gives in the Appendixes a number of statistics, he has treated his subject chiefly from the historical side, with full chapters on the Financial System, the Resources of the East India Company, and Civil and Military Expenditure.

We prophesy that the volume will be widely studied by the Government Departments, as well as by students of Economics, who will find in it accurate and thorough information, with references throughout showing the writer's indefatigable diligence.

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AN INFREQUENTED HIGHWAY THROUGH SIKKIM AND TIBET TO CHUMOLAORI. By John Easton. (*The Scholastic Press.*) 21s. net.

This is a beautiful book, printed in fine type and on good white paper. The illustrations are also very well done, giving a good idea of the country. The text is rather short, and the anecdotes and incidents might have been supplemented by additional information regarding the native population, the country, or its life.

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ASOKA. By Radhakumud Mookerji. (*Macmillan.*) 21s. net.

Although a number of books on Asoka have been issued, especially in English and in German, we welcome this new, complete, and masterful publication by the well-known scholar, Professor R. Mookerji of Lucknow. For his purpose the author has taken into account all the latest discoveries, and has given a detailed account of Asoka's life and Government, taking account of the famous monuments, the original text of the inscriptions, with a new English rendering, and scholarly notes.

The Appendix on the grammar and dialect of the Inscriptions is a most happy ending to a valuable work, though the special work of Mr. Woolner is, of course, to be remembered in this connection.

What we miss in the volume is an enumeration of all literature so far issued on the subject, with short notices. Within the book, reference is made to all of it, but for the busy student a handy bibliography would



have been of great service. Perhaps the author will bear this in mind when a second edition will appear.

Of late, Indian professors have proved that they can fall in line with modern European methods, and Professor Mookerji is certainly one of the foremost.

SANTAL FOLK-TALES. Edited and translated by P. O. Boddington.

Two vols. (Oslo: H. Aschehorig and Co.)

The Santals are an old tribe who have lived in India since before the advent of the Aryan. They inhabit the Western frontier of Lower Bengal from Orissa to Bhagalpur, and Santali is spoken by over a million people. Accordingly, we receive here an insight into the life and beliefs prevalent in early India, which are now fast disappearing. We have to thank Mr. Boddington, a Norwegian missionary, for having collected, before it is too late, a comprehensive series of these Santal folk-tales. On the one side, the author has given the Santali text, and on the opposite page, in an excellent rendering, the English translation. The first volume contains the stories about jackals and women, and the second volume gives the humorous tales and the stories regarding ogres. The notes which are to be found on every page elucidate the stories, and furnish a large amount of inside information concerning the native population and their habits.

There are many folk-lore societies throughout the world and also many people who like to dip into the past history of nations. To these we would recommend the above-mentioned two stately volumes: their perusal is bound to arouse sympathy with the Santals. It will be recalled that the first comprehensive grammar was compiled in 1873 by another Norwegian, the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, and a large dictionary by the Scottish missionary, A. Campbell, in 1899.

DUPLEIX ET L'INDE FRANÇAISE. By A. Martineau. Vol. IV. (Paris: Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises.) 50 fr.

The new volume of this treatise on the French struggle for supremacy in India concludes with the recall of Dupleix and begins with the events in 1751. Mr. Martineau has thoroughly investigated his subject, with the result that his views regarding the relation of Dupleix with his chiefs in France are different from those generally put forward. At any rate, the authorities in Paris did not like the idea that a Trading Company should be engaged in war. In consequence of his failure at Trichinopoly, Godehen was sent out in order to take charge of the French interests in India. Mr. Martineau appears to agree with the French Company on the military side, as recent events have taught him that nothing is stable in this world, and that it is not easy for any nation to impose its will upon another race with its teeming millions, when that race develops "self-consciousness."



AU PAYS DE TAGORE. La civilisation rurale du Bengale occidental et ces facteurs géographiques. By Arthur Geddes. (Paris: Colin.) 25 francs.

