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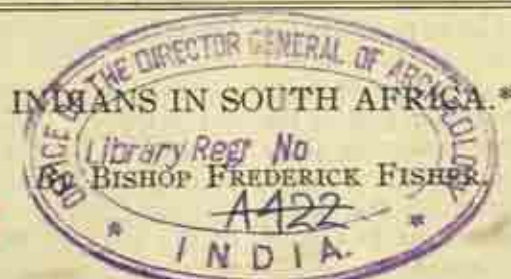
Vol. XLIX]

JANUARY, 1926

[No. 287

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[Though my tour in South Africa was necessarily brief, there was sufficient time to give considerable attention to Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape Province. In addition to the Union of South Africa, I visited Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Portuguese East Africa, and the Low Lands of Kenya. Special attention was given to the cities of Durban, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

It is doubtful whether my trip affected the local situation in any way. I was there as a personal investigator only, and made no special attempt to offer suggestions. Care was taken to avoid the appearance of interference or agitation. One reason for pursuing this policy is the fact that I am an American citizen, while this problem is one which belongs to the British Empire. The more one studies the situation, however, the more deeply he becomes convinced that the Christians of the Empire, and of the world, must demand a just and righteous settlement of the Indian problem in South Africa.

I attempted to approach the investigation in a spirit of the utmost impartiality, and therefore consulted all types of individuals and groups. It is certain that all shades of opinion were obtained. A list of those interviewed is impossible, but the variety of opinion may be indicated when it is stated that among those consulted were the mayors of cities; town and

city councillors; members of provincial legislatures; professors in the universities; clergymen of all communions; secretaries of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Student Movement, and other similar organizations; wholesale and retail merchants; Indian associations—Hindu, Moslem, Parsee and Christian; political leagues—both European and Asiatic; members of the National Parliament; ministerial members of the Cabinet, and the Prime Minister of the country. The homes of many Indians and Europeans were visited. The living conditions of the Indians in the segregated districts, and in the barracks of the mills and plantations, were investigated. All the available literature was studied. Even so, it is to be admitted that my survey was necessarily limited.

The statement does not lay claim to completeness, nor is it put forward as a scientific report such as a Commission of Inquiry would be expected to issue. It is rather a personal human document, the portrayal of conditions, and the testimony of an eye-witness. Its accuracy is vouched for, whilst the unjust humiliations to which Indians are subjected, are understated, rather than exaggerated].

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The continent of Africa presents one of the most perplexing racial situations in the modern world. The problem is not confined to any one section. Its major difficulties rest upon the conflict between a native-born population of

*With the courtesy of the Editor *The National Christian Council Review*.

more than 150 million Negroes, and a community of less than three million Caucasians who, with a highly developed modern commercial civilization, have taken possession of the continent. The white controllers, whether political, commercial, or industrial, are determined to maintain absolute and universal white supremacy. How to do this, and at the same time allow for education and advancement among the black and brown people, is the unsolved problem.

The Union of South Africa presents the most acute conditions, because of the fact that democratic institutions have developed there to a greater degree than in any other part of the continent. The danger is that democratic ideals may not be able to bear the strain of racial antipathy. The public opinion of the world cannot now permit any government to control the destinies of other races through any system of political or commercial absolutism. Justice, fairplay, and the right to advancement will be demanded, not only by the native inhabitants of a conquered country, but by the public opinion of the world. This problem is no longer one of mere domestic policy, but of world-wide concern. The material resources of South Africa are in the hands of the white race. These possessions have made it possible for certain sections of that race to maintain a complete monopoly of raw materials and minerals. These resources have been developed through coloured labour. That labour has now come to the place where it realizes its own disadvantages and its own slavery. It has become vocal, and the question now is whether the one million and a half white people of the Union of South Africa will be able to continue to own and control all the resources of the country without gradually yielding at least a portion of the possessions and the control to the people whose labour has helped to produce the prosperity. And deeper than this is the fact that the land and minerals both originally belonged to the millions of people who originally inhabited the continent. The history by which white control was developed is not an unsullied page.

The racial character of the population in the Union of South Africa is approximately as follows: White, 1,519,000; Indians, 161,000; Blacks (Negroes of various tribes), 5,000,000; Coloured (the technical term used there for those of mixed blood), 700,000.

The distribution of the Indians is approximately as follows: Natal, 140,000; Transvaal, 12,000; Cape Province, 9,000. The Orange Free State is scarcely worth listing because an absolute exclusion law has kept the Indian population down to 400 residents. Most of the Indians in Natal are engaged in agricultural labour. There are, however, a few thousand engaged in skilled labour in mills and factories, as clerks in offices, as waiters in hotels, and as domestic servants. The more prominent and powerful personalities among the Indians are successful traders engaged in all kinds of trade—wholesale, imports, retail. Some of them are extremely rich and live in palatial homes, possessing all the luxuries of modern life. Others are in very comfortable circumstances and carry on successful retail trade in the cities, in the small towns, and in the rural districts. This situation, with slight variations, prevails in other provinces.

The successful Indian trader is undoubtedly the cause of the present agitation. The native African prefers to trade with the Indian. The European, therefore, finds great difficulty in competing. The Indian is willing to spend more time in bargaining than is the European. The African, along with the Oriental, is fond of spending time over his purchases, and therefore the Indian is much better equipped to carry on successful trade than is the European. The poor European in most cases, as well as the native African, can secure better bargains through Indian traders and shopkeepers. The Indian is willing to give long credit and easy terms of payment, and seldom, if ever, takes the debtor to court. This means that the poor European trades with the Indian in preference to his fellow-European. Strangely, however, this very European, who secures his goods at a cheaper price and on better terms from the Indian, becomes greatly influenced by politicians when the racial issue is raised at election time. Many poor Europeans told me that they feared they could not exist without the Indian shops, but that when the racial issue was at stake, public opinion practically compelled them to cast their votes for the 'white policy.'

It would appear, therefore, that the problem is not altogether one of economic competition but that race prejudice lies at its root. The Indian is able to sell his goods at a cheap price, partly because of the fact that he does not spend so much money upon his own living.

The European constantly refers to this fact as evidence of a 'lower standard of living.' Very frequently the remark is made that the Indian is able to live 'on the smell of an oil rag.' But other elements enter into this question of the standard of living. The Indians are debarred from residing in the expensive hotels, and from dining in the good restaurants of the city. They are debarred from theatres and other amusements. This naturally means that the Indian is forced to patronize the cheaper and less desirable places of the city. His inhibitions compel him to practise economies which are as distasteful to him as to any other self-respecting citizen.

There is European antagonism against any Indian who becomes prosperous enough to ride about in a Rolls-Royce; and because of his sensitiveness against discrimination of this kind, he frequently foregoes the pleasure of having a good car and rides in a cheap one, or uses the public motor-buses. I found scores of Indians who could afford to live in good circumstances, but who were timid about attempting to have luxuries because of the bitter treatment that had been meted out to friends of theirs who had made any show of prosperity. There is a strange jealousy on the part of the whites with reference to the prosperity of the browns.

Still another fact is that the Indians do not drink. The liquor bill of the white South African citizens is colossal. One wonders how European society can long continue to exist with such high liquor bills. The amount of money squandered on drink accounts, in many cases, for the inability of the European to live on a moderate income. The money which an Indian saves explains why he can sell his goods cheaper than the European. Gambling at the races and elsewhere, excessive sports, luxuries, inflated white wages, and other extravagances enter into the high cost of living among the whites, and the relatively lower cost of living among the browns. Any stranger from a foreign country would be surprised at the comparative luxury in which the white people of South Africa desire to live. There are here and there dreadful slums where the poor whites congregate, but for the most part, the whites expect to have a standard of living which is far beyond that which prevails in their own home countries.

One of the reasons most often given for the white attitude toward the Indian is his alleged

low standard of living. Many European friends of the Indian are convinced that unless something is done to raise their standard, they cannot hope for a cessation of the social discriminations. But the reasons for this low standard of living must not be overlooked.

First, the ghetto-system, under which the Indians are segregated in a small section of the city and not allowed to live in the better sections reserved for the Europeans. Most of the hill-sides and lovely views are restricted residential sub-divisions. No Indian need apply for land there. Wherever new suburban sub-divisions are being developed in cities such as Durban, the real estate sign-boards read, 'for Europeans only.' Furthermore, the deeds which are granted for residences in the good sections have a non-Asiatic clause, making it illegal for the owner to sell at any time to an Asiatic. Naturally, the Indian is segregated in a territory which becomes a ghetto and where the worst living conditions prevail. In a city like Johannesburg, in the Transvaal, where the Indians cannot own property even in the segregated districts, they have no incentive to build permanent residences. The land is under rental, and they may be excluded at any time. There is no permanent tenure. The restricted territory for Indians may now be one particular location, but the municipal council three years hence may debar the Indians from that location and assign them to a new territory. What incentive is there for the prosperous Indian to build a permanent home? He naturally feels his bitter restrictions. He becomes conscious of the fact that he is regarded as an inferior person. He becomes like the Jew of old Russia, who was knocked about from pillar to post, being driven like a dog into some degrading hole, and sometimes developing in himself the very characteristics with which the pursuer taunts him.

Another reason for the low standard of living is the meagre wage which is paid to the agricultural labourer. About the best that he can earn is £2-10 per month. What kind of high standard of living can be maintained on this wage? The barracks, or living quarters, provided by the plantations and mills for their labourers are in most cases a disgrace. The only respectable thing about them is the whitewash on the outside. One European gentleman said to me, as we looked at one of those barracks, that they always reminded him of the expression of Jesus

—'whited sepulchres.' They are built of brick or mud with a tin roof, or altogether of tin, or a combination of mud, wood and tin. The barracks are set in promiscuous array making a non-descript little town, where the conditions of life are worse than in the villages of the depressed classes of India. The Indian social system is in many ways broken down, so that in these barrack villages there are few of the social restraints and the ancient social laws which regulate village life in India. There are few schools provided for these villages, so that the children soon find themselves in the fields or the mills, and thus from one generation to another this system of social, spiritual, and intellectual repression is perpetuated. I do not know whether any other country in the world could do it, but I do know that South Africa can never produce a high standard of living among the Indians or any other race, on a wage so inadequate, and in homes so poor.

One must admit that the successful Indian traders do give the Europeans a vexing problem. The mayor of one of the big cities, after a long conversation with me, admitted that the proposed anti-Asiatic bill 'did not have a leg to stand on ethically.' However this same individual went on to say that he is in favour of the Bill, and that he believed 99 per cent. of white people were in favour of it, and that they would adopt it, regardless of ethics; that the situation had become so acute that it was a matter of the preservation of the whites, and that his children in the next generation would not be able to compete with the children of these successful Indian traders; and that what the whites could not do through fair competition, they must do through restrictive legislation.

The humiliations endured by the Indian communities are difficult of explanation. If the discriminations were social only, then the observer could find parallels in other countries. But where the restrictions are social, economic, domestic, political, racial and religious, one is compelled to look to ancient times for parallels. Indians must ride on the three rear seats only of the trams; they are debarred from certain public libraries; they are refused entrance to first class hotels, dining-rooms, clubs, Christian associations, and even churches. They are universally called 'coolies.' An official textbook in geography for certain of the white schools, shows the picture of a Bengalee gentle-

man with the caption 'a typical Indian coolie.' An Indian graduate of Cambridge or Oxford or any Indian University, will be pointed out by ignorant white children or adults as a 'coolie.' It is not culture which is taken as the standard, but race, and race alone.

All Indian business men are required to obtain a trade licence, which is given by a white official at his own discretion, and which must be applied for and renewed periodically. All Indians wishing to travel for commercial or social purposes from one Province of the Union to another, must obtain a passport ticket which is always limited as to time, the maximum being two or three weeks. This humiliation partakes of the same nature as the indignity that is heaped upon the native African, who, since the white man has come into his country to control him, has been obliged to wear continuously a pass on his person, giving his registered number and showing that he has paid his tax. It is as though the whole black population were convicts at large. Nothing in modern times is at all comparable to it, save the infamous 'yellow ticket' of Czarist Russia.

In industry, the 'colour bar' reserves all remunerative labour to the white worker, and the colour of his skin determines whether a man may receive twenty-five shillings a shift or two shillings and his food. Just consider to what lengths an unblushing racial arrogance can go, when in the Transvaal, half the tax of a native African is remitted if he has worked three months for a white man!

In a province such as Natal, the prejudice against the Indian is understood when one considers the population figures. There are only 100,000 Europeans of all kinds, yet 140,000 Indians, and the Indians have a higher birth rate. The European who holds political and commercial sway, and controls the social system, looks upon the Indian as a foreigner. He realizes that he cannot get rid of the native African, because Africa is the only native country of the black, and the black population is so great as to preclude the possibility of extermination. The desire for absolute white supremacy causes the European to believe that his own salvation rests upon the deportation and exclusion of all Indians.

Of course, the white man forgets the circumstances which brought the Indians to Natal. In the early days, the British sugar planters found that the Bantu was not a successful agricul-

turist. He had been a nomad and a shepherd, moving from one place to another. He had no permanent buildings, no permanent towns, no permanent farms. He would cut down the forests and for two or three years plant gardens. But when the soil became weak, and when his desire to move to a new scene became strong, he would move on, care free and happy. He refused to work under the restraints of modern farm labour. It not only caused him to work during long hours of the day, but it practically obliterated his old social system. His family, his tribal laws, and social customs were all built around another method of life, and he simply would not work according to the modern system. Therefore, the early planters looked to the great country of India for their agricultural labourers. Agents were sent to Indian villages, and labour was recruited. Individuals and families came. Many of them were recruited by agents who brought bags of gold to India, taking the nuggets from the bags and permitting the simple villagers to see the gold glisten in the Indian sunshine. They were told that South Africa was the promised land where gold and prosperity could be found. Thumb prints were used to sign contracts. They went by the boatload; and they worked with fidelity. There is no greater cultivator of the land in the world than the Indian. There is no agriculturalist so patient. There is no agriculturalist more industrious and steady. Men, women and children worked long hours. The contracts that they had signed stated that, if they successfully completed one or two terms, they were to be allowed to purchase plots of land and settle as permanent citizens of the new country. They successfully completed one term, two terms, three terms. They saved their little earnings, and purchased little sections of land on which they planted sugarcane and vegetables. They prospered, until after a while they or their native-born sons gained control of the vegetable markets of Durban and other towns.

Then came bitter opposition. The newly proposed anti-Asiatic Bill intends to take away this well earned land which the Indians have acquired. A strip thirty miles back from the sea is to be confiscated. Let him who has a conscience answer whether this is justice or perfidy! 'Scraps of paper' has become a favourite expression of the Anglo-Saxon race of late, and perhaps it has got so thoroughly

into our consciousness that we propose to make our own solemn contracts nothing but 'scraps of paper.' But let it not be forgotten that, where nominal Christians break contracts of this character, and are supported by government legislation, in parliaments opened by Christian prayer, they have to answer to the conscience of Hindus and Muhammadans for their actions, and will stand condemned at the bar of enlightened public opinion.

Meantime, how did the Indian trader get to South Africa? It was on this wise. The thousands of Indian families who had migrated to the new country found themselves without ghee, without Indian sweetmeats, spices, curries, and rice. They found themselves without the little Oriental trinkets and jewels that they loved. They found themselves without the lovely coloured silks to which they had been accustomed. Nothing but plain Anglo-Saxon cloth was available. Therefore, certain traders began to import for the Indian communities the things that they loved; this little trade, with the growth of the population, grew until it became a thing of power.