As stated by Mr. Demangeon in his Preface, the remarkable feature of this volume is the manner in which the author has amalgamated European and Indian thought. After having familiarized himself with European scientific methods, the author attended the school of the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in order to understand the Hindu mind. For several months he resided at Santi-Niketan, the abode of peace in Bengal, in the midst of the men who wished to reorganize the country life in Bengal on a solid basis. His studies and conclusions are profound for the reason that they are based on observations made on the spot. The volume is embellished by the vivid style of the author, who combines in his descriptions the genius of the artist and the poet.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF ROME. By H. G. Rawlinson. (Cambridge University Press.) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

The first edition of this book appeared about ten years ago. We are glad now to have a new and cheaper edition which will enable many more students who have no knowledge of European classics of acquiring some information concerning the earliest intercourse between India and the Western world. The author has treated his subject well, and gives in a compact form in eight chapters a systematic account of all references derived from Greek and Roman literature relating to intercourse between India and the Western world in the period chosen; the latter, beginning with the earliest times, goes down to the fall of Babylon and includes the Persian and Maurya Empires, the Greek and semi-Greek dynasties of the Panjab. The chapter on the Ptolemys shows that during their rule there was very little direct trade between Egypt and India; and the reader must not omit to study the chapters on "India and the Roman Empire," which are specially valuable. In the last chapter Professor Rawlinson has admirably summed up the results of his research. He has also provided us with a useful bibliography which will afford much help to those who are interested in ancient Indian history.

#### NETHERLANDS INDIES

VOLKENKUNDIGE OPSTELLEN. II. (Amsterdam: Kolonial Institut.) Fl. 6.

(Reviewed by JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The Colonial Institute of Amsterdam is steadily adding to the scientific material lavishly placed at the disposal of the student of the Netherlands East Indies. The three essays which compose the above volume maintain the excellent standard set by the long list of Dutch colonial contributions to the ethnology of their Eastern Island Empire.

As an important means of studying the language, sounding the thoughts



and apprehending the traditions of races and peoples, popular riddles have long been recognized as ranking in utility with fables, myths, and other elements of folklore. The improvising of riddles and their solving as a social entertainment is common to many Oriental races and widely prevalent throughout Insulinde. In several parts a regular system of forfeits and ransoms has been developed. So much so, that among certain Batak tribes in Sumatra this "riddle of the riddle" has gained currency: "if it *is* captured, it is *not* ransomed; if it is *not* captured, it *is* ransomed." Isolated references to, as well as more detailed enumerations of, traditional riddles have been frequently published. Thus Meyer Ranneft has collected several which are current among the Javanese; Joustra has recorded a number of the Bataks; Adriani and Kruyt have collected those in common use among the Toradja tribes, etc. But it is probable that not since Dr. Snouck Hurgronje published his great work on the Atjeh (Achinese?) language, no such detailed study of *Achinese Riddles* has been undertaken as that of which Mr. J. Kreemer publishes the results in the first of the above essays. Not only has he collected some seventy-six riddles, several of them not hitherto published, but his commentary on each is exhaustive. He begins by explaining the general nature of each riddle which, frequently, is worded in a deliberately elliptical phraseology in which words with double meanings are freely employed. He next throws a flood of light upon the ethnological facts which underlie each image, deals linguistically with each word, and finally compares similar riddles from other parts of the Archipelago. A great measure of similarity of thought between distant islands and differing peoples is thus established, and the general conclusion would seem to be warranted that, whilst the images vary with the environment, the essence of the riddles remains everywhere the same. Both from an ethnographical and linguistic point of view, this essay provides valuable material.

Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan contributes a minute description of some sixteen skulls of natives from the Schouten Islands, recently acquired by the Colonial Institute. This group of islands, composed of two larger islands, Wiak (Biak) and Supiori (Korrido), and a number of smaller ones, lies north of Geelvink Bay (New Guinea), not far from the Padaido Islands, the inhabitants of which appear to be racially related to those of the Schouten group. It would exceed the scope of this review to follow Dr. de Zwaan through the details of his analyses of these various skulls or into the comparisons he establishes with those of inhabitants of New Guinea and other Pacific and East Indian islands. Whereas the various tribes of the Schouten Islanders have hitherto been somewhat loosely included among the Papua, Dr. de Zwaan considers that they represent an intermediate racial form between the Tanimbarese and the Papua, having several features in common with the former, but still more with the latter, and lacking in particular several of the Malay—perhaps also Wedda—elements which the author considers to be demonstrable in the racial make-up of the Tanimbarese. Thus, whilst



the Tanimbar group shows greater affinity with the Nias-type than with the Papua-type, the reverse is the case with the Biaks, the Arfaksi and generally the other Numforese tribes of the Schouten group. A further link is hereby established in the graduated intermingling of Asiatic and Pacific races. As Sarasin established in the case of the natives of New Caledonia, Dr. de Zwaan shows that the Schouten skulls display very primitive forms of *fossa glenoidalis*, having great similarity with the skull of Neanderthal man.