Meantime, Indians began to find that they were successful intermediaries between European wholesalers and the African communities. They began to find that they were able to carry forward an ever enlarging commercial enterprise. Therefore, just as people of all nationalities follow the stream of successful commerce, so Indian traders grew year by year in numbers and in power. The proposal to deport the whole Indian community, and to deny it the rights of citizenship and trade, becomes all the more difficult when one remembers that, approximately, two-thirds of the present Indian population of the Union of South Africa is native-born, some families going back as far as three generations of native-born residence in South Africa. Thousands of these Indians have never seen India, and one might just as well talk of repatriating the third generation Americans, sending them back to England, Ireland, Scotland, France or Germany, as to talk about repatriating third generation Indians in South Africa.

The Government, a few years ago, adopted a bonus system whereby a cash allowance would be given to Indian families who would voluntarily migrate to India. Certain of the families which accepted this bonus have found themselves out of touch with Indian life and methods,

and have become miserable beyond expression. Those in charge of Indian immigration in South Africa told me on several occasions of the miserable and bitter petitions which had come to them from these returned Indians, begging that they might 'come back home to South Africa.' All peoples who move to new countries drop certain of their ancient customs and take on new methods; an attempt to drive them back into the old country will always end in utter futility.

There is only one solution, and that is to permit the 161,000 Indians who are now in South Africa to live there in peace, and to grant them citizenship, to give them opportunities for education and development, to trust them, and to make them a part of the body politic. Under the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, no new Indian immigrants are coming to South Africa. The only increase is through birth. It is either a marvellous compliment to the Indians, or a serious indictment against the white citizens, to say that one and one-half million white men and women cannot successfully compete in a great new nation, in a vast territory with unlimited resources, with a small community of 161,000 Indians. Scattered throughout the territory of the Union, these comparatively few Indians could be easily absorbed and naturalized in due time.

I tried to impress upon my European friends in South Africa the fact that the Indian is capable of unlimited suffering. He has become accustomed to sorrow, repression, and disabilities. His patience is one of the loveliest things in the world, and anyone who knows the Indians will say without hesitation that, no matter what restrictions are placed upon them, they will bravely suffer and will continue to have their proportion of success. One of the chief Government representatives, who is responsible for the present Bill, stated publicly that one of the purposes of the Bill, whether or not all its provisions could be made effective, was to make the position of the Indians in South Africa so unbearable that they would voluntarily leave the country and 'go back' to India. In this respect, the Bill will fail of its purpose. Indians will repeat the experience of the old magnificent Israelites under Pharaoh in Egypt. The Scripture says of them, 'The more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied.'

Measures of repression have always recoiled more upon the persecutors, than they have

harmed the persecuted. The difficulty with the modern white man is that he ignores the lessons of history. The Indians of South Africa are not going to leave South Africa. They are there to stay. The Government of India has made itself clear upon one point. The Viceroy and all his legislators have refused to tread upon any platform which involves repatriation. Should the Government of India at some future time change its mind, this would not materially affect the situation, because neither the Government of India, nor the Government of South Africa has the right to dictate the destinies of these legitimate and rightful citizens of the land of their birth and residence. They have the same rights that the white men have. The forefathers of both were immigrants. This may well be the question upon which the worth of citizenship within the British Empire may have to be decided. The Indian in South Africa asks, 'What advantage does a citizen of the British Empire have?' South Africa is a part of the Empire; India is a part of the Empire. Yet an Indian does not have as many privileges as a citizen of America, or of France, or of Germany, or of Japan in South Africa. The passports of these independent citizens guarantee more rights and privileges than are accorded to Indians who are actually citizens of the Empire itself. Under the conditions which prevail in South Africa, I have heard many British men, as well as scores of loyal Indians say, that citizenship within the Empire as a whole, means practically nothing where matters of racial privilege are concerned in the different dominions. How long can this condition prevail?

White South Africans quite freely express their approval of the anti-Asiatic bill, and the policy of segregation, on the ground of their fear of inter-marriage. This is always the final plea of the racial jingoist. Now let us look for one moment at South Africa, and other countries in this respect. India, with a population of 320 millions, after several centuries of contact with white residents, has only a few hundred thousand citizens of mixed blood. The United States of America, with a population of 110 millions, after almost three centuries of living together, has a population of only a few hundred thousand mulattoes. Segregation is more consistently pursued in South Africa than in almost any other country of the world. The cities are divided on racial lines; society is divided along

racial lines; sports, commerce, education, religion, and practically every relationship of life is carried on in strict racial compartments. Yet in South Africa, with a population of 3,000,000 blacks and 1,500,000 whites, there are nearly a million people of mixed blood. I will not pursue this subject at great length, but will frankly state that in the country where segregation has been tried with unprecedented thoroughness, the largest percentage of mixtures prevails. Is it not true that in the countries where the white race has the least respect for the coloured, illicit relationships are most frequent? The reason is that if a man respects a woman, his inherent attitude towards her is one of chivalry, whilst if she is to him a mere human inferior, it is easy for him to descend to an unethical relationship. The only safety of the several races with respect to miscegenation is that every race be raised to the highest possible cultural standard, so that there will be mutual respect, understanding and freedom.

The new anti-Asiatic Bill, which has passed two readings in the Parliament, and which bears the dignified title 'Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Bill,' provides for the strictest application of the principle of racial segregation in residence and trade. Its author, one of the Cabinet Ministers, states in his introductory address, that the Indian is 'an alien element in the population and no solution of the question will be acceptable to the country, unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population.' This shows the purport of the entire Bill, namely, the extermination of the Indians. This is its frank and avowed aim. The white settlers and immigrants overlook the fact that they too are 'an alien element' in the African population. One alien element, now in power, is determined to exterminate another element, now politically helpless. The ethical weakness of this position is manifest.

The most rigid restrictions and limitations are outlined in the Bill. To detail them would be merely a repetition of the humiliations described elsewhere in this statement. Practically all of these proposed restrictions now prevail in the Transvaal, and yet the 12,000 Indians in that Province are regarded as the greatest menace which the white population faces. If the new Bill becomes effective and the same restrictions which are now placed upon Indians in the Transvaal become general throughout the

Union, what guarantee is there that the Indian community will become any less a menace? If these proscribed people in the Transvaal, under all these intolerable restrictions, are so successful as to give the European traders such alarming concern, then why will they not become an increasing menace throughout the Union when the same restrictions prevail generally?

I have been reluctant to make any public pronouncement concerning the Indian situation in the Union of South Africa. This hesitation arises from the fact that the racial divisions and prejudices on the African continent are the most pronounced that I have ever encountered. It is, therefore, very easy to arouse animosities, no matter what one says.

The problem is difficult and there seems to be no apparent solution for the immediate present. The proposed anti-Asiatic Bill is not a solution, but an irritant. If adopted, it will accomplish no purpose, other than to aggravate the Indian population through persecution, to deepen its sense of martyrdom, and to raise up friends for the Indian community throughout the world. I sincerely trust, therefore, that true statesmanship will prevail, and that the Union Parliament will recognize the impracticability and unwisdom of the present proposal. If I were a white citizen of South Africa, I would regard the Bill as a direct attack upon the best interests of the white community, even though directed against the Indian. The indirect harm to the white community would be far greater than the direct harm to the Indian. Measures of repression and programmes of extermination have been proven by history to mean the decay of the virtues and powers of the perpetrators rather than of the persecuted. Greece, Rome, Russia, and many other examples may be cited, both in the political and the economic world.

The Indians, through all time, have had great capacity for suffering, and the Indians of South Africa are determined, in this regard, to live up to the highest tradition of their race. If a cross is forced upon them, it will be a cross of victory.

Believing that the problem will only be accentuated by the present tendencies, and that it is one of paramount importance, I am persuaded that the only satisfactory adjustment will be found through friendly conferences, in

which representatives of the Empire, India, the Government of South Africa, and the Indian community of South Africa, may hear and study all phases of the question. In such a way, some amicable agreement may be arrived at. Much will depend upon the spirit in which the two

communities act. Protest alone, or persecution alone, will be unavailing. Both sides in the present conflict must see the whole problem and meet each other in a friendly and frank determination to find a solution which will guarantee life, liberty and progress for all concerned.

A PLEA FOR A CHANGED OUTLOOK.*

By MR. K. NATARAJAN, *Editor of the Indian Social Reformer and the Daily Mail.*

Mr. Edward Thompson, whose name is familiar to Indian readers through his book on Rabindranath Tagore and one or two works of fiction, has recently published what is perhaps the most important book he has so far written. *The Other Side of the Medal* is a bold attempt at analysing the causes of the innate hostility, which Mr. Thompson sees, between Indians and Englishmen and a plea for removing, so far as the present generation of Englishmen and Indians can do so, the causes of the irritation and bitterness that divide the two races. The points on which Indians and Englishmen quarrel about, like the rate of the Indianisation of the army or the separation of the executive and the judicial functions are not, in Mr. Thompson's view the root of the trouble. They are only the outward manifestations of an inner bitterness which is felt by classes far different from that having the advantage of English education, which alone stands to benefit if these measures are carried out. The innate hostility between the Indian and the Englishman is ascribed by Mr. Thompson mainly to two causes. One is the deplorable failure of the average Englishman to understand and appreciate the Indian character and his general lack of sympathy with the outlook of the latter. Mr. Thompson gives an interesting illustration of this mentality by the example of an Anglican priest on the Indian establishment who, when told of the literary eminence of Rabindranath

Tagore wanted to know only whether he was "loyal." Every one will agree that pictures of Indian types painted by writers like Kipling—the "Babu," the "Failed B.A.," the "Wily Brahmin," the "Martial Sikh" and the "Jolly little Gurkha" though true to a very slight extent grievously misrepresent India if taken, as representing its life and people as a whole. It is a misfortune—not perhaps unintentional—that the middle class Britisher depended and to a large extent still does so for his information about India on Kipling and similar writers.

Mr. Thompson traces the root of "Indian irreconcilability" to the Mutiny and its forgotten memories. Nations which have been enemies for centuries have been reconciled. England and America have forgotten the bitter memories of the War of Independence and South Africa has almost reconciled itself to the loss of its independence. But in spite of the seventy years that have passed since the Mutiny Indians and Englishmen have not yet agreed to let its horrors pass from their minds. Mr. Thompson lays the blame for this at the doors of the British historians of those terrible years. Their accounts of the Mutiny, Mr. Thompson admits, are one-sided and ignore the Indian point of view almost entirely. He attempts in his book to show that "the other side of the medal" is rather different from the side which has so far been the only one shown to the British public. The "horrors of Mutiny" have been made familiar to British readers in a hundred books and its heroes have been held up to esteem and reverence as Victorian editions of the Knights

**The Other Side of the Medal*, by Edward Thompson. Leonard and Virginia Woolf, 52, Tavistock Square, London, W. C.) 1925.

of the Round Table. Mr. Thompson shows from contemporary writings and from the accounts of eye witnesses that the horrors were not all on one side and that the heroes were far from being perfect. The massacre of Cawnpore rightly shocks those who read about it and Indians have condemned it. But it is not generally realised that the massacre was not committed or approved even by the rebel sepoys. A few ruffians, such as can be found among any people, were responsible for it. A monument marks the well where the slaughter of the Europeans of Cawnpore took place but there is no sign to mark another well near Peshawar in which lie the bodies of a number of men belonging to a disaffected regiment shot in batches in cold blood or suffocated in prison. The outrages of the sepoys on Europeans during the Mutiny were quite equalled and in many cases far exceeded by the outrages of British troops on Indians—not necessarily sepoys or rebels. The course of the Mutiny was marked by terrible outrages, wholesale executions of innocent people and devastation of territories which are usually ignored by British historians. The godlike "Nikkul Seyn" and his associates become, in the light of contemporary documents quoted by Mr. Thompson, as bloodthirsty and cruel tyrants as the sepoy leaders were represented to be.

Mr. Thompson sees the "Mutiny mentality," the cruelty and the wild panic which accompanied it, on three other occasions in India. One was in 1872 when a band of forty-nine Sikhs were blown away from guns, another was during the second Afghan War and the third and last time at Jallianwala Bagh. We do not think that the obliteration of the memories of the Mutiny is the only or the chief means of bringing Englishmen and Indians together. Much else is necessary for that. But Mr. Thompson's book deserves praise as a strong plea for a new and changed outlook on the part of Britishers on the incidents of the Mutiny period. They must not, in Mr. Thompson's words, "stress the Black Hole of Calcutta and ignore the seventy suffocated Moplah prisoners." "Our own madness," concludes Mr. Thompson, "we can understand; and it is a matter for humiliation but not for perplexity and there is seen to have been no inexplicable Indian madness, but only the passions of suffering men like ourselves. With such men an understanding is possible, and friendship and forgiveness. And

this new attitude, I believe is the *atonement* that Indians are seeking." Will the atonement which Mr. Thompson recommends be forthcoming?

II.

It is with reluctance that the incidents of the Indian Mutiny are recalled and, unless it is with a view to bring to light facts obscured by the bitterness and animosity with which the history of the period was recorded, it is hardly worth while doing so. For, strange as it may seem, the literature on the period is mostly from the pen of Englishmen who actively participated in suppressing the Mutiny or were not far removed from them in their sympathies and antipathies. Such an account must necessarily be one-sided and to-day the title "Mutiny Veteran" conjures up in the Anglo-Indian mind a halo of glory which reflects high military honour. There have not been wanting English writers who have tried to hold the balance even, but their writings have not been as well read as the partisan type of writers.

Sixty-eight years after the Mutiny, an Englishman—perhaps more than one—has awakened to a tardy recognition of the fact that a certain injustice has been done to the Indian by the suppression of one side of the picture, and with rare courage he has set himself to the task, as far as it is possible for one man to accomplish, of supplying an omission which, he feels, has contributed largely to what he terms Indian irreconcilability. In a preface to the book the author quotes: "Truth has an eternal title to our confession, though we are sure to be the sufferers by it." We are further told that the book had long been suppressed and that, while several friends urged that its publication would stir up bitter feeling, others suggested that the risk be taken. Mr. Edward Thompson even claims to have "set out matters that no Indian could or perhaps should set out," and concludes with the hope that it will change the attitude of every Englishman who reads the book.

The main theme of the book is that, while the horrors perpetrated by the mutineers have been exposed in the plainest language, a veil has been drawn over the excesses committed by those who put down the Mutiny. In support of this contention the author, to take a single instance, quotes passages from a book written by Mr. Fredrick Cooper, Deputy Commissioner

of Amritsar, who wrote in the belief that he was recording events which would immortalise his name.

Mr. Cooper relates how he dealt with the mutineers of the 26th N. I. at Lahore. On the 30th of July a fanatic named Prakash Singh rushed out of his hut, sword in hand, called to his comrades and cut down the Commanding Officer, Major Spencer. The 26th Native Infantry fled a distance of 40 miles under cover of a storm to an island on the Ravi. Mr. Cooper arriving on the scene took in the situation at a glance, and by some means, not clearly stated, the "mutineers" were given to understand that they were to be tried by court martial. "Thirty-six stalwart sepoys submitted to be bound by a single man and stacked like slaves into the hold of a boat." By midnight 282 prisoners were safely lodged in a bastion. Next morning the prisoners were brought out tied together in batches of ten to be shot. When 237 had been disposed of in this manner, in the course of which, we are told, one of the executioners swooned away, the "District Officer was informed that the remainder refused to come out of the bastion... The doors were opened and, behold! Unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Blackhole had been re-enacted!" The bodies of all these men were thrown into a neighbouring well by sweepers. "There is a well at Cawnpore," says Cooper, "but there is also one at Ujnalla."

"What crime, what law, the reader may ask," philosophises Cooper, "demanded the extermination of a helpless multitude, described by the very best authorities as unarmed and panic-stricken, famishing with hunger and exhausted with fatigue?" This question is answered by Greathed, another mutiny hero. "The sacrifice of 500 villainous lives for the murder of two English is a retribution that will be remembered."