The third essay is by Father P. Drabbe, a Roman Catholic missionary of Tanimbar, and describes a traditional Tanimbarese house. Although apparently well constructed and of excellent materials, it presents little of architectural interest, and from an artistic point of view falls short of the high standard of beauty set by the graceful buildings found in Sumatra and certain other islands. The importance of the article lies in its detailed and humorous description of the intricate traditions which surround, not only the actual construction of such a house, but the preliminary negotiations with the "prospective architect"—who will ultimately become the principal builder and contractor—as well as the ceremonies which accompany those parts of the work which require the assistance of the remaining inhabitants of the *Kampung* and which end in sumptuous banquets. It also throws interesting side-lights upon the practices of a matriarchical society which enjoins strict reciprocal duties upon the *duas* or maternal uncles and their *lolats* or sisters' children. It would appear from Father Drabbe's account that not only racially, but also in their social organization, the Tanimbarese combine Malay and Papua elements, possibly with a preponderance of the former.

## FRENCH COLONIES

LA PLUS GRANDE FRANCE. By LÉON ARCHIMBAUD. (Paris: Hachette.)  
10 fr.

(Reviewed by JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

Under the alluring title of "Greater France," M. Léon Archimbaud, Member of the French Chamber of Deputies and, since several years, *rapporteur* of the colonial budgets, has contributed a lucid and stimulating summary of the French colonial problems of today. To this he has added suggestions of a concrete nature, resulting in an outline of French colonial policy, as conceived by those French politicians and administrators whose wide outlook enables them to envisage all countries under French rule from an imperial rather than a metropolitan point of view. As a general introduction to the vast flood of detailed literature which the forthcoming French Colonial Exhibition is sure to release, this essay, which combines historical analysis with practical synthesis, should be welcome to British students of colonial problems.

Dealing with what the author calls the *imperial mentality* and which may, perhaps, be described as the habit of seeing the home country and its colonies in their imperial interdependence, some fundamental differ-



ences between the French and the British attitudes are clearly brought out. In France, homogeneous and traditionally "one and indivisible," the irresistible impulse to reduce every land under French dominion to the common denominator of a centralized government; in Britain, with its facility for compromise, a natural tendency towards differentiated local government within the common bonds of a federal entity. To the French, continental, terrestrial, military in their outlook, the instinctive feeling that the ocean is a barrier, rather than a link; that beyond it lies exile. To the British, with their roaming and seafaring traditions, their ease in transplanting their national ways of life to every clime and country, a natural disposition to create new homelands on distant shores of the same familiar ocean. To the French, moreover, who, unlike the Spaniards, Portuguese, or Dutch, never "ruled the waves," the links with their colonies have always seemed at the mercy of outside interference, and for that reason frail and transient. Again, private, individual initiative has ever lain at the root of British settlement overseas, whilst combined, government-supported endeavour has founded the French colonies. In this connection M. Archimbaud, not unlike other continental writers, is inclined to overestimate British governmental foresight and predetermined policy in founding settlements. Only the British themselves may, possibly, realize fully how haphazard were the origins of their mighty empire. Another great difference stands out in the lines of the author's arguments: the French fiction that "all men are born equal" begets the desire to assimilate the native as a full and complete French citizen. While the author is alive to the different stages of cultural development of the various native races within the French Empire, he does not seem to allow sufficiently for the differences between the British Dominions—white-men's countries, permanently inhabited by white men of one race and origin—and the mainly tropical colonies of France. If the former are capable of developing into autonomous dominions and yet remain united within a common federation, it is hard to see how a preponderantly native colony could attain the same development without inevitably splitting away from the main body. The problem which Britain faces in India is, fundamentally, that which confronts, or will confront, France in all her colonies, except, possibly, in Algiers and the Pacific Islands, where a substantial measure of permanent white settlement is possible.

It is not surprising, then, that the encouragement of French settlers receives much attention in this essay, and it is interesting to note that, according to the author, there are at present only 70,000 French inhabitants in all that part of the French dominions which comprise Western and Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, and Indo-China, and, of these, close upon 50,000 are civil servants, a surfeit of officialdom and a lack of individual enterprise unknown in the British Empire. Under such circumstances one appreciates why the author pleads for the rapid "frenchification" of the native as the swiftest method of increasing the colonial demand for the industrial products of the home country. Such a development, coupled with an increased standard of native prosperity,



resulting from enhanced exploitation of colonial produce, is recommended as the surest means of embracing the material interests of the colonies and of the metropolis in one and the same policy.