Consciously or unconsciously, this code of Greathed's has been religiously observed in all

disturbances in this country from the Mutiny to the "Jallianwalla Rebellions"—"500 villainous lives to 2 English," that is the reckoning. And yet Cooper was a devout Christian who believed that a divine dispensation had delivered these poor victims into his hands. "It was not policy or soldiers or officers," he says with modesty, "that saved the Indian Empire to England and saved England to India. The Lord our God, He it was." And Cooper was congratulated for his heroic action by John Lawrence. "All honour for what you have done; and right well you did it," wrote Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

This is a little incident which gives us a glimpse of the Indian Mutiny as it was. No quarter was given to the rebels and every opportunity was taken to offend their feelings before putting them to death. General Sarraill at Damascus was acting on the same principle as British officers at the time of the Mutiny and General Dyer at Jallianwallah. Mr. Baldwin, the British Prime Minister, was therefore wise in asking his countrymen to remember their own history in judging of the doings of the French in Damascus.

On all this a veil is sought to be drawn. Let both sides forget, says Mr. Thompson. To Indians within the last few years, this task of forgetting has been rendered more difficult. Jallianwalla has revived bitter memories. In the Punjab there are men who cannot extend the right-hand of fellowship because they have lost it in the disorders of 1919. Perhaps two generations hence, all will be forgotten, given an atmosphere of patient forbearance—when Britain feels that there is no longer any need for John Lawrence to eternally ask India to choose between the pen and the sword and when British Justice holds a pair of even scales. But the forces of moderation in this country as elsewhere are daily weakening and even now it may be too late.

THE BENGAL SCHOOL OF PAINTING.

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

"An art which becomes imitative or merely repetitive, instead of creative, necessarily decays, because it lacks the stimulus of new thought. Indian Art must be stimulated with new thought; but this cannot take place as long as Educated India is content to be merely imitative or repetitive."

E. B. HAVELL.

The Spirit of Nationality, which possessed the peoples of the West in the last century, has in this taken by storm those of the East. It is she who has been the shining light and ruling ideal of the youth of China, Persia and Arabia for the past 30 years; but, in no Eastern country has her all-embracing domination been felt more completely than in this ancient land of Hindustan. So complete and all-embracing indeed has been her domination that India's best minds and leading thinkers have all unanimously come to the conclusion—that if India wishes to be among the great nations of the world she must develop an individuality of her own along national lines by basing all her varied activities, whether they be in the field of art or letters, politics or economics, on truly national traditions.

That this conclusion of her leading thinkers is right no one would deny, and all who have India's interest at heart would wish her god-speed in her manhood's march along this self-chosen national highway, provided the highway was well-planned and had a truly worthy goal before it. That is, a goal which opened out new and ever-expanding vistas of life and culture to her present and future generations, and not one that promised mere stale, uninspiring repetitions of old scenes and traditions that had long lost their hold on the people's imagination and so had now become shadowy and unreal.

This last, alas, is the danger ahead of New India. In no department of her national activity is the danger more real than in the

domain of her Art. So long as her nationalistic fervour made the art world of New India look into her past triumphs and achievements with the idea of gathering from them certain priceless lessons which would be of vital use and help to her in the realisation of her own living ideals and ambitions, it was all to the good. But when, later on, it made her delve more deeply into her ancient art lore and treasure solely with the intention of bringing about an artistic revival, as a matter of national honour and necessity, irrespective of the capacity or otherwise of such a revival for meeting her present vital needs and aspirations,—that once truly nationalistic fervour of incalculable potentiality then changed into mere pious artistic enthusiasm of doubtful value, and a word of warning is now needed if India's future art-activity is to be checked from straying further from that national highway into devious by-paths as misleading as mischievous.

A prominent example of such misguided activity in the domain of Indian Art is "The Bengal School," as the new Indian school of painting may shortly be called. The position of the Bengal School is exceptional and could not be better stated than in the words of its great founder and exponent, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore. With a modesty worthy of imitation Mr. Tagore argues that the Bengal painters are not impervious to artistic influences from the West nor do they despise the technical methods of Western Art. All that they insist upon is that Indian art-work of the future must come to rest on the bed-rock of old Indian traditions and adopt a characteristic Indian way of looking at things. After taking up this perfectly sound and commendable attitude, Mr. Tagore strikes a superior note and says: "We want, however, to avoid the triviality of a superficial realism and the vulgarity of a photographic versimilitude. We seek rather to discover the inner meaning of the subject chosen and strive to attain a spiritual presentation from an inner introspec-

tive view of it. Our aim is not objective, but frankly subjective. We believe this is the common heritage of all Eastern schools of painting—to render visible *an inner realism* lying concealed under the outward objective appearances of things as we see reflected in the mirror of nature."

Whether this is or is not the true ideal of Eastern Art, it is not our present purpose to inquire. What we are here concerned with is to ascertain: what has been the result of the acceptance of the *ideal of inner realism* by the Bengal School of Painting? Has this ideal given it a fresh vision of life and art? Has it enabled it to open up a new vein of thought and happiness for India's myriad-minded, many-tongued people? Nay, has it even sustained and sublimated the present national ambitions and aspirations in a way that art and art alone can do? Has it brought about even one of these things? Has it not, on the contrary, brought about a mere soulless revivalism, or rather a sterile repetition, of the dead and buried past? Has it not made the Bengal School to resurrect on her walls and canvases a class of men and a type of womanhood in pathetic moods and archaic attitudes such as India no longer possesses, much less wishes to possess in these stern and strenuous times when the one ambition of her advanced manhood and awakened womanhood is to carve out actively and conjointly their own national destiny in the great outer world of push and progress, no matter what that destiny may be or whither it led them? Look up her art magazines and take up the best hundred pictures of the Bengal School and it would be surprising if you will find even in ten of them the slightest indication of the days of stress and strain through which New India has been passing for the past decade or two. On

the other hand, in ninety of those pictures you will notice pale, ascetic-looking men in stationary postures, wearing stereotyped expression and fair and fragile women in diaphanous drapery, full-bosomed and dreamy-eyed, with a set plaintive expression, standing or seated in standardised attitudes.

May we ask—what future is there or could there be before such static art? What hope can we entertain of "an ideal of inner realism" that bare-facedly gives the lie to breathing, palpitating reality, deliberately turns its back on the struggling, suffering men and women as it sees around it, and trifles away its precious time and energy in falling prostrate before an artistic ghost of its own seeking and summoning. If an evil destiny enforced a choice between the two alternatives, better, indeed, would it be to indulge in "the triviality of superficial realism" than be obsessed by the necromancy of exhumed archaism, better far to put up with "the vulgarity of photographic versimilitude" than be imposed upon by the fatuity of rejuvenated decrepitude.

A Havell may see glorious visions of restrained colour and posture in old Bengali paintings, a Coomaraswamy may notice "refinement and subtlety in colour" in the newer ones, and a Gladstone Solomon may stand wondering at the beauty of line and limb in the glowing frescoes of Ajanta Caves, but there is no future before an art, based though it be on old national ideals and traditions, that is so openly retrogressive in its aim and so totally divorced from the present-day actualities of existence. Can we wonder after this that in the art circles of the world Indian Art should be ordinarily spoken of "in the preterite tense" and the Bengal School regarded as "a lady of a certain age?"

AN INDIAN ARTIST AND HIS WORK: A CRITIQUE.*

By "A CRITIC."

This book is by a young artist who in his childhood, as he tells us, sat at the feet of his Gurudeba, Dr. Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and learnt the story of Prince Gautama who became the Buddha. Even as a boy, Art fascinated him and he cherished an ambition to visit the famous Ajanta Caves and study the marvellous frescoes they contain. He made two "pilgrimages" to Ajanta, once at the end of the year 1917, just for a few days on a sort of preliminary survey, and a second time for nearly eight months, between June, 1919 and January, 1920, on which occasion he made over a dozen copies from the paintings. On leaving Ajanta he made a pilgrimage to Bagh, in the State of Gwalior. The present book is an account of these "pilgrimages."

The Publishers of the book in advertising it, say—"The value of the work is greatly enhanced by the fact that, owing partly to exposure and partly to mistaken methods of preservation, *many of the originals, which he copied, are now lost to the world for ever and others are fast disappearing.*" The Italics are ours and we presume that the statements italicised are made solely for the purpose of advertisement, for they are absolutely untrue. Even on a very liberal computation, among the numerous illustrations which adorn the book, we find only about *nine* which stand to the credit of Mr. Dey. And all of these, except *one* which will presently be noted, had been already reproduced. Nay more, every one of them could this day be seen on the walls of the Caves. The remaining illustrations—about *seventy* in number—are mere reproductions from the well-known earlier works of Griffiths, Lady Herringham and her assistant Miss Dorothy Larcher, Fergusson and Burgess, and photographs by Johnston and Hoffman and a few by the author (?) himself. The originals, only a very few of which Mr. Dey copied, are not only not "now lost to the world for ever," but they have been carefully preserved and are not

"fast disappearing." On the other hand, owing to the magnificent liberality of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, a large number of the frescoes, including those copied by Mr. Dey, have been saved from further deterioration.

This delicate task of preservation was executed by two expert Italian *restaurateurs*, Professor L. Cecconi and his assistant Count Orisini, who were engaged for the purpose on princely salaries and who remained and worked in the Caves during two consecutive cold seasons. In addition to these the Nizam's Government contemplate the publication of reliable copies of the frescoes by the latest scientific process, so that this "rare and precious heritage of the Indian race," precious alike for its own artistic qualities and as a record of India's civilisation in the past, may be made "available to mankind."

Mr. Dey's book bears the hall-mark of an Introduction by Mr. Laurence Binyon, who hopes that it will supply the need of a more popular book on the paintings than the elaborate and sumptuous works by Griffiths and Lady Herringham. So do we, though we wish the price were a little lower, for this 'entertaining book' (as the reviewer in the *Statesman* calls it) well deserves to be made popular in India. And to give the artist his due, one salient feature of his work really deserves commendation and that is his copying of the group of the mother and child making offerings to the Buddha, in Cave XVII. This is the exception referred to above. Regarding this Mr. Binyon says: "One of the most unforgettable things is the group of the woman and child making offerings to the glorified Buddha, reproduced in this book from Mr. Mukul Dey's copy. The group of the woman and child alone has been illustrated both in Mr. Griffiths' book and in the India Society's publication; but, strange to say, with the great figure of the Buddha omitted, so that one could only guess at the motive inspiring the movement of the mother and her boy." When we point this out we exhaust all that could honestly be said in praise of Mr. Dey's work, for a close study of the book, with which Mr. Dey has bounded to

*My *Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh*.—By Sri Mukul Chandra Dey. (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London).

fame, shows how very *literally* true is Mr. Binyon's remark: "For this alone we should owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Dey."

An Author's preface succeeds the Introduction. Here Mr. Dey very properly expresses his gratitude to all those who helped him to write this book. But there is a serious—we had almost called it culpable—omission. Neither here nor anywhere else in the whole book, does Mr. Dey express a word of the gratitude he undoubtedly owes to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government for the special permission so graciously granted to him, not only to visit the Caves but also to stay in the Caves themselves and copy the frescoes, which has enabled him to produce this book. It is to be hoped that this was not a deliberate omission on his part. At the time of Mr. Dey's second visit to Ajanta in the latter half of 1919, we believe, the Secretariat of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, which must have given the necessary permission to him, was presided over by Mr. M. A. N. Hydari (now the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur) and himself a lover of Art, and we can imagine how willingly he would have given every help and encouragement to our budding artist to realise his ambition to copy the frescoes. And yet while writing his book "in a shelter by a hot fireside" in England, Mr. Dey seems to have remembered only the benefits derived from the circle immediately present in that country and was perhaps incapable of recollecting the many acts of favour and kindness received at the hands of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government six years previously.

II.

Now to turn to the book itself. Having been, as a young boy, ever hearing of the famous Ajanta Caves and their marvellous frescoes, Mr. Dey even then determined to visit them himself and begin, what he hoped would be the study of the art-work of all nationalities, by the study of the ancient Buddhist arts of India. He was poor but full of grit and "being somewhat an artist," he saved some two hundred and fifty rupees by selling his portrait sketches, and started on his first pilgrimage to the Caves at the end of 1917. We are told that he had to travel over 1000 miles by rail and road, but almost the whole of this tremendous journey was by rail and only about 38 miles

by road. He started from Howrah and travelled cheap of course and he travelled light, taking only an attaché case with a few drawing materials and toilet necessities (apparently he is fastidious about these), and a blanket under his arm.

Let us now follow Mr. Dey. After an uneventful journey of 962 miles our artist alighted at half-past two on a bitterly cold and pitch dark morning at Jalgaon, then the nearest railway station for the Caves. Early as it was, he secured a *langa* and although the distance from Jalgaon to Ajanta by road was only about 32 miles yet he had to pay the *langu* man more than what he had paid for the long journey by rail. All things must come to an end sooner or later and our pilgrim's troubles ended just before sunset that day when they arrived at Fardapur. The driver wanted to take the artist to the dak-bungalow, but Mr. Dey would have none of that. He must see the Caves first. So on coming to a point where the road descended a river, he settled with the man and proceeded to the Caves on foot all by himself, heroically shouldering his attaché case with the drawing materials and the blanket under his arm, we presume. On the way he came across a small white tent occupied by some "official Mussulmans," a class not yet shown in any of the Census Returns. One of them, the Curator of the Caves, told Mr. Dey that it was too late an hour then to visit the Caves, but he turned a deaf ear to his protest and hurried along. Suddenly he heard the sound of marching footsteps and from afar saw a band of Japanese marching like soldiers one behind the other, with "tight bandages on their legs, wearing a peculiar white dress and crowned with white solar topees." One of them, a well-known artist—Mr. Kampo Arai—Mr. Dey had previously met in Japan. As our pilgrim would not be dissuaded, his friend offered to accompany him to the Caves and took him there by a short cut. Mr. Dey became spell bound even at the very site of the Caves and his companion and himself remained for long in silent ecstasy. Mr. Dey felt completely satisfied and in his ecstasy exclaims—"Just this one vision repaid the trouble of my journey a thousand fold." The two friends then returned to the Fardapur bungalow about five miles from the Caves, where Mr. Dey accepted the "splendid" invitation of his friend to have his meals with them. There was some difficulty about accommodation, but

as the pilgrim did not mind 'sleeping on the floor, or in any hole or corner,' he tucked himself away in a little lean-to in a cot borrowed from the servants, his attaché case serving him as a pillow and thus his 'bed was made.' He then had a wash and joined the Japanese party at supper. Having had nothing to eat the whole of that day he was naturally hungry and thirsty and rejoiced in having his 'rice with tea-water,' which latter was perhaps some special Japanese concoction.

Now chapter two is supposed to give "a general description of the Caves" but there is very little of it. We however learn that the Caves were *re-discovered* after lying hidden for about a thousand years. When the first discovery was made, we are not told. There is an interesting version of the re-discovery. And Mr. Dey, who must now be considered an authority on the subject, tells us that the twenty-nine Cave temples at Ajanta are hewn out of *solid pieces* of living rock. Says our artist:—"The walls, ceilings and columns, were covered with wonderful paintings and decorations. The idea of natural caves disappeared from my mind altogether; and it was beyond my comprehension to have imagined their grandeur, unless I had seen them for myself." The pictures and sculptures adorning the halls and monasteries and chapels are "all connected with, and illustrate Buddha's life and previous incarnation from stories in Jataka tales." For days our artist continued under the spell of that magical scenery and magical art. Although anxious to start work himself when he found the Japanese so engrossed in their task that he never heard them murmur a word while they were at work, yet he was most reluctantly obliged to give up the idea that time as he had not properly provided himself for a prolonged stay. He therefore bade farewell to the Caves and his Japanese friends, with a determination to earn sufficient money to return to the Caves again for a long stay and carry out his scheme of copying the frescoes himself before they were lost for ever "or should a great earthquake happen, we should lose it (the ancient art) quicker still!" Fortunately for himself and the Art world, when he returned to Ajanta eighteen months later to carry out his grand scheme neither the frescoes had been lost nor his dreaded earthquake had happened.