The comparative lack of Frenchmen with first-hand experience of colonial life is said to have another result—viz., deficient sympathy with and understanding of the colonial point of view on the part of the Government, civil servants, politicians, and public in the Metropolis. Hence several of the author's recommendations are in the direction of giving the colonies a preponderating influence in their own administration, as well as shaping French foreign policy to suit each of the colonies. In order to create cohesion in the guiding principles, and enable each colony to benefit by the endeavours, the successes, and failures of the others, M. Archimbaud advocates inter-colonial conferences. These he would jealously keep away from the Metropolis, in order that the concrete and practical problems which he wishes them to solve, should not be allowed to evaporate in the atmosphere of an all too political *milieu*. He goes even further in his final recommendation, which is that there should be created a High Commissioner of the Pacific who would reside for six months in Indo-China and the remainder of each year in Paris. This supreme official should not only have authority over the Governor-General of Indo-China and the Governors of the Pacific Settlements, but the French diplomatic representatives in Peking, Tokyo, and Bangkok would receive their instructions from him. His annual stay in Paris would serve to co-ordinate the general foreign policy of France with its specific policy in the East, as directed and controlled by the High Commissioner of the Pacific.

Space forbids us to follow the author in his many interesting proposals. The above should, however, suffice to show how valuable this able essay is to all concerned in Asiatic questions.

### NEAR EAST

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY ORIENTAL EXPLORATIONS AND STUDIES. NOS. 1-3. New York. 1926-27.

Rarely has a series of publications been inaugurated with volumes of such permanent value as these now under review. We are already indebted to the author, Professor Alois Musil, of Prague University, for his "*Arabia Petrea*" and "*Kusejr Amra*," and it is remarkable how he has been able to compile these three volumes, each containing between 400 and 600 pages, within such a short period. The three volumes do not afford the same attractive reading as the books by Doughty, Philby, and Ameer Rihani, but the author does not pretend to add to the existing travel literature, he is chiefly concerned in giving us technical information which will be studied and applied for many years to come. The transliteration is according to the German system, but the English reader will have little difficulty in following the Arabic words. The following are the titles of the three volumes already published: No. 1, "*The Northern Hejaz*"; a topo-



graphical itinerary; No. 2, "Arabia Deserta": a topographical itinerary; No. 3, "The Middle Euphrates": a topographical itinerary. Others are expected before long to complete this series of works on exploration in Arabia. In the long appendices the learned author gives his early records of the various periods such as the Assyrian, the Greek and Roman, as well as the Arabian authorities on their own literature. He also obtained information regarding the geography and history of these regions. The accurate and detailed map will aid the student and explorer in following the various ancient and modern routes.

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LA PREHISTOIRE ORIENTALE. By Jacques de Morgan. Three vols. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner*.) 300 francs.

M. Jacques de Morgan was a great scholar, and all workers interested in the research of the Near and Middle East will remember his wonderful publication on his missions to the Caucasus and to Persia. Before his death the author worked upon a new publication in Oriental history which he handed over to his friend, Louis Germain, to see through the press. He may be ranked with Klaproth, Abel Remusat, and Julien in his devotion to scholarship. His posthumous work bears testimony to his great erudition. The first volume deals with the origin of life and its gradual progress towards prehistoric civilization. The second volume contains a history of prehistoric Egypt, and in a lesser degree of Tunis. In the course of a long chapter the Chaldean origin of the Pharaohs is ably discussed. In the third volume the author's general knowledge is displayed to even better advantage. Syria and Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Elam, Susa and the Far East, come before us from times immemorial until the period that brought in the civilization with which many of us are familiar. The weapons, ornaments, ceramics, metals and furniture, are shown in their gradual development. The illustrations are good, and the colour plates are beyond praise. Mr. Geuthner can claim great credit for the way in which he has issued these beautiful volumes, thus adding to the success which he has achieved with so many of his books.

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## FAR EAST

VISIONS D'EXTRÊME ORIENT: CORÉE, CHINE, INDO-CHINE, SIAM, BIRMANIE. Par Robert Chauvelot. (Paris: *Berger-Levrault*.)

(Reviewed by BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE.)

For those who can find pleasure in "doing" the Far East at the pace set by M. Robert Chauvelot this well-illustrated book and its photographs will be of interest. The book differs as much as do East and West from the learned volume of his compatriot, Professor Henri Maspéro, reviewed below. But *chacun à son goût*, as M. Chauvelot might say in his light-hearted way.

Another witty Frenchman has remarked: "We Europeans are beginning to be educated by ancient China," which, even as a half-truth, would



necessitate a somewhat longer sojourn in that unhappy country than that made by the author of "Visions d'Extrême Orient." To include Japan, Korea, China, Indo-China, Siam, and Burma in a round tour is no novelty. To pass as rapidly as M. Chauvelot did from place to place is a task more easily performed by a hardened American globe-trotter than by an earnest enquirer after the "Wisdom of the East." From the fifteen days allotted to Peking (p. 25), in which brief space M. Robert Chauvelot hoped to obtain "an approximate idea" of this far-famed city and its unique surroundings, we may gather that his views need not be taken altogether seriously, though M. Chauvelot is already the author of several books of travel. The late Dr. Morrison once told the reviewer that every time he conducted friends round Peking he discovered something he himself had never previously noticed. And, as all the world is aware, the late correspondent of *The Times* at Peking was endowed with unusual powers of observation.

In the portion of this Far Eastern tour devoted to China the author confines himself almost entirely to the beaten path—Seoul, Mukden, Ching wang tao (the Great Wall), Peking, Hankow, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Macao, and Canton.

M. Chauvelot's comments are those of a widely travelled, well-informed man of the world, who wields an easy pen in describing his fantasies while in Korea, Manchuria, and China. Of the descriptions of the other portions of this tour the reviewer is hardly competent to express an opinion. If the book itself were smaller and issued in a handier form it would appeal more to the ordinary traveller, for whom it appears to be intended.

HISTOIRE DU MONDE. Tome IV. La Chine Antique. Par Henri Maspéro, Professeur au Collège de France. (Paris: Boccard.)

(Reviewed by BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE.)

Any attempt here to consider in detail the contents of this the fourth volume of M. Eugène Cavaignac's "History of the World" is obviously impossible. Neither the space at disposal nor the attainments of the reviewer would allow of such treatment, but it is profitable to call attention to the vast store of knowledge therein embodied. "La Chine Antique" is the fourth of thirteen volumes which will eventually comprise this modern "History of the World." Of these, three volumes only are at present on sale. The direct object of the present edition is well summed up by M. Cavaignac: "Les travaux encyclopédiques ayant pour objet de tenir les étudiants et le grand public au courant du progrès des connaissances historiques ont, d'une manière générale, subordonné plus ou moins strictement l'histoire du monde à l'histoire de l'Europe, et l'histoire du passé à celle de l'époque la plus immédiatement contemporaine. Il nous a paru bon pourtant, qu'une-fois au moins, l'Histoire du Monde fut présentée dans ses proportions justes, en faisant aux civilisations exotiques la place correspondante à l'importance réelle qu'elles ont eue dans le passé :



c'est la seule manière d'apprécier objectivement la valeur de la civilisation européenne actuellement dominante." Of no country or people is this more true than of China; for did not the great emperors of halcyon days aspire to be "kings of all nations, swaying the wide world"?

The present volume on "*La Chine Antique*" consists of over 600 pages in twenty-six chapters, again subdivided into five books. There are also three instructive charts showing clearly the geographical spread of Chinese early civilization. To readers unable to spare time except for occasional reference to Professor Maspéro's encyclopædic work we would recommend specially the chapter in Book V. upon the ancient literature and philosophy of China (pages 427 *et seq.*). No one who aspires to understand present-day events in that land of anomalies can do so without some knowledge of its past. Chinese character, assailed upon all sides by the onslaught of Western civilization—as we think of it—may in the end reconcile itself to these changes. On the other hand, it may continue to fight against them. That it has not already attempted fundamentally to make the necessary changes, and why it does not display more enthusiasm in doing so, puzzles many foreigners. The secret is to be found in the past history of the race upon which Professor Maspéro concentrates fresh attention. In this instructive volume, and in terms of modern thought, we are offered a searching enquiry into the hoary past of this extraordinary people.

Is it possible for China to regain her proud position in the future as the dominant race in Asia?

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CHINA YEAR BOOK. Edited by H. G. W. Woodhead. 1928. (*Simpkin Marshall.*) 42s. net.