Chapter Three deals with the Life of Gautama Buddha. Incidentally we are inform-

ed that during the next two years (it should be eighteen months) the author travelled over the greater part of India, studying ancient art and monuments in the Buddhist caves and temples, supporting himself by making portrait sketches and selling his other drawings. Only one of the places said to have been visited—Bodhi Gaya—is mentioned. Gradually the whole history of the noble life of the Buddha "became again vividly present" to his mind. "As the frescoes are incidents in the life of Buddha," an account of his life and work is given. The patient endeavours of Mr. Dey's many friends to put his "wild English into some sort of shape" seem to have been crowned with fairly good success in this chapter, which may perhaps interest those totally unacquainted with the Buddha's life. One point may, however, be noticed. We have always understood that the Temptation by Mara just preceded the Great Enlightenment, but according to our versatile artist the Temptation came after the Enlightenment and we dare not question his authority, though some would rather err with Rhys Davids or Kern.

III.

The second "pilgrimage" or "the greater expedition" is the subject of the Fourth Chapter. By the middle of the year 1919, Mr. Dey was able to save two hundred pounds and equipping himself with everything necessary for a long stay in the 'jungle,' he left for the Caves with one servant, Narayan, as companion and cook. The G. I. P. Ry. having constructed a narrow-gauge line from Pachora to Patur since his previous visit, Mr. Dey proceeded this time straight to Pachora where he arrived late one night and had to wait till next morning for the train to Patur. He arrived at Patur and felt that at last he had reached the threshold of his undertaking. No bullock carts awaited him and after much difficulty he secured two carts and only one driver. Mr. Dey started for Fardapur and by the evening reached the Travellers' bungalow there. This time he was alone and occupied the room he shared with the Japanese artists on his first visit.

The remaining Chapters of the book relating to Ajanta are devoted to the description of the Caves and the marvellous paintings they contain, and for those persons who may not have access to the standard works by Fergusson and Burgess, Grundwel, Rhys Davids, Foucher and

others, these may prove of interest. In the Author's Preface, Mr. Dey says:—"I am also indebted to the book of James Fergusson and Dr. Burgess on the "Cave Temples of India," from which I have taken some valuable information." A perusal of his book, however, shows that it would have been much nearer the truth if he had said, "I have taken almost everything about the Caves" from the said work. In some places even the copying seems to have been blindly made. To give an instance. About the painting in Cave X we find the following:—

In "The Cave Temples of India," by Fergusson and Burgess published in 1880 (p. 287)—

Thirty years ago there were some fine fragments of painting on the walls of Cave X, the few portions of which now remaining have all been scribbled over by natives.

And in "My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh" by Mr. Dey published in 1925 (p. 98)—

About thirty years ago there were some very fine fragments of paintings on the wall of this temple, but now they have all vanished.....; whatever remained has been scribbled over by the visitors to the Caves.

Comment is needless. We wonder what Mr. Dey's age is. We must not however be understood as saying, that our artist's book is not without its own value. There are many charming descriptions the reader will fall in love with. For example, referring to 'the legend of the landing of King Bijaya in Ceylon,' we read:—"The slanting spears, the waving flags, the forward lean of the elephant-riders and the curved heads and huddled trunks of the elephants all express the *emotion of movement*." We are here introduced to a new kind of emotion.

In the Chapter with the legend, "Adventures—Pleasant and Otherwise," we have:—"The hillside was always covered with wild fruits and flowers; but now, in the autumn fragrant siul-flowers bloomed all along the way-side, over the boulders and in amongst the pomegranates, grapes and rich ripe berries. So fragile were they that at the first touch of the sun the white petals and orange stems drooped."

His artistic imagination coming now into play, Mr. Dey says:—"I was reminded of the far-gone days when the simple monks lived chiefly on the fruits and vegetables they grew,

of which these I saw were the faint wild traces." Probably he is also one of those happy beings who could remember their innumerable lives in the past ages. This may be a good tip for artists:—"The ground for the wall painting was prepared by mixing clay, cowdung, husks and little stones together and laid on the rough surface of the rock, sometimes an inch or more thick. Over this was a white coating made of shell lime. The lime is soaked in water for twenty-two days until it loses its stiffness and becomes a clay. It is laid on with about the consistency of an egg-shell."

At Ajanta apparently Spring succeeds Autumn, for we read:—"In the autumn the colours changed to glorious browns and reddish golds, and red blossoms spread like flames on the hills; gradually the trees dropped their leaves and the whole forest became bare, and it seemed all waiting in silent prayer for the coming Spring."

We shall now see great minds think alike on the manner of taking copies.

Miss Dorothy M. Larcher.

(1909—11)

I found that, when the painting was very much darkened with age, the best way of tracing accurately was to fasten the two top corners of the tracing paper with adhesive slips, roll it up quickly from the bottom with the left hand, look at the outline, roll the paper back, and trace. In this way it is easier to copy the various thicknesses of line; and it is most necessary to draw the lines freely on the paper. The outline everywhere is very sensitive.

When the coloured copies were made, a fairly rough tracing was done first and transferred to the painting paper on the frames, and the outline accurately copied from the fresco afterwards; but in the case of those intended to remain as outlines, the exact tracing was made on the wall.

Mr. M. C. Dey.

(1910—25)

.....I hung a sheet of tracing paper from the top of it, with adhesive beeswax serving as drawing-pins, so that the fresco was not touched. Standing on the step-ladder, I rolled up the tracing paper from the bottom with the left hand, looked at the drawing carefully, and tried to understand all the outlines bit by bit; then slowly I unrolled the tracing paper down on the original painting and began to trace.....

After the exact tracing was made from the wall, the drawing was first transferred to the painting paper stretched on the drawing board. Afterwards the outlines were accurately copied from the fresco, and then the colour was applied all over the paper like the original painting, and thus the copy was made.....

What a wonderful coincidence that in 1919, Mr. Dey should have *re-discovered* the very same method which Miss Larcher adopted in 1909 for taking copies of the frescoes! There is something uncanny about it. It reminds one of that great mathematical triumph achieved by Leverrier and Adams which led to the discovery of Neptune. Only there the problem of the erratic motion of Uranus was attacked and solved by them simultaneously.

Tempting as it is, we must not linger at Ajanta any more, for there is the other pilgrimage to Bagh. But before leaving Ajanta there is one suggestion we wish to make. It is this. When Mr. Dey first saw the paintings (in Cave I) he was stunned but extremely happy. He says:—"I felt that they had been done with the utmost care and yet I thought hereafter I would be able to cover similar pieces of walls by myself, in the same way.(!)" Now at Ajanta there are any number of bare walls ready for the artist's brush, and we have in Mr. Dey, a young and most enthusiastic artist, who would willingly cover these pieces of walls, with wonderful paintings of course, provided he got the opportunity. If only the authorities could be induced to give this commission to him, he will be leaving a legacy to posterity similar to what has been handed down to us by those giant artists of the long past.

IV.

After leaving Ajanta, Mr. Dey made a pilgrimage to Bagh in Gwalior, via Bhilsa and Mhow. He had a longer journey by road this time. The journey by Motor-bus is described in his usual 'artistic simplicity and sincerity'. We have a fine description of a setting sun, 'which in colour was a blend of red and rich gold, like the deep-hued yolk of a brown egg.'! They had to pass Dhar and drove through its quiet streets shaded by huge *grand-fatherly* banyan and *ashath* trees. In the dak bungalow there, he came across three or four young Bengalis vigorously feasting on chicken curry and chops, a luxury they would

not be allowed at home. Their presence mystified Mr. Dey until he 'learnt that as Bengalis are in the habit of working for other people they were doing such things as teaching the Dhar Raja's daughters, managing his estates and looking after the Post Office Department.' But is not Mr. Dey, a Bengali? Or has he become a naturalised something and has forgotten the habits of the Bengalis?

From Dhar our pilgrim had to take a *tanga*, softened at the bottom with a pile of straw and dry hay, which the driver took for the horses. Past the village of Dhar the land lay bare and stretched away indefinitely beneath the immense crowded sky, that throbbed with its load of orderly stars and in his rapture he exclaims:—"Such country and space enriches the mind and broadens the soul." The way was long. "The road went winding up and up, and then fell steeply; rise followed on fall indefinitely." And the cold was of the kind that penetrates to one's bones but our bold pilgrim wrapping the blanket closer round him, "fell asleep fearlessly."

At length they drove up to 'a brick and stone slab lime-white washed,' which bore the legend 'Bagh Inspection Bungalow,' in three languages—'English, Hindustani and Mussulmani (Urdu) languages'. Although night was coming on, he started off in the direction of the Caves, so excited was he to catch just a glimpse of them before going to bed in peace. He returned however after only having had a glimpse of a low range of hills. Next day he visited the Caves of which he found nine. Mr. Dey tells us that Bagh must have been a place of great importance when Buddhism flourished here between the fourth and seventh centuries. By the tenth century Buddhism was utterly crushed and the Bagh Caves were deserted and we learn that "Hindu Brahminism" then spread over the land. The Caves are described in Mr. Dey's own inimitable style and he explains the difference, guaranteed quite original, between the paintings at Ajanta and Bagh.

He also propounds two valuable theories to account for the unfinished state of the frescoes at Bagh. The book ends with, what we may call, a peroration, for want of a better word, in the course of which Mr. Dey says:—"Day by day the traces (of India's great art in the past) so wonderfully preserved for over a thousand years are becoming fainter. But there is yet

time to place on record a permanent memorial of that which still remains." Well we never! What was Mr. Dey's 'greater expedition' to Ajanta for? Was it not to execute his grand scheme of copying the frescoes himself before they were lost for ever that he stayed in the Caves for eight months? What then has this Mr. Mukul Chandra Dey done? we ask. And Echo answers W-H-A-T?

Before concluding we feel it incumbent on us to strongly protest against the gross misrepresentations Mr. Dey has made in his highly 'entertaining book' regarding the condition of the Ajanta Caves at the time of his visit. Mr. Dey visited Ajanta on the occasion of his 'great expedition' in June, 1919 and stayed there till January, 1920, and his random remarks, which we cannot but characterize as *irresponsible* and *mischievous*, apparently refer to the time covered by that period. Unfortunately for him, in March, 1919, *i.e.*, only a few months before his second visit, the Caves were visited by Monsieur A. Foucher, the great French *savant*, and the following is the opinion he then recorded about them:—"Neat square pillars—clearly but unobtrusively modern—built of the same stone out of which the Caves were hewn make their existence

secure for another good many years. Stone steps and a path, with a parapet running along the cliff, lead from Cave to Cave; some of them having been wholly cleared of the red earth that once silted them; all are kept perfectly clean and wherever possible, those which contain remnants of paintings have been carefully closed to objectionable guests—bats, nest-building creatures as well as smoke-making *yogis*. Any impartial mind will admit that all these new measures mean a distinct improvement on the previous state of things." The reader can now judge for himself what weight, if any, should be attached to the precious opinions of our Mr. Mukul Chandra Dey.

It is only fair to utter a serious note of warning to the unwary reader of this book. In the description of the Caves there is a word which, if he wants to remain sane, he must scrupulously avoid. Whenever he catches a word beginning with *b*, let him skip over it, run away from it, or do anything else but cast his eyes over it. It is ubiquitous. It is here, there and everywhere. So let him beware. If he does not follow our advice, night or day, sleeping or waking, that infernal word—which is sure to be—B A R A N D A, will haunt him for ever.

SOME ASPECTS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

By DR. GANGANATHA JHA, M.A. (*Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University*).

My election as the President of this Conference is gratifying to me in more ways than one. First of all, I have been a student all my life and even though my age and health may belie my claims, yet I claim to be a student still and it is refreshing, therefore, to find my claims recognised by a large body of fellow-students. Secondly, it is quite 23 years now

*Being the full text of the presidential address delivered at the session of the Beharee Students' Conference, 1925.

since I was hustled out of the Province of my birth and it is, therefore, a source of great gratification to find that even after these long years I have obtained my birth-right. Though perhaps of the 53 years of my life I have spent a larger number of years within the hospitable precincts of the United Provinces, yet it is not very easy to shake off the ties of childhood and boyhood. My only hope is that during all these years of my life-long sojourn away from the Province of my birth, I have done nothing

which has brought any discredit to that great province.

Bihar's place in the history of Indian thought and culture is unique—indeed unrivalled. (I hope our hosts will pardon us for a little provincial pride on an occasion like the present). The great philosophy of Vedanta has become so closely identified with the great teacher from the south, Shankaracharya that very few people, except the scholars of ancient lores, are cognisant of the fact that Vedanta had its source in the holy land of Mithila, which perhaps some of you may not know, is identical with modern North Behar. It was at the Court of the King of Mithila that the great sage Yajnavalkya propounded publicly for the first time the doctrine of the Vedanta and, with due deference to the great Vedantic teacher of later days, the best part of Vedants still consists in that doctrine which was propounded in Mithila long before the Christian era. Similarly the great Buddha, as also the founder of Jainism, were the products of this land of Bihar. For Sikhism also the Province of Bihar represents an important epoch in its history. Even at the present day it would be difficult to find any part of India where religious practices and forms of worship are more eclectic than they are in this Province. In regard to other parts of India you can, to a certain extent, say what is the predominant faith or form of worship, but when you come to Bihar you find that each individual family—indeed, each individual person—has, and what is more, is permitted to have, his own form of worship.

Curiously enough if there is any place in India which can at all bear comparison with Bihar in this respect it is this holy Kashi where we are assembling to-day, which has been rightly regarded as an epitome of the whole range of Indian history and culture. I have found a reference to our past necessary with a view to our present needs and not for the purpose of merely glorifying our past; as will be clear from what follows.

I think it is a mere truism to say that the question of education should be our supreme concern. But like all truisms this also is not found to be observed in practice. While we have any number of people giving their attention to other matters, there are very few who make the question of education their main concern. This subject has acquired an immense importance at the present juncture of our life.

We have reached the parting of ways. The ancient forms of scholarship are fast decaying under the stress of the modern struggle for existence. The ancient forms of education were leisurely; that was why they produced deeply-read scholars. But under the stress of modern conditions those leisurely methods cannot be adopted, for any but the very select few. In the domain of Sanskrit education, the modern methods have all but ousted the older ones and the result is that even in the land of Bihar where we had till about 20 years ago a large band of Pandits, each one of whom was a store-house of learning, at the present day their number has dwindled down to such an extent that perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that they could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The modern system has tended to expand the field of Sanskrit scholarship. We have a large—very much larger number of persons studying Sanskrit, but the intensity of the scholarship has all but disappeared and I have during all these years been raising my voice and appealing to those in power to save the fast disappearing band of scholars. For preserving the older type of Sanskrit scholarship, you do not need a large amount of money and yet no one seems to heed this. It was gratifying to me last year to find that the Madras Presidency is still clinging to the old methods and there I had the pleasure of meeting a large number of really first class Pandits of the older type. The fault lies not so much in the modern methods of instruction as in the over-importance that is attached to the passing of examinations. The students of our Pathshalas now-a-days like their brothers at English Schools and Colleges, read only for passing the examination and outraged nature has its revenge: they pass the examination, but they know nothing of the subject in which they have passed; and the worst of it is that after having passed the examination and obtained a degree the 'vidyarthi' regards himself a full-fledged Pandit and does not care to learn anything more. While the state of Sanskrit education in Bihar is not very deplorable, yet the time has come for making a serious effort for conserving that deep scholarship for which the land has been famous since the remotest antiquity.

If India is still held in respect by Sanskrit scholars of the world it is by reason of its having given birth to such giants of scholar-

ship as Vachaspati Misra, Gokulanath Upadhyaya, Shiva Kumar Mishra, Gangadhar Shastri, and not on account of its being the home of modern scholars of the type of your humble servant. And things have already come to this pass that while till about 20 years ago, scholars from Europe, America and Japan used frequently to come over here as students, this has now ceased, and if a European scholar does come now, he does so as a teacher, not as a learner. And the reason is not far to seek. Under the modern system, you can only produce a type of scholar whose learning is extensive perhaps, but seldom intensive and in this sort of scholarship the people of the West will always be superior to us. Even now, it is not too late to mend our ways. I don't mean to discard modern methods. Let them go on. But we should keep alive the older method of intensive study, if we are at all desirous that our country should regain and maintain its position before the world of scholars. This appeal is specially apt in the present gathering for in Bihar, as in Benares, we still have the germs of that intensive scholarship which has won the admiration of the world.

In the domain of English education, it would not be far from correct to say that Bihar is lagging behind every other Province, not in numbers perhaps but in quality. I am a Bihari by birth and a Behari matriculate and a Behari under-Graduate. So do not please think for a moment that I am putting on superior airs when I talk of the poor quality of English education in Bihar. The fault is not ours. We have inherited the Bengal system. But the Bengal system thrives and can thrive only in the soil of Bengal; that is why Bengal has produced a large number of very able and learned men. But that system is not suited to the soil of Bihar, that is why with all its intellectual gifts Bihar has not produced up to this time any appreciable number of great scholars. I know that during the last 2 or 3 years attempts have been made and are now being made to adopt a more suitable system and it is my fervent hope that with the experience of a large number of educational experiments in other places, it will be possible for Bihar to evolve a system of education that may be in keeping with the traditions and genius of the people.

In this connection, I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I utter a word of warning. Let us profit by the experience of others by all

means. It would be the height of folly not to do so. But let us not blindly imitate and let us not adopt half-measures. The adopting of half-measures has proved and is proving disastrous in its effect in a place not very far distant from here. I have in my mind the recommendations of the famous Calcutta University Commission. We all know that they suggested a certain system which was intended to be one organic whole, and yet in these provinces those recommendations have been torn piecemeal and while there has been eager adoption of one part of it, the other, and perhaps the more important parts, have been ignored; with the results that are already becoming apparent and which are just what any right thinking man would have foreseen. Say what we may, there is no ignoring the fact which is patent by this time that while the standard of our Intermediate education in the province has as a whole gone down, that of the B.A. degree has not risen appreciably. The latter is impossible and will be becoming increasingly impossible, because the B.A. standard has to be kept at a level where it can be taken up by the Intermediate students. So that the B.A. standard cannot, indeed ought not to, run away beyond the reach of the Intermediate standard. I am not referring here to those fortunate institutions that still retain their Intermediate classes. Benares and Aligarh have not yet derived the full benefit of educational reforms in the province and they deserve to be congratulated on this. People responsible for these reforms need not be ashamed of this fact. No one impugns their motive; what they did they did in perfect good faith; all that is meant is that they were carried away a little too much by their enthusiasm for reform; and in the matter of the reforming of well-established institutions, it is always well to temper enthusiasm with experience and foresight.

There is another point on which a word of caution appears to be called for. What I am referring to is the necessity of a balanced judgment and sound common sense in the matter of educational reform. What I mean will be made clear if I cite an instance. People connected with the Hindu University must be aware of the fact that from its very inception compulsory religious instruction has been the very basic principle of the whole scheme and yet there are some of us who remember the day

when a gallant fight was made against it and even to the present day the reverberations of the controversy have not quite ceased. We still hear of the conscience clause, the unjustifiability of making religious instruction compulsory at our educational institutions and at their appendages, the hostels; and it is curious to note that these same stalwarts of free-thought are the persons who are clamouring for compulsory military training. They will not admit of even a conscience clause here, and yet every balanced mind would realize that just as one set of people considers that military training is the only remedy for all the ills that our country is suffering from, so in the same manner and to the same extent, and with the same justification, there are others who think that the salvation of the country lies in proper religious education. You will thus see that in this matter there has been a certain lack of balanced judgment. Such unbalanced methods are bound to lead to disastrous results. We should guard against our individual freaks and fads being imposed upon matters of deep and lasting interest. Unless educational reform is carried on with this depth of foresight and absence of bias the results will always be very far from desirable. I may be permitted to say here that personally I am as averse to compulsory religious instruction as to compulsory military training. The attending of formal religious classes will never make us saints or even decent Hindus, nor will a two years' course in the University Training Corps make us heroes or even decent soldiers. Formal instruction never touches the spirit; and in the domain of religion, as in the domain of heroism, it is the spirit that should be touched, if there is to be any lasting benefit.

In all these matters, therefore, we should exercise a calm judgment and not give way to enthusiasm one way or the other.

When I spoke of a system of education suited to the genius of the people of Bihar what I had in mind was the importance of classical and philosophical studies, I mean no disparagement to Physical Science. The Physical Sciences are extremely useful and as such they must be pursued. But it cannot be denied that their purview is limited to things physical, (though recently they have begun to trench upon the precincts of the super-physical also) and the culture of a people should not be made to depend entirely upon a study of those

sciences. Herein lies the value of philosophical and classical studies. The culture that is available in the classics is most valuable for the training of the mind. I have the authority of the great Professor, Huxley himself, when I assert that the training required for construing a piece of Latin is not lower than that required in carrying on a difficult piece of chemical analysis. In any scheme of education, therefore, that is evolved in Bihar, I hope our zeal for the modern subjects will not lead us to the neglect of the highly and perhaps more useful field of philosophy and classics. The study of the physical sciences is conducive to more immediate and easily perceptible benefits; but while we should never cease to strive after these benefits, we should never lose sight of those other subjects whose study brings about benefits which though not possessing the glamour of the former are all the more lasting. And after all, in the matter of culture it is the spirit that counts for more than the matter that pervades the country.

Now, a word of advice to the Conference itself. Do not for a moment think that I am damping your enthusiasm; but to my mind it seems that during the last 40 years we have had enough of the passing of resolutions. In fact if one were to collect all the resolutions that have been passed by our numerous Congresses and Conferences, they would fill quite a decent volume. It is now the time for action. Please do not go on adding to these resolutions in the spirit of mere pious wish. Discuss only those resolutions that are distinctly practical and those alone that you can immediately carry into effect. There is a great advantage in passing such resolutions. You pass a resolution and you at once begin to act up to it. This is the only way of making the Conference really useful. Of course, it has its use also in this that it brings us together and hence leads to the formation of ties which may have beneficial effects. But these advantages are not at all commensurate with the amount of trouble that is taken by the various Reception Committees. Whereas if during the present sittings we could take up even one practical resolution and get together half a dozen young men who could carry that resolution into practice, a great step towards advancement will have been taken in the course of the next 12 months. It is not necessary that the goal should be reached at once; that active steps

have begun to be taken is in itself a great gain.

Another advice that I feel inclined to offer is that a Conference of students should confine its attention mainly to such practical problems as affect the students themselves. In other matters, perhaps, older people are likely to know better and more than young men. When I have heard students in debating societies discussing questions bearing upon the constitution of India, or measures of social reform, all that I have heard is a mere rehash of the articles that have appeared on the one hand in the "Leader" or the "Aj" and on the other, those that have figured in the "Pioneer" or the "Englishman" or the "Statesman". The reiterating of these arguments one way or the other serves no useful purpose, it involves no exercise of thought on your part and such deliberations are not of much use to those that listen to them. While in matters relating to students we want to know what your feelings are and on these matters you are expected to throw that light which could not come from any other source. Here also, we may take the case of the military training. We, elders, are arguing over the matter. The protagonists of compulsory Military training urge that this training is so popular among students that compulsion would be nominal; every one would rush in as soon as the strength of the corps had been raised to the requisite strength. On the other hand, there are others, who urge that as soon as the element of compulsion is introduced the scheme will lose even that amount of popularity which it enjoys now. Now this is a point on which the students alone can give us correct information. Similarly, there are other matters of detail that affect our students directly. On all these matters you can throw much light and very useful light. I would, therefore, request you to devote more attention to problems affecting yourselves, and here also those which receive your first attention should be those that require action on your own part and then those that demand the activity of others.

Let me conclude with an earnest appeal to you, my Behari brethren. During the last ten or fifteen years, there has appeared a tendency among us of being led away a little too much by catch-words. In doing this, we are sadly belying our past. That a Province which has had the honour of giving birth to a sturdy protestant like Buddha, who, when he found it necessary, did not hesitate to make a stand against that deeply-rooted state of things which may be called "Vedic orthodoxy", should give birth to men who follow the shibboleths set up now and again, without due thought—is very disconcerting. This is not the occasion for going into details but the whole country, perhaps the whole world, is now-a-days being carried away by about half a dozen of such catch-words which appeal to the imagination but which crumble away when we subject them to close logical analysis. But I feel I would be failing in my duty if I did not utter this word of warning to my friends assembled here.

Just by way of whetting your appetite for enquiry and investigation I may mention a few of these catch-phrases that I have been speaking of. I ask for pardon if they happen to be those that some of you may have very much at heart, but an honest enquirer can not allow such consideration to weigh with him. Some of you may be scandalised by my rank heresy. I beg their pardon and only request them to just for a minute shake off the glamour and take a calmer view of things. These words are—Freedom, Liberty—individual and social; Self-Government, Self-determination, Government by the people and for the people, Government by consent and so forth. Every one of these expressions stands in need of deep pondering and it is my earnest request that the countrymen of the great Buddha will not fail to exercise that faculty of introspection of which the standard was laid down by that mighty Thinker 2,500 years ago in that holy land which, I hope, is present in the minds of most of us to-day.

BOOKS AND THEIR AUTHORS.

A LONDON CAUSERIE.

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.

Mr. John Drinkwater.

Few of our well-known living poets have enjoyed a career so varied as Mr. Drinkwater's. Since the publication in 1911 of "Poems of Men and Hours" books by him (he was then a clerk in an insurance office) have appeared at the average rate of one or more a year. Some of these, like "Prose Papers", contain criticism of an analytical type that is illuminated by the poet's understanding. I have never read a more lucid account of lyrical poetry, for instance, than that in this volume of Mr. Drinkwater's. During the years since the war his criticism and also his lyrical poetry have been eclipsed in the public mind by the fame of his plays, particularly of "Abraham Lincoln." But I noticed with pleasure in the autumn book lists a critical biography of Byron by Mr. Drinkwater. Mr. Drinkwater is a very popular lecturer in the English educational world, and it is good that he intends to remain a critic. When I saw him last he was I remember most optimistic about the new methods of teaching poetry and literature generally in school. "I think," he said, "there is much more life in the teaching of literature than there has ever been in recent times. I remember that even in my school days this used to be a very perfunctory business. To me the proper teaching of English literature in the schools appears one of the most important functions of the teacher."

I asked Mr. Drinkwater which was the more important, to see that the child understood the poetry it read or recited, or to see that the poetry was enjoyed?

"The understanding of it comes after enjoyment," he replied. "Indeed, I think that, generally, children do understand poetry when they enjoy it, though perhaps they could not explain the poems in other words. But I think that is always a bad thing, trying to explain a poem in words other than those selected by the poet. All is well if children feel the real beauty and imagination of poetry."

These remarks are worthy of attention from

any of my readers who may be engaged in the difficult art of teaching.

Byron—A Conflict.

Mr. Drinkwater's comprehensive study of Byron (*The Pilgrim of Eternity: Byron—A Conflict*—Hodder and Stoughton 18/-) begins with an exhaustive examination of the masses of evidence relating to the charge which has left more odium on the poet than all his other offences against moral decency—the charge of incest with his half-sister. Owing to past controversies this has become essential in so honest and painstaking a work as Mr. Drinkwater's, but surely it is time somebody protested against the false scale of values which produces such a misproportion of shudders at this serious offence compared with the poet's other faults, such as his cynical and flippant remarks about women he had seduced. Whatever his relations with Augusta Leigh, in these he may be criminal but he is not mean. As one passes over the "histories" of Mrs. Beecher Stowe and Lord Lovelace, such a nausea overcomes the mind as even the original offence alleged does not awaken. Worst of all is the correspondence of Lady Byron with the horrible Mrs. Villiers and with the subject of those vile letters, Augusta Leigh herself. Whatever guilt is Byron's—and I think Mr. Drinkwater might have admitted, on the evidence he himself brings up, something nearer to moral certainty against Byron than he actually does—Lady Byron stands self-condemned as a repulsive mixture of virtue, self-righteous meanness, cowardice and perfidy. I think too that Mr. Drinkwater, for a dramatic poet, shows a curious lack of subtlety in laying so much stress on the absence of any logic in the correspondence of Augusta Leigh and of Lady Byron, who signed a legal document stating that she had not wanted the separation from Byron because of any charge of incest. For the greater part of the time after the separation Lady Byron was wallowing (with Mrs. Villiers's

assiduous assistance) in what Mr. Drinkwater aptly describes as a warm bath of emotion, at the moral expense of Mrs. Leigh and of the husband whom, in spite of her self-righteousness, she regretted losing.

The inconsistencies of Augusta Leigh are hardly so puzzling or call so urgently for fresh evidence, as Mr. Drinkwater maintains. It seems reasonably clear from her correspondence with Lady Byron that, as Byron had, she had a pronounced tendency to perverse erotic emotions; and her humility and affection towards the spiritually vain and deeply-wronged wife are more human and understandable than the latter's strenuous attempts to play the role of loving saviour—and apparently without any explicit confession from the sinner! Augusta was the fascinated rabbit; Lady Byron the snake. The snake's expressions of love for the rabbit, while damning both her and the absent husband by slanderous silences and dirty insinuations, are not the less disgusting because typical of the methods of human snakes.

Entirely necessary as Mr. Drinkwater's careful examination of this garbage is, the reader is glad that after the first chapter most of it is disposed of, and Mr. Drinkwater is free to write the best and most absorbing biography of Byron that we have. The poet's life was a most unedifying one judged by our code of morals; but at the head of chapter two Mr. Drinkwater does well to quote Galt: "It is impossible to reflect on the boyhood of Byron without regret. There is not one point in it all which could, otherwise than with pain, have affected a young mind of sensibility." And Byron's poetry and the good action which were his prove the existence in him of that which deserves the sympathetic attention and occasional eulogy Mr. Drinkwater accords to a fellow poet. It is unfortunate that a good life of Byron inevitably includes so much about relations with women—generally discreditable to him. But here especially sympathy is needed in grasping the psychological realities below the superficial facts before passing judgment. The recklessness and generosity which redeemed so much of the unamiable traits developed by bad parentage and training were just the qualities to get such a man into hopeless tangles with women—and the world is too full of them—who seem to go out of their way to be victimised by the pirates of love. Do not some men show the same fatal inclination to

be sacrificed by vampires of the opposite sex? For every Byron there is a George Sand.

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A Story of the Slums.

In *Lady* (Heinemann, 7/6) Mr. Chris Massie has given us one of the most remarkable first novels, in my opinion, which has appeared for a long time. All such judgments concerning new novels must inevitably take on the character of merely personal opinions, not only because of the latitude for estimating the qualities of so variable a literary form, but also on account of the sheer impossibility for one critic to read all the new novels that appear. It is therefore only possible to say of a book like *Lady* that it is certainly well-written and reveals in the author an original and even profound vision of human life. Its one artistic fault is that the beautiful and tragic idyll of "Lady", a girl who lives in the slums and is befriended by an unlucky journalist lodging in her mother's house, stands out with poetic reality against the Hogarthian background of the East End of London, which the author has depicted with ruthless realism. Thus the two chief characters both seem a little finer and nobler, and the poor slum-dwellers around them seem correspondingly rather too uniformly degraded, for the final conviction of imaginative truth. It is as if the author, suspicious of his own poetic vision, or because of it, had to turn upon the filthy slum life of the modern "civilised" city and sweep it with fierce satire. But *Lady* is nevertheless a beautiful book.