The constant disturbances in China of recent years have made the compilation of a work of reference on the country extremely difficult. The editor must be congratulated on having overcome this well-nigh impossible task; the securing of the necessary and correct information on the various subjects treated can only be the reward of persistent application. The "China Year Book" is, in fact, essential for the economist, the man of business, the student, and the politician who wants information on that great country. Whatever may be the outcome of the struggle in China, the twenty-eight chapters, covering 1,400 pages, are an indispensable guide for research. If the reader is not interested in mines and minerals, in currency and banking, in railways and shipping, the chapters on religion and education, or those on agriculture and labour, or on trade and commerce, are bound to arrest his attention. A Chinese "Who's Who" is always useful; and the long concluding chapter on the Kuomintang forms a useful history of recent events. As in previous editions, the general index of thirty pages is a welcome feature. The growing interest in China has rendered the issue of this Year Book more important than ever, and it is to be hoped that it will receive widespread support.

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HISTORY OF THE MONGHOLS FROM THE NINTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Sir Henry H. Howarth. Part IV. (*Longmans.*) 2 guineas.

It has been greatly regretted for many years that this work of renowned British scholarship was not completed on account of the author's death. We are now delighted to find this final volume at last in print. It has been edited by his son. This final volume contains the supplement and the indices. The editor deserves every credit for putting together the notes left by his father. The indices alone comprise 150 pages. Unfortunately this volume can be obtained only, or chiefly so, by the libraries or others who have had the previous volumes, as it is difficult to obtain complete sets. It need not be added that the supplement contains a vast amount of information upon the life of the Monghols and their religious system which will be valuable to a very large circle of readers.

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AINU LIFE AND LORE: ECHOES OF A DEPARTING RACE. By John Batchelor. (Tokyo: *Kyo Bun Kwan.*)

Dr. Batchelor has been known for many years as a great scholar on the Ainus and their language. Many years ago he published a dictionary, of which the third edition was only recently issued, and his constant contributions in various journals are well known to every student of Japanese. Although the volume contains 448 pages, one cannot possibly be tired by its perusal as its stories and legends are extremely fascinating. There are a great many illustrations produced by the collotype process, and a number of coloured plates which add to the value of the work. It can be thoroughly recommended.

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## ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION. Catalogue of the Chinese, Korean, and Siamese Paintings. By Laurence Binyon. Folio, with 75 plates, including some in colour. (*Ernest Benn, 1928.*) £12 12s.

We have here the happy association of three names: George Eumorfopoulos, the collector and admirer of Chinese art objects; Laurence Binyon, the connoisseur and art critic on Far-Eastern painting; and the firm of Ernest Benn, who have done so much to place such publications before the world.

The chief part of the handsome volume consists of the reproduction of these 134 paintings on 75 plates, but before looking at them the reader or student would be well advised carefully to impress upon his mind the introduction on Chinese pictorial art in general, and on this large collection in particular, which Mr. Binyon has provided. We know how difficult it is to assign a painting to an artist, be his name inscribed or not, or even to a period, and how the different leaders, both in Europe and America, vary in their judgment. Let us not forget that the study of Far-Eastern art, especially Chinese, is of quite recent date, and that this art originated and flourished in countries and amongst ideas so very



different from ours. After this introduction, the volume proceeds with a description of each painting which should be extremely helpful to the collector. No early student would wish to form a judgment on a painting unless he had the advantage of hearing or reading what European pioneers think of it. We bow, of course, to the great experience which Mr. Binyon has had in the British Museum of the exhibition and the cataloguing of such paintings, but we venture to differ from him in his views on some of those which are here described.

Our likes and dislikes depend upon many circumstances: upon our training, understanding, mentality, and upon the sympathy which we bring towards the subject. This being the case, a few paintings of this collection may be singled out as having found special favour with the reviewer, and if he had the choice, he would wish to have these in preference to all others:

No. 4. A bold and artistic brush drawing of Bamboo. By Wu Chên.

No. 19. Boating by Moonlight. By Ma Yüan.

No. 39. Lotus and White Attributed Herons.

No. 45. Wild Geese Alighting. By Lü Chi.

There seems no reason why it should not have been painted by the artist whose name is inscribed.

No. 51. Lotuses and Birds.

In our mind this painting belongs to a much earlier period; we would describe it as a Sung picture, and it is to be regretted that it has not been reproduced in the original colours.