Sex in Fiction.

The Man Himself (Philpost 7/6) is stated to be a man's true story. It is edited by the well-known novelist, Mrs. C. N. Williamson. The wrapper to this book unnecessarily vulgarises a story which, especially in the opening and final chapter, rings true and gives a very clear picture of the mind of a certain type of man in love. To quote the publishers, *The Man Himself*, "tells of his half-loves and confesses his sins in peace and war to the woman whose Love he hopes to gain." But it is a pity that a "close-up" view of a pair of eyes should appear on the wrapper, and the explanation that "the owner of the eyes had the power of arousing the devotion of women,

devotion which, so long as his heart was empty, he accepted." For, as I have said, even the editing of this story by a practiced novelist has not the note of truth in it. The man is not a Rasputin by any means, and in the story he tells of himself he appears as a fairly innocent and honourable man, though adventures occur to him for the very good reason that from the time of separation from his wife he drifts without an anchor in the harbour of love.

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When I had read first part of *Siren* by C. Kay Scott (Faber and Gwyer, 7/6) I recalled that argument used by Prince Myshkin in Dostoevsky's "The Idiot". There are of course many illuminating discussions in that book, and near the beginning of Part III the reader may remember, Myshkin is asked to say whether the arguments of a defending counsel in a murder case was a typical example or an individual case of a distorted view of life. The prisoner was accused of murdering six people. He and his counsel declared that in view of his poverty it must have been *natural* for him to think of murdering these six people. Myshkin, who is something of a Solomon, declares that such a perversion of ideas is far more the general rule than an exception. Someone else objects that such awful crimes had occurred long before; had indeed always happened. Myshkin admits this, but says his experience in visiting prisons is that the most hardened and desperate criminal knows he is a criminal; he considers in his conscience that he has acted wrongly even though he is unrepentant. But the type of which the murderer was one "refuse even to consider themselves as criminals and think that they are in the right and...that they have even acted well.....That's, to my thinking, where the terrible difference lies. And observe that they are all young, that is, they are all of an age in which one may most easily and hopelessly fall under the influence of perverted ideas."

Now this is a very suggestive observation, and it must have occurred to students of Western Society since the war, particularly where sexual morality is concerned. The war caused a vast moral upheaval and with much of the bad, some good traditions began tumbling down. Free-love, for long a theory favoured by intellectual and honourable people became

the practice of large numbers who did not think sufficiently to bother about theories. Very quickly the popular novelists played up to the new fashion of making chastity, if not actually a reproach, at least slightly ridiculous, and the mutual loyalty on which marriage is founded an unjustified restriction of the freedom of the individual. Luscious descriptions of people's "complexes" and sentimental descriptions of adultery were part of the stock-in-trade of many novelists until quite recently, and though the market value of these commodities is falling, they are still offered in large quantities every book season. Therefore when one reads the early part of *Siren* that argument of Prince Myshkin seems irresistible. But Mr. Kay Scott is far from being a sentimentaliser of erotic manias. The development of the chief character from girlhood through adolescence to her horrible maturity is a masterly study in psychology. Her lack of any restraining moral sense when "her boys" come on the scene, and the ruin she causes in the lives of two men, born artists who idolise her, is all gradually revealed as a foredoomed consequence of her inheritance. There is no condemnation, no moral judgment passed on the poor girl, rather the author seems to convey a passionate pity. The mere lack of restraint which is represented at first by her two chief lovers as proofs of her splendid self-sufficiency, her goddess-like perfect paganism, is merely the forerunner of clearer proofs of mental deficiency, and she is finally ushered, with a string of imposing terms from pathology into a mental asylum. That is, in a sense, the climax, though one of the two men who had really loved her secures as a cousin the dangerous privilege of looking after her. But she fulfils her destiny by becoming first an acknowledged harlot and then an acknowledged hopeless imbecile. This crude and brutal summary cannot convey to the reader however the light and shade, the subtleties of irony which the author has written into his story.

Old and New Love Stories.

Mrs. C. A. Nicholson has given us another new novel *The Dancer's Cat* (Robert Holden, 7/6) which I think will interest not only novel readers but many others whose interests include questions of national and international class distinctions. By presenting the love affair of a typical young Englishman of

good family and fortune and a young dancer, an exiled Russian aristocrat, the author is able to show the antagonism of two different worlds of thought, represented by the dancer and her fiancé's mother, an intelligent and strong-minded exponent of Victorianism. The love-affair therefore is to some extent an excuse for the argument, but it is well done. In **Old and New Love Stories**, edited by C. A. Dawson Scott and Ernest Rhys (Holden 7/6) the reader will find a very interesting selection of love stories which vary as widely as possible. It is perhaps only necessary to say that the collection includes at one end Henry James's "The Way it Came," "A Dead Secret" by Lafcadio Hearn, "A Woman of Genius" by Kathleen Coyle, and at the other end the Arabian Nights tale of Diadem and Dunya, Boccaccio's story of Isabella, and the Bible story of David and Bathsheba. In between is a miscellany of stories by living authors, most of them famous. There does not seem to be any obvious principle in the selection of these stories, unless it is variety, which would justify the remark of the editors in their Foreword, that "the book covers love's actualities, too, its common predicaments, its revenges and disillusionments treated in as many different ways and fashions," as well as "the invincible note of romance."

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Two Interesting Anthologies.

In **The Silver Treasury of English Lyrics**, edited by Mr. T. Earle Welby (Chapman and Hall 10/6) we have a valuable complement to Palgrave's "Golden Treasury," for with but one exception, its contents consist of good poems omitted from the "Golden Treasury." That Mr. Welby's feat is a remarkable and praiseworthy one will be seen from the fact that while the majority of the pieces in his *Silver Treasury* are much less generally known than those in the famous "Golden Treasury" they are, taking them as a whole, by no means inferior, as silver may be considered inferior to gold. Of Mr. Welby's admirable "Popular History of English Poetry," the best literary history in English, led us to expect, this anthology is clearly the work of a conscientious and independent critic. If wanted to suggest some inclusions not found in his "Silver Treasury" we would simply make use of his own "Popular History" and turn up him with a pregnant eulogy out of his own

mouth. Why, for instance, after writing in the "History," that if he ever had the privilege of compiling an anthology of English poetry he would include John Donne's fiery Ode to his mistress, did he fail here to carry out that promise? However we have so much to thank him for in the way not only Donne, but other neglected poets like Ebenezer Jones, George Darley, and Christopher Smart are represented, that grumbling would be a churlish manner in which to take this delightful gift.

Mr. St. Adcock, the editor of the *British Bookman* has compiled **The Bookman Treasury of Living Poets** (Hodder and Stoughton 7/6) in which no less than 198 living British poets contribute 397 poems. All the most famous poets will be found here side by side with a great number who can scarcely be known to the general public. The total effect of the anthology is a revelation of the diversity and wealth of contemporary song. The reader may be surprised also to find how many famous novelists have yielded to the Muse. An interesting feature of the anthology is that the British poets represented are not confined to Great Britain, but come from India, Australasia, South Africa, Canada, wherever, in fact, are British citizens, and I take it as a cheerful sign that India not less than other countries provides its women poets in this universal choir! When I was talking to Mr. Adcock a few weeks ago about his anthology he expressed the opinion that there was no essential cause for quarrel between the various "schools" of poetry, and that all forms, from the modern rigidly traditional, to the most revolutionary free-verse, might at some time become the most suitable for the particular mood or message of the poet at a given moment. That clearly is a principle of catholicism in taste which has actuated him in compiling this anthology.

While on the subject of modern poetry, I must not fail to remind my readers of the recent appearance of Mr. Thomas Hardy's new book of poetry (one of the most astonishing signs of productivity in the history of English poetry). It is called **Human Shows: Far Phantasies** (Macmillan) and reflects all Mr. Hardy's fine range of observation, terse ironic comment on human destiny, and homely feeling. Mr. Hardy is an amazing phenomenon; I am anxious to devote more space to him and his work in a future causerie.

Another book which I cannot stop to deal with this time as it ought to be dealt with is Miss M. P. Willcocks' *Between the Old World and the New* (Allen and Unwin 12/6), a collection of critical essays in which the soul of Western Europe since the eighteenth century is anatomised in a series of brilliant literary and philosophical studies. The author begins with a sketch of the theme of Personality Through the Ages, and shows how the writers of genius reflect as in a mirror the fundamental influences at work in the soul of a people. Part Two,

"Three Prophets of the Will" (Goethe, Balzac and Shelley) leads to an illuminating study first of the Victorian Mind and its exceptions in English Literature, then to "The Wreckers" (Ibsen, Tolstoi, Turgenev, Tchekhov, Anatole France) then to "The Builders" (Samuel Butler, Dostoevsky, Walt Whitman and Edward Carpenter and Thomas Hardy). From which very brief summary the reader will recognize that here is a valuable book not lightly to be missed.

THE LAW'S DELAYS IN INDIA : A CRITIQUE ON THE CIVIL JUSTICE COMMITTEE REPORT.—II.

By MR. C. M. AGARWALA, *Bar-at-Law*,

Office Organization.

I will conclude in this article my critique on the Report of the Civil Justice Committee. The Report contains very useful suggestions regarding the organisation of the offices of the court. The general idea is, that instead of each presiding officer having his own office and a separate staff, all the offices at a headquarters station should be centralised in one building and be in charge of one officer or registrar. This scheme is calculated to relieve judicial officers to a large extent from the burden of an excessive amount of office and administrative work and, at the same time, to effect on appreciable saving of expense and time. As the Calcutta High Court has observed, "The present system of turning possibly good judges into inevitably bad accountants is not good economy." In addition to these duties it is also suggested that the Registrar should be invested with various judicial and quasi-judicial functions and that he should dispose of all uncontested litigation. The Committee say in their Report: "Our conception of the registrar is that he should be an officer who is not only the head of the office of the district judge, but the head of a unified office of all the

courts, whether of additional judges, or subordinate judges or munsifs, situated in the district headquarters. Further, the registrar, according to our scheme, would have to discharge judicial duties in connection with all these courts analogous to the duties of the registrar of a County Court in England." Under the English system it has been found possible to provide for the needs of England and Wales in the matter of petty litigation by the establishment of 461 courts, with 434 registrars, 53 circuits and only 54 judges. In 1922, 695,417 actions were disposed of by the registrars and 38,438 (a little over 5 per cent. of the whole) were disposed of by the judges. The number of actions undisposed of at the end of the year was 66081.

The proposal also contemplates that the office of the registrar should be the office where all the plaints to be filed in any of the courts situated in the district head-quarters should be filed in the first instance. The initial advantage of this system is that a registrar would be in a far better position than the *sheristidar* of a subordinate judge or of the munsif to scrutinise pleadings, check the plaints, admit them, issue summons, fix dates of hearing, decide uncontested suits and pass on contested work to

the courts of the several judges according to the settled principles of distribution or the exigencies of the cause list. The same scheme would be extended *mutatis mutandis* to sub-divisional headquarters where there is a concentration of a large number of munsifs' or subordinate judges' courts.

There is no doubt that this system would result not only in better administration but greater despatch and less expenditure. The small and imperfectly supervised establishments now imperfectly in a number of out of the way offices, where the light of day rarely penetrates, would give place to a large and centralised office with a properly paid and responsible chief. The multiplicity of small offices without supervision and with grave temptations to dishonesty will disappear. Not only the District Judge but every additional and subordinate judge as well as every munsif will be in a position to see what is going on in the unified office in broad daylight. The advantage to the public resulting from a unified office of this character will be very great. The scheme proposed also has this advantage that it has, as a matter of fact, been tried in India successfully. The position of the proposed registrar would be analogous to that of the registrar of an Indian presidency Small Cause Court.

VI.

SERVICE OF PROCESSES.

The Civil Justice Committee found that opinion is almost universal that one of the main sources of delay in the disposal of suits and other original proceedings, as well as of appeals and execution petitions, is the delay in the service of processes. The Report contains a description of the practice prevailing in each province with regard to the service of processes. It was found that in Bengal and Bihar the problem of serving processes and of securing proof of service presents peculiar difficulties and one of the reasons assigned for this is that the land revenue being permanently settled in these provinces, local village officers are not always available to give assistance to the process servers. The importance of this matter to all litigants makes it desirable to deal fully with the Committee's Report on the subject. The following were

ascertained to be among the many causes of delay—

(i) Non-payment of process fees and diet money in time. It is recommended that these fees and money should be paid along with the filing of the suit or proceeding;

(ii) delay in the office in preparing processes. The practice prevailing in Bengal and Bihar of getting all processes prepared on forms supplied to the court by parties or pleaders is recommended for general adoption in every province. The duty of the court office would be confined to inserting the necessary dates and getting the process signed. The processes would then be made over to the *Nazir* for service without any further direct communication between the court establishment and the parties, and a good deal of petty corruption in the office would be avoided;

(iii) difficulty of supplying identifiers. In some provinces the rule prevails that the party who seeks to have a process served must supply an identifier to accompany the process server. It was found that this system lends itself to the most flagrant corruption. A plaintiff anxious to snatch a decree provides a creature of his own as identifier, and in collusion with the process-server, who for his own sake is not unwilling to avoid a tedious journey, suppresses the service and procures a false return supported by the affidavits of the process server and the identifier. A test inquiry into fifty specific cases of reported service made by the District Judge of Dacca yielded the following result.—In nine cases the peon had reported service on persons as living persons, when in fact these persons had long been dead. In seven cases personal service was shown on persons who were elsewhere at the time of the alleged service. In eight cases personal service was reported when in fact the peon had not gone to the place at all. In six cases processes were returned unserved on the ground that no identifier was supplied when in fact identifiers were supplied or were unnecessary. In Bengal, the Government has recently made provision, by rules framed under the Village Self-Government Act, for service of revenue and criminal processes through *Dafadars* and *Chaukidars* under the union boards. The Court issuing the processes send them direct to the president of the Board who makes them over to the *Dafadars* and *Chaukidars* and returns them to the issuing authority after they are served. But the

difficulty of employing the union boards for serving processes of Civil Courts is that the *Dafadar* and the President are under executive control while the actual Judge of their work will be the courts themselves. A further difficulty will arise if *Dafadars* have to attend Civil Courts to give evidence regarding processes served by them. The Committee suggest the appointment of a special peon or a batch of peons for each union but concludes that the question is largely one of village administration and requires consideration from points of view other than that of efficiency in the administration of civil courts. As the evil is a great and pressing one, there is another suggestion which might be considered. Service of a process in a rural area should be considered sufficient if the following steps have been taken:—

(a) The process should be served either personally on the person to be served or a copy should be affixed to the door of his dwelling house, and, in addition,

(b) an entry should be made on a form fixed to a village notice board to be maintained for the purpose, showing the serial number of the entry, the names of the parties to the proceeding in respect to which the process has been issued, the name and father's name and caste of the party to be served, the date and place at which attendance is required, the date and time at which the entry is made, the signature of the serving peon, and a statement as to which of the two methods mentioned in (a) has been adopted. A copy of these entries should be made on the back of the process and returned to the issuing court, together with a statement as to why personal service was not effected in cases where a copy is affixed to the door. The notice board should be protected by a case with a glass front and the key of the case should be kept in the custody of a village officer, e.g., the *Chonkidar* when no higher officer is available. Each time a process server makes an entry he should report to the issuing court the number of spaces in the form still available for future notices and this report should immediately be sent on by that court to the office of the District Judge. As each sheet is filled up it should be returned to the office of the District Judge and a fresh form hung up. By this means it would be assured that the process server does at least go to the village where the process is to be served. A person

interested in disputing the fact of service should be required to prove both that the process was not served either personally by fixing a copy to his door, and, also, that there was no entry in the form on the notice board. The later fact could always be checked by producing the form referred to above. If process servers were prohibited from making entries on the notice board after dusk it is difficult to see how, except in cases of the most elaborate frauds, a villager against whom process has issued could be kept in ignorance of the fact. The advent of the process server to the village, the obtaining and returning of the key of the notice board, the making of the entry, and, above all, the fact that the entries regarding processes will remain open to the public gaze for a considerable time are together a number of circumstances which would make it extremely difficult and unsafe to report as served a process which has not been served.

In their Report the Committee suggest various checks on the work of process-servers, including the appointment of officers whose business it would be to go round and personally check the work. This system has been tried in some provinces but has had to be abandoned on account of the needs of retrenchment. The Committee observe, however, that whatever be the nature of the supervision exercised over the work of process-servers, it is impossible to expect honest and intelligent work from the class of men it is possible to recruit to the process-serving department on the scale of pay and prospects at present in force. The scale of remuneration, which is less than that of a cooly or a domestic servant, hardly affords a living wage to the process-serving staff.

General financial stringency is no excuse for starving the administration of justice. The administration of justice is the primary concern of every State and in every State which enjoys internal order it is because every citizen knows that the effect of transgressing the law will be justice swiftly and efficiently executed. In India, where litigants pay heavily in the shape of court fees for the protection of their rights, there is no excuse for not giving a fair return for the money. Apart from the amount realised from court fees, the profit from process fees is enormous. In Bengal alone, in 1922, receipts from process fees amounted to over thirty lakhs giving a net profit of eighteen lakhs. The Committee observe, that "it is only right that

the litigant should get full value for the money paid for a specific purpose. Now that process fees have been enhanced in most provinces, this enhancement should not be made a source of profits, the state should provide for the efficient discharge of the service for which it is paid."

VII.

TRAINING OF JUDICIARY.

While casting no reflection on the vast mass of judicial officers presiding over the Court throughout India, the Civil Justice Committee was impressed by the evidence produced before it that delay in the proceedings of Civil Courts in India is to a considerable extent due to want of any proper system in training the judges. With respect to recruitment to the Bench the Committee's recommendations are that for appointment to the lowest branch (Munsifs), the possession of a law degree should be made an indispensable condition of an appointment and that candidates should also be required to pass an examination to test their practical acquaintance with law and procedure with special reference to their ability to draft pleadings, appreciate evidence and write judgments. This system has been found to produce satisfactory results in Mysore but has not been tried in British India. The Committee observes that it makes this recommendation with less hesitation as persistent complaints were made to it that recent appointments in several provinces have not been made from the best material available; until competition is substituted for the present method of distributing appointments among particular communities, it is practically impossible to utilize all the best materials available.

Similarly, with regard to the appointment of subordinate judges, the Committee was informed that there has been a deterioration in the personnel of this cadre owing to the almost universal practice of promoting senior Munsifs who have crossed the efficiency bar, without any regard to the merits of the respective candidates. The Committee recommends that if this information is correct, a Committee should select officers for promotion after examining and testing their work as Munsifs. The appointment of a certain number of subordinate judges direct from the Bar was disapproved on the ground that the selection

must necessarily be from among senior pleaders, but the most capable of them who command extensive practice would decline the office and inferior candidates would have to be accepted. In Burma, however, sixty per cent. of the subordinate judges are appointed from among University graduates with honours and practising pleaders.

With respect to District and Additional Judges the present practice in all the provinces is that they are principally recruited from I. C. S., a very few appointments being filled by promotion from the Provincial Civil Service and one or two being filled by direct recruitment from the Bar. The Committee condemns the appointment of officers to these posts without any previous training in Civil Law and Procedure. The following extract from a letter from the Government of India, dated the 14th July, 1907, shows that the Government are also awake to the defects of this system:—

"It would be difficult to exaggerate the political dangers of the present situation or the importance of effecting a material improvement in the capacity, training and status of the I. C. S. Judges. It is impossible at any rate in the advanced provinces to justify a system under which a gentleman, who has no knowledge of Civil Law and who has never been inside a Civil Court in his life, can be and often is at one step promoted to be judge of appeal in Civil cases and to hear appeals from Subordinate Judges who are trained lawyers with years of legal experience. Incompetent men cannot retain their position in the face of a well-founded criticism which is becoming more and more searching as time goes on. On public grounds it is important that drastic steps should be taken to remove this blot on our administration."

The Committee note that this position has led in some provinces to demand for complete exclusion of the I. C. S. cadre from all the superior judicial appointments and for recruitment to be made from the Bar, but the Committee did not feel called upon to take part in this controversy as it raises large questions which were not considered to be fairly within the scope of the Committee's reference. It must, however, be admitted that if lack of legal experience is a bar to the efficiency of I. C. S. Judicial Officers, lack of administrative experience is a serious handicap to the efficiency of Judges appointed from the Bar, unless they are given some training in

administration in the early part of their judicial careers. The proposal of the Committee to transfer the administrative functions of the judiciary to a Registrar has, however, in addition to its other merits, the advantage that it will remove this obstacle to the recruitment of Judges from the Bar.

Except that there is a tendency in the High Courts to print more matter than is necessary, these Courts as might be expected, do not come in for much criticism. The Committee do, however, lay stress on the desirability of judgments being delivered at the close of the arguments, and not reserved. It was found that particular judges had an inordinate number of reserved judgments, some of them very long delayed. In the opinion of the Committee "a judge who has accumulated ten—or anything like ten—reserved judgments ought not to sit in Court till he has disposed of them. To argue new cases before him in such circumstances—unless indeed they be free from complication or difficulty—is to address oneself to a mortgaged-mind. The committee also disapproved of the Patna practice of the Registrar having power to admit second appeals, on the ground that this is a judicial function which should be exercised only by a judge or bench.

VIII.

PRUNING THE HIGH COURT'S JURISDICTION.

In recent years the number of judges in each of the High Courts has had to be increased from time to time to deal with the ever expanding volume of appellate work. In spite of the expense entailed there is little or no diminution in the length of time taken from the date of the institution of a suit to the date when it is finally disposed of by the High Court. It may be safely predicted that this state of affairs will at least continue even if it does not get worse unless still more High Court Judges are appointed or unless some other method is evolved of relieving the pressure in the High Courts. The curtailment of the right of appeal altogether in certain classes of cases would undoubtedly shake public confidence in the administration of justice and cause much public discontent. The Report of the Civil Justice Committee contains an elaborate review of this subject and many useful suggestions—the most useful and novel being the scheme now to be noticed.

At present generally speaking, suits above Rs. 5,000 in value are appealable direct to the High Court. In suits of a lesser value there is first an appeal to the District Judge and from his decision the unsuccessful party may appeal to the High Court. But in this second appeal findings of facts cannot be disturbed and the lower appellate court's decision must be attacked on a question of law. If the second appeal is disposed of in the High Court by a Division Bench, the decision is final but the decision of a Judge of the High Court sitting singly is itself appealable under the Letters Patent.

"The one fact which has made the present system a necessity in the past and which can be put forward as an element of reason for continuing it is that the courts of first appeal—i.e., the Courts of the District Judges and of the Senior Subordinate Judges to whom the District Judge transfers appeals for disposal—are not strong enough. A District Judge, after service as Joint Magistrate, is asked, sitting alone, to reverse on appeal the decision of a Subordinate Judge upon title to a plot of land or on a point of Hindu Law, or a Subordinate Judge reverses an experienced Munsif on a question of fact. The litigant—who has no particular belief that either the law or the fact is ascertainable—is expected to acquiesce in the decision." The Committee therefore holds that the reform of the present methods of dealing with the great volume of suits of small value in India should be based upon a strengthening of the lower appellate courts. The great mass of Indian litigation is of a character and value which requires a trial and one good appeal both on fact and law. The first question to be asked, therefore, is whether it is not possible to give to cases of small or intermediate valuation a first and final "appeal on fact and law" before two trained, experienced and specially selected judges. The Committee is of opinion that if in any particular province this can be done, then the right of further appeal can be withdrawn, provision being made for cases of disagreement between the Judges and for stating a case to the High Court upon specially difficult or important points of law, if the judges should think it necessary to do so. The advantages of such a system in economising time, money and effort in obviating the confusion, oppression and fraud which accompany delay in the final decision, required no comment. Such a Court

would do no other work and the hearing of such appeals might be accomplished in much less time than is now usually taken up by the stage of first appeal in the District Court.

One objection to the proposal is that, on the ground of expense, it would be impracticable to have an appellate bench in every district. It would be necessary to group several districts and to make the most central headquarter station the place at which the appeals are heard. The litigant would not, therefore, always have the advantage of having the first Appellate Court so near his own village as at present the Subordinate Judge or District Judge is. To some extent also the business of the Local Bar as regards Civil Appeals would be interfered with, though a convenient arrangement of the lists in the Appellate Court might do much to minimise this. It might be possible in some places to arrange for the Appellate Court to sit in more places than one at different times.

In any case these objections weigh very little against the advantage of giving a good appeal—first and final—to the smaller cases which now drag their way to the several High Courts. The main objections to the scheme, however, are two: first the cost of the scheme and secondly the fact that the scheme makes so great a change in present practice that it is sure at first to rouse public opposition. With regard to the question of cost the Committee observes: "So far as we can judge the saving effected by eliminating the great bulk of second appeals from the High Courts would, in the long run, be sufficient or nearly sufficient to provide the salaries of the extra Judge in the proposed Court of first appeal. It has to be remembered that second appeals once brought have to be disposed of some day, and so long as they remain undisposed of they represent a concealed debit to the State. The comparison must be between the expense of disposing of the second appeals—not of ignoring second appeals—on the one hand, and the expense of providing an extra Judge for first appeals on the other. In addition to the relief which the district appellate benches would afford to the High Court—a relief which may make it possible to save the salary of one High Court Judge—is also the relief which would be afforded to the subordinate judiciary. In so far as the benches lessened the civil appellate work of the District Judge, the latter officer, by

keeping on his own file the cases which he is at present obliged to transfer to subordinate Judges, would be able to lighten the work of the Subordinate Judges and thus may make it possible to avoid an increase, if not to justify a decrease, in the number of such Judges. The second objection, namely, the conservatism of the public, appeared to the Committee to be the most serious objection to the scheme. The members, however, "felt obliged to report" that, in their opinion it is now quite possible in Bengal, Bihar and United Provinces, Bombay and Madras to provide appellate benches sufficiently competent to be made courts of final appeal for the smaller classes of cases which now come before the High Court in second appeal. "It is not in the least degree probable that we are in measurable distance of the time when a case will come on for disposal as a second appeal within a period substantially less than two years from the institution of the suit. If, however, any particular province desires greater expedition it can have it by the method we propose. The effect would be to abolish the practice of cutting up cases into facts (on which the opinion of the first court is final) and law (upon which lies a second appeal), to give to each appeal a better tribunal for the decision of question of fact; and, above all things, to give an effective decision within a reasonable time of the conclusion of the judgment of the trial court."

The last objection which has been mentioned is not an objection to the merits of the scheme but to the circumstance that it offends both prejudice and vested interests. In any scheme which aims at improving the administration of justice, however, the vested interests of the District Bar must give way to the convenience and benefit of the litigant public. The reason why the public will eye the proposal with suspicion is, of course, that it will deprive them of the right of appeal to the High Court. The fact that a litigant has confidence in the High Court even when he has none in the subordinate Court is a factor which makes it extremely necessary to convince him that his interests will be as well guarded in the Court of the proposed appellate benches as they have hitherto been in the High Court. So far as the litigant public is concerned, therefore, it is essential that the constitution and personnel of the appellate benches shall be such as to convince the litigant that the proposed transfer of

jurisdiction will not affect him adversely. It is here perhaps that the Committee's scheme contains a vulnerable point. The Committee was apparently aware of this, and points out that "it is necessary that such a Court should be a Court of equals (not a District Judge and a Subordinate Judge, for example) to avoid the appearance or suspicion that the junior was a mere echo of the senior." The Committee opine that in the provinces in which it consider that the scheme is workable, there are a sufficient number of senior Subordinate Judges who would make exceedingly competent members of appellate. That is undoubtedly so, but will the litigant who is accustomed to appeal from the subordinate judiciary to the High Court, be satisfied if he can only appeal from one member of the subordinate judiciary to two members of the subordinate judiciary? The answer is almost certainly "No—at least not in the beginning." If the litigant is expected to acquiesce in the substitution of the District Appellate Bench for the High Court it is essential that the Bench shall not appear to him to be a merely glorified Subordinate Judge's Court. Until the public have acquired confidence in the appellate benches they must be manned by judges who are capable of creating public confidence. Any suggestion that the Judges should be Lawyers would probably meet with a storm of protest from the Provincial Judicial Service but it will probably be the most satisfactory method of starting the scheme. If it is possible, in the beginning at least, to obtain Lawyers who have practised in the High Court and who can be relied upon to introduce in the Courts of the Appellate Benches the High Court outlook and tradition, the Committee's proposal would stand a very much better chance of success. The Provincial Judicial Service would have no substantial cause of grievance because the Committee does not propose that a Subordinate Judge who is elevated to the

District Appellate Bench shall be thereby entitled to an increase in his emoluments. In any case, the appointment of one Lawyer to each Bench would go some way to mitigate public opposition to the scheme.

IX.

EXECUTION.

Analogous to the recommendation of the Civil Justice Committee that the administrative and office work of all the Subordinate Civil Courts in each Sadar should be concentrated in the hands of one officer is the recommendation that the work of execution should also be concentrated in the hands of a single officer. The present system by which each Court, of the many situated in one place, does a portion of the execution work of the local area in which it is situated, leads to its neglect as more importance is attached to the disposal of original suits and execution work is often entrusted to clerks. So long as the impression continues that a Judicial Officer's work is judged mainly by the quantum of original suits disposed of this neglect is bound to continue. The scheme proposed has been tried with success at Ahmedabad.

No attempt has been made by me to consider in detail the many and necessary amendments required to be made in legislative enactments if the work of the Courts is to be speeded up. The Report of the Committee is full of suggestions in this respect, and also of suggestions in which new legislative action is called for, for example, *benami* transaction, champertous suits, suits by Hindu Reversioners, the right of Hindu widows in their late husband's properties, representative suits, etc. Some of the recommendations are of a very controversial nature and require close examination while others are of a nature not likely to arouse any opposition.

CONCERNING PROHIBITION IN AMERICA.

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

The United States was the first great country of the world to adopt prohibition as a national legislative policy. After five years of its operation, it must be admitted now, that prohibition is not a failure. There is still considerable drinking; but this, in comparison with pre-prohibition times, is almost negligible. In the days of open grog-shops, drunkenness could be seen upon every street of American cities. To-day an intoxicated man is a rare sight in American streets. Judge Gemmill, an eminent authority on criminology in America, declares that the decrease in the ratio of drunkenness arrests in 1922 as compared with the pre-prohibition rate is equivalent to 500,000. Prohibition, I maintain, is a success. It is indeed, the greatest piece of social legislation ever undertaken in modern times.

BETTER HEALTH AND MORALS.

The success of prohibition should be measured in terms of better physical, moral and economic conditions. The first reaction to prohibition has been to reduce mortality. According to one authority, prohibition brought down the death-rate from alcoholism in 1920 to about one-fifth that of pre-prohibition days. "As various ways were found to market substitutes for conventional alcoholic beverages, the death-rate began to rise slightly; but it is now about one-half of what it was before prohibition, and in the first quarter of 1924, according to life insurance reports, it is again going down."

Another expert on the subject says in *The Scientific Temperance Journal* (Boston): "The average death-rate for six pre-prohibition years (1912-1917) was 4.8. The average rate for six years (1919-1924) of which five and one-half were under prohibition was 1.8." Prohibition laws are distinctly health measures.