No. 54. Wild Geese and Millet.

No. 75. Wild Geese and Lotus. By Ch'ien Hsüan.

We agree with Mr. Binyon that it is an admirable painting, but here again are doubtful about the painter's name, and would ascribe it to the Yüan period.

Be this as it may, Nos. 51 and 75 are in the eyes of the reviewer the two which appeal to him more than all the others, on account of their delicacy, the soul of the artist that is exhibited in them, the masterful observation of nature, and the hand which has guided the artist's brush.

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RESEARCHES IN PREHISTORIC GALILEE, 1925-26, by F. Turville-Petre, B.A., and a Report on the Galilee Skull, by Sir Arthur Keith. (*Publication of The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY CASSON.)

This most important and well-arranged volume illustrates the activities of the British School and their successful exploration of a large region. The Palæolithic remains of the Galilee region have been at last properly examined and classified, and the east end of the Mediterranean can now be classified with the other Mediterranean lands from the point of view of the earliest periods of prehistory. The skull found in a cave on the shores of Galilee can now be studied and examined in a report which is certainly a model of what a scientific report should be. We are shown the most admirable photographs of the exterior and interior and also of the endocranial cast. Although the skull consists of little more than the



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Footprints of Early Man, 345. Introduction of the History of Science 510. The Russian Experiment, 512. Marco Polo: Il Milione (*reviewed by N. M. Penzer*), 657.

**New Periodical:** Islamic Culture, 711.



brows, part of the cheek-bone, the front of the cranium, and part of the nasal bridge, it is sufficient to make a fairly reliable restoration possible. It is the skull of a young person under thirty years of age of the Neanderthal type, and it closely resembles another Mediterranean example—the Gibraltar skull. The bone was wholly fossilized and as hard as porcelain. No other fragments were found in the deposit, and the skull clearly came by chance in the place where it was found in Palæolithic times. Sir Arthur does not actually suggest that it is an indication of cannibalism in Neanderthal times, but the evidence looks remarkably like it. This and other caves contained a fine series of implements of the Mousterian type.

The trial excavations in another cave are fully dealt with, and a general survey of the region has begun as a result of these researches. The School is to be warmly congratulated upon so successful a campaign and upon so well-produced a report.

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## PERIODICALS

### "ISLAMIC CULTURE"

We note with interest the recent appearance of a new periodical entitled *Islamic Culture*, a quarterly review edited in Hyderabad by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, the second volume of which is approaching completion. The names of such distinguished authors among the contributors as the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, and Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, are a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence of its contents; and the editor has been able to announce that all the famous Oriental scholars of the world have promised to become contributors; learned articles have already been printed in its pages by Professor R. A. Nicholson, Professor J. Horowitz, and other well-known authorities. The founders of this review started their new venture with high aims, and they are to be congratulated on the success of their efforts to "uplift the standard of Islamic Culture at its best"; it deserves the support of every serious student of Muslim history, art, and literature.



## SEVENTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

THE following Resolutions passed at the Congress will be of special interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW :

### RESOLUTION A.

Endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.  
Proposed by Mrs. Ayscough ; seconded by Professor Porter.

" The Far Eastern Section of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, which has spent a major part of the last five days in hearing reports on recent studies in the history, literature, and art of China, realizing afresh the significance of Chinese Culture for other peoples of the World, desires to place on record its sense of the supreme importance of safeguarding against injury, and preserving without change the great works of art, the monuments, and the ancient buildings in which the unique spirit of the Chinese race has found expression. Members of the Section regard these records not only as a precious heritage of the Chinese, but also a treasure of history and art through which the inspiring conceptions of their creative genius can be *made available* for the World."

### RESOLUTION H.

Read ; accepted by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.  
Proposed by Dr. C. Otto Blagden ; seconded by Dr. Majid.

#### *Draft Resolution.*

" The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, fully realizing the great scientific importance of the Ethnographical and Linguistic Survey which has been proceeding in Burma for some time past, expresses the hope that the Government of Burma will find means to carry it out to its full completion."

August 30, 1928.

### RESOLUTION G.

Read ; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.  
Proposed by Dr. Majid.

#### *Draft Rider or Resolution.*

(Supplementary to the Resolution passed on Thursday, 30th), postponed to Friday, 31st.

" Having regard to the fact that the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula are in process of being assimilated by their more civilized



neighbours, and thereby losing their individuality of language, customs, and other peculiarities,

"The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists expresses the hope that the Governments of the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, and Unfederated Malay States will encourage the collection and publication of information on the above-named subjects before it is too late."

C. O. BLAGDEN,  
31.8.28.

Passed by Section V.

#### RESOLUTION I.

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Committee. Proposed by Professor Jules Bloch; seconded by Dr. Morgenstierne.

"The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists assembled at Oxford desires to congratulate Sir George A. Grierson, O.M., K.G., on the successful completion of his monumental Report on the Linguistic Survey and to express its high appreciation of the care, thoroughness and scholarly accuracy with which the work has been done, and its sense of the great value of the Report to all workers in the field of philology.

"The Congress also tenders its respectful thanks to the Government of India for having caused the Survey to be undertaken and for having met all charges connected therewith."

#### PROGRESS REPORT OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

At the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, held in Vienna in 1886, the Government of India was moved to undertake "a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India." This proposal was favourably received, and some years were spent in preliminary spade-work, such as preparing lists of languages, collecting specimens, and the like. At length, in 1898, the formal Survey—that is to say, the arrangement and editing of the materials collected—was begun. From the first, I have had the honour of being in charge of it, and at various Oriental Congresses it has been my pleasant duty to report the progress made in the interval between each.

I have now the honour to report to the present Congress that the Linguistic Survey of India, as originally designed, has been completed, and I have much pleasure in presenting to it a copy of the volume that contains a summary of the results. A supplementary part of this volume, consisting of a comparative vocabulary, is in the press, and will, I hope, be issued very shortly. A third part, from the competent pen of Professor Turner, has not yet gone to press. It will be a comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages, and is intended for the special use of philologists.

My part of the work has been finished, and I am now *functus officio*; but I cannot conclude this *Nunc Dimittis* without gratefully recording the



heavy obligations that I owe to my valued friend and collaborator, Professor Sten Konow. Those of my hearers who may have studied the pages of the Survey will endorse my estimate of the importance of his share in it. My warm thanks are also due to those of my brother Orientalists who have throughout accorded to me their cordial fellowship. Their kindly and never-failing help has greatly lightened my labour, and has materially contributed to such success as has been achieved. My only regret is that I am unable to present this report, and to assure them of my thanks, in person.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

OXFORD, 1928.

#### RESOLUTION J.

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.  
Proposed by Professor A. Meillet; seconded by Dr. G. Morgenstierne.

*Resolution of Section VI.a (2) dated August 30, 1928.*

"That this assembly wish:

"(a) To express their gratitude to the Ceylon Government and the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for having undertaken the preparation of an Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese language, which, if scientifically compiled, will be a most valuable contribution to the study of Indo-Aryan languages, ancient and modern.

"(b) To express their opinion that a consultative Committee of Comparative Philologists interested in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian should be formed as soon as possible to advise with regard to the compilation of etymologies."

R. L. TURNER.

Passed unanimously.

#### RESOLUTION L.

Read; endorsed by the Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting.

#### SECTION IX.

The following resolution, proposed by Mr. E. B. Havell, and seconded by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, was unanimously carried at the morning session on Tuesday, August 28:

"That this Congress, while deeply appreciating the action already taken by the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, urges that steps should be taken immediately to obtain a complete and adequate photographic record of all the remaining fragments of Indian wall-painting, which, in spite of all efforts for preservation, are liable to gradual decay and ultimate disappearance."

M. E. SADLER,  
President of Section IX.



RESOLUTION M.

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Committee. Proposed by Professor F. W. Thomas; seconded by Professor Konow.

"The Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists welcomes with profound satisfaction the resumed publication of the *Orientalische Bibliographie* and ventures to express the hope that the Governments, Academies, and Learned Societies which in the past have lent countenance and financial support to this most valuable undertaking will readopt their former favourable attitude."

RESOLUTION M (1).

Read; endorsed by Consultative Committee. Passed by General Meeting. Proposed by Professor F. W. Thomas; seconded by Dr. Hari Chand.

"Understanding that in responsible quarters the idea of non-official co-operation with the Government of India in archæological, historical, and philological research within the immense and infinitely varied sphere of that Government's administration has been favourably contemplated, the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists ventures to give expression to the view that the most suitable procedure would be the establishment of schools of study independently organized and financed on the lines of those existing in Athens and Rome, but in connection with an institution founded, maintained, and controlled by the Government."





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N. J.



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