Alcohol is not a stimulant or food. It is a poison; it is an enemy of the human race. Its effects do not stop with the individual, but are hereditary. "Alcohol attacks the reproductive glands. It weakens the integrity of the nervous

system of the unborn child. It sterilizes the mentally brilliant while failing to interfere with propagation by the sheerly animal men. It promotes the degeneration of the race." Liquor, America has perceived, is destructive to national progress and efficiency.

Times there were when it was supposed that the medical profession could not get along without alcohol. It is no longer considered a necessary adjuvant in any case. The American Medical Association has gone on record as opposed to the prescribing of intoxicants. It is quite true that alcohol has been used from remote antiquity to relieve the ill and hasten convalescence; but, remarks Dr. Howard A. Kelly of John Hopkins University (Baltimore), that it "does not prove that it was ever really beneficial, for goose's, peacock's, and cow's dung, scrapings and nails, roaches, and spiders have been prescribed for the same purpose, while modern medical science rejects them to-day, just as multitudes of practitioners reject alcohol." Intelligent physicians are no more in favour of prescribing liquor for their patients than they are for prescribing opium. Both alcohol and opium are narcotics, and their possible usefulness is far outweighed by the incalculable harm they do.

Enormous gains in health from prohibition are clearly reflected in statistics of insanity. Speaking only of the State of New York, a recent official report observes:

"In the five years, 1920-1924, the State hospitals had 1,190 first admissions of alcoholic insanity. Had the alcoholic cases continued to come at the rate of 1917, which approximated the average rate for the period 1909-1917, the New York insane hospitals would have admitted 2,953 new cases of alcoholic mental disorders. Actually, they admitted but 1,190." With greater sobriety, which has come with prohibition, alcoholic insanity in America has decreased by two-thirds.

The moral health of the nation seems to be much better to-day than it was under the rule of Demon Whiskey. Its record has been one of blasted hopes, crushed ambitions, wrecked

homes, blighted lives, ruined souls, and sad bitter tears. With the Monster Liquor in exile, a new day of hope is at hand. With the decreasing menace of alcohol, pauperism, suicide, vice, and crime are on the wane. As the drunkenness has lessened, the brothel and with it the much dreaded venereal disease has faded. To-day there is no city of any consequence in the United States which tolerates public houses of prostitution. They have been practically eliminated everywhere.

BETTER ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY.

It should be apparent that prohibition has not recommended itself to America from mere sentimentality. Americans are a practical people. Dreamy idealism is not the ruling passion of this country. To be sure there is in many places a lip service to idealism and technical Christianity with its doctrinal apparatus; but that is very much on the surface. Americans are too busy to bother their head about the invisible Reality, the indwelling spirit. "The spirit that dwelt in his Church," wrote Emerson, "has glided away to animate other activities; and they who come to the old shrines find apes and players rustling the old garments." It is the hard calculating dollars-and-cents materialism which governs American existence. Naturally the greatest test of prohibition which counts in American mind is economic. And in that respect prohibition has more than justified itself.

Americans have learned that the liquor traffic is a parasite upon the body of society: it is a non-producer. Every dollar that is squandered in an alcoholic drink is a dollar taken away from the productive channels of legitimate trade. In the first three years of prohibition, which included a period of business depression and unemployment, savings bank deposits increased more than in any wet period of equal length. "Such deposits in Massachusetts savings banks increased 27 per cent. in 1922 over 1918, and in trust companies 68 per cent. Michigan banks had 99 per cent. increase in deposits in 1922 over 1917; Illinois, 58 per cent. increase in savings deposits. In 11 Federal Reserve districts, member banks report average monthly increase of savings of over Rs. 12,00,00,000." Prohibition pays larger dividends in increased financial prosperity for the nation.

Formerly the working classes used to pay a stupendous drink bill. Increased prosperity generally meant more drinking and less efficiency. Now they are using the money that went into liquor, productively. With the consumption of intoxicating beverages vastly reduced among laboring people, they are with their savings, able to live in better houses, wear better clothes, and maintain a higher standard of living all around. Not only do laborers have to-day increased comforts and opportunities, but they are extending a control over capital and are themselves becoming capitalists. As a striking evidence of labour acquiring capital, *The International Student* cites the following facts editorially in a recent issue:

"Employees of the New York Central railroad to the number of 78,000 own stock in that company. When the system in January offered its workers 35,000 shares additional the employees subscribed for 96,000, three times as much as was available, showing the money they had ready to invest in ownership.

"In New York a workers' union is financing and building its own homes, the first project housing 170 families in garden apartments covering a city block, a million dollar undertaking.

"Labor banks are being established widely and in increasing numbers. There is one savings account in the United States for every three in the rest of the world, and the average being \$186 (Rs. 558) as compared with \$10.87 (Rs. 32) in other countries.

"The number of holders of stocks and bonds has doubled since prohibition was adopted. There are approximately 6,000,000 more holders of capital stock to-day in the country than there were at that time."

In the United States twenty-eight labor banks, under the control of labour, are in operation. They have a combined resource of Rs. 450,000,000. If the American working class were steeped in liquor, remember, it could not possibly have established such a record.

A whole library of statistics may be given on the beneficent economic results of prohibition in the United States; but statistics are liable to weary the reader. I wish, however, to call attention to American life insurance which has perhaps developed more rapidly in recent times than any other department of business. In little over thirty years the amount of life insurance in the United States has

increased from fifteen billion rupees to more than one hundred and twenty-six billion rupees. The number of life insurance policies in America in 1910 was nearly 30,000,000 while the number in 1920 was over 64,000,000. "Investigations of actuaries covering long periods", comments Dr. E. H. Cherrington, General Secretary of World League Against Alcoholism, "have established a decided difference between the actual costs of risks on the lives of abstainers as against those of non-abstainers. With this remarkable increase in the number and amount of risks carried by the American insurance companies, the greater part of which increase has come during the period of state and national prohibition, even the suggestion of a return to the days of alcoholism is startling. What would happen to millions of insurance risks, to the insurance companies themselves, and to the vast financial interests of America, in which those insurance companies now play so significant a part, were the beverage liquor traffic to be restored, with its attendant results through the use of alcohol, upon millions of policy holders, and its even more far-reaching effect upon mortality statistics that would inevitably result from accidents, disease and crime that would follow like an avalanche in the wake of alcoholism?"

It is almost unthinkable that when prohibition has proved such a great success, commercially and industrially, America will ever go back to "the old days" of booze drinking.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT.

"Thou shalt not drink" is the eleventh commandment for the United States. And although this commandment, like all others, is violated at times, it does not necessarily prove its condemnation. There is a law against homicide in all countries, and yet homicides are committed. Now what nation on earth would condemn the law against manslaughter as a patent failure and live without it? No law can claim to be 100 per cent. successful. Success is relative; it is a matter of definition and degree. By and large, the prohibition law is as effective as other laws.

The illicit distilling of hard liquor by means of "stills" is a violation of the law. The contraband liquor is sometimes called the bootleg liquor from the practise of carrying a flask

in the leg of a boot.* The traitorous business of the bootlegger is condemned by decent citizens. The bootlegger who profits by exploiting human weakness, is a criminal. The vast majority of Americans, who have accepted the prohibition as essential to community welfare and good government, are strongly of the opinion that the peak of law-breaking has been passed and that during the next few years it will decline steadily. The illegitimate manufacture and sale of alcohol cannot go on forever, if Uncle Sam means what he says.

The United States has been described by some one as a dry land surrounded on three sides by oceans of liquor. Alcoholic waves threaten the country especially on the Atlantic sea-board. Recently vast fleets of British liquor, in utter disregard of the prohibition law of this country, have been engaged in wholesale booze-running off the coast of New York.

The most brazen smuggling venture by an Englishman by the name of Hartwell—Sir Broderick, to be precise—which came to grief last spring, is still fresh in American mind. He is a practising politician of some kind or other, an M.P. as I remember it. Well, this eminent bootlegger, whom the *New York World* calls "Sir Broderick Hartwell, Btgr.", began his activities "in the fall of 1923, when Sir Broderick issued circulars to prospective investors, promising them a 20 per cent. return on their money every six days if they would join his enterprise." The booze baronet used to bring his ships of liquor to the twelve-mile limit of the coast, and from there transfer the cargoes to American rum-smuggling vessels at a high profit. The carefully financed and organized enterprise became so successful that it attracted 1,000 stockholders. They were getting extra large dividends. To them law was only a scrap of paper.

At last the titled bootlegger, this fine flower of English Knighthood, was nabbed last May. The rum-running billion-dollar bubble was completely shattered by the American prohibition navy. The beggars were for the moment driven out of the liquor traffic. Broderick Hartwell is a man of parliamentary importance in his native country, and is backed by many Britannicas of wealth and influence.

*Liquor smuggled or illicitly distilled is also referred to as moonshine. A moonshiner is an illicit distiller or smuggler. He is so called from being engaged in the illicit trade at night.

The American government, in order to avoid further entanglements in an international scandal of such a magnitude, let off the booze-guzzling Englishman without a sentence in jail. "What would Great Britain think," asks the *Witcheta Beacon*, "if a United States Senator should charter a ship for the purpose of smuggling into England, or evading the opium traffic regulation of India?" No Englishman has yet been known to answer the question. And the *Tacoma Ledger* observed on Hartwell's whiskey raids: "These rum-running Englishmen are of the breed that once sent out ships in the slave trade after all civilized nations had denounced such trade as a crime. Doubtless this rum-running venture will serve a good purpose, in that it will attract the attention of the English people generally to this sneaking effort to circumvent the laws of another country."

Word has gone out from the White House that President Coolidge has given orders for the enforcement of the prohibition law to the letter. The war against illicit liquor is becoming more determined, and is fought along a constantly extending front. On sea, on land and in the air, forces of prohibition enforcement are carrying on their war of extermination. The failure of the Hartwell argosies is a refreshing evidence of new efficiency of American campaign against rum-runners. Even though the combined liquor interests of the world are trying to break down prohibition in America, the Government of this country will not impotently submit to the violation of its laws. Smuggling can and will be ultimately suppressed.

DRY LAW TO STAY.

In studying the prohibition question, one should constantly bear in mind that America is no more a homogenous nation than Africa. Our dear American missionaries forget to tell that the United States is inhabited by vastly more races than India. Out of 3,424 distinct languages and dialects in all the world, Asia has 937, Africa has 276, while America has 1,624. There are in these United States 1,401 foreign language periodicals with a combined circulation of almost 11,000,000. Neither are

the American people united in a single religious belief, there being several hundred religious creeds, and innumerable quarrelsome controversies of theologians. In a country of such a conglomeration of myriad races, it is not to be expected that there will be a perfect unanimity of opinion on the liquor question. Those who are now opposed to prohibition are however a small minority, and they will probably change their mind in time. If they don't, they will be looked after by the strong executive arm. The overwhelming majority, it seems, is in favour of stringent prohibition.

A distinguished American remarked the other day that Americans might as well try to reverse the direction of the rapids at Niagara, as to reverse the deliberate verdict of the American people on the liquor issue. I am inclined to agree with him: prohibition is here to stay. Its repeal is one of the master delusions of the wets. Experiences have taught that no man is made healthier, wealthier, or wiser by being alcoholized. The efforts of the last twenty-five years in America have also taught that nation-wide prohibition rather than local option is the way to solve the liquor problem. The only possible solution of the drink burden is the removal of the drink itself. Drys freely admit that the success of prohibition is not perfect; but it is there nevertheless. Progress, substantial progress, has been made in the fight against the liquor traffic. "Progress," said Victor Hugo, "is the stride of God, and God never takes a stride backward."

All this is merely a text for my sermon. It is this: If we Indians are not ingorant of our great heritage, and blind to our present and future, should we not take a tip from the American policy of prohibition? Let us free our nation from alcohol. It is a challenge to our patriotism.

*"Then strike, comrades of the long war,
strike!*

*Strike through your blinding tears,
Strike with the passion of the years,
Strike till the rum foe disappears;*

It shall not stand.

*"Strike till the last armed foe expires,
Strike for your altars and your fires,
Strike for the green graves of your sires,
God and your native land."*

A JAPANESE MASTERPIECE.

By MR. F. HADLAND DAVIS.

Mr. Arthur Waley, an English scholar associated with the literature of China and Japan, is translating Murasaki's *Genji Monogatari*, the earliest long novel in any language. It is a formidable task, for the work contains about 600,000 words, and in the Kogetsusho edition runs into over 4,000 pages. The prodigious length of this romance, with its 800 characters who have passed into the rosy crucible of legend, does not present the greatest difficulty in translation. The work is written in old Japanese, uninfluenced by Chinese, and is as unintelligible to the modern Japanese as Chaucer's English would be to the average Briton.

This important translation of a Japanese masterpiece is to appear in six volumes, with a supplementary volume containing a translation of Murasaki's Diary and notes concerning her work and the age in which she lived. The first volume has recently been published,* and subsequent volumes will be issued at yearly intervals. Mr. Waley has the rare good fortune to be a scholar and poet, and this too rare combination has resulted in a most brilliant translation, as notable as Tawney's English version of the *Katha Sarit Sagara* or Burton's rendering of the *Arabian Nights*. Mr. Waley has not given us an unexpurgated translation. Although he does not at present throw any light on his omissions, he has wisely dispensed with Murasaki's wearisome honorifics and tedious genealogies. He had native commentaries to work upon, but without the genius of apt translation academical treatises might have resulted in a sudden withering of those characters and scenes Murasaki wrote about with so much charm and distinction. Mr. Waley has managed to preserve the fragrance and strange vitality of the original. He does not show us an old Japanese screen, an unending roll of figured brocade, an ancient fan with romantic scenes upon it. *Genji*, the Shining One, is still the tireless lover, and the men and women who crowd about him, at Court and elsewhere, are

not brightly dressed puppets, but human beings, who, speaking in the English tongue, remain as real to-day as when they were first fashioned by Murasaki's clever brush.

Opinions differ as to the value of the *Genji Monogatari*. No less an authority than Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain writes: "If the authoress of the *Genji Monogatari*, though lauded to the skies by her compatriots, has been branded by Georges Bousquet as *cette ennuyeuse Scudéry japonaise*, she richly deserves it." The comparison is unjust. It is true Scudéry's *Grand Cyrus* runs into 15,000 pages, but it is a naïve and tedious romance, and her *Clélie*, which is supposed to be a complete guide to the kingdom of love, is pretentious and futile. M. Bousquet's opinion is simply based on the length and subject of these French and Japanese contributions to romantic literature. The manner of treatment is different, and there is no genuine similarity between the work of Scudéry and Murasaki.

It will be seen that prolixity and lack of interest seem to be the kernel of these adverse opinions. Dr. W. G. Aston, whose knowledge of Japanese literature is probably unsurpassed in England, writes in praise of the *Genji Monogatari*. He observes, in an essay entitled *The Classical Literature of Japan*†: "There is no exaggeration in the *Genji*, no superfine morality.....What Murasaki-no-Shikibu did for Japanese literature was to add to it a new kind of composition, viz., the novel, or epic of real life as it has been called. She was the Richardson of Japan, and her genius resembled his in many ways. She delighted specially in delineating types of womanhood. Indeed, the whole work may be regarded as a series of pictures of this kind, drawn with minute care, and from a full knowledge of her subject-matter." Needless to say Mr. Arthur Waley is a whole-hearted admirer. He writes: "The task of translation in such a case is bound to be arduous and discouraging; but I have all the time been spurred by the belief that I am

*The Tale of Genji. (Allen and Unwin, London.)

†Read before the Japan Society, London, in June, 1898.

translating by far the greatest novel of the East, and one which, even if compared with the fiction of Europe, takes its place as one of the greatest masterpieces of the world." Kenko wrote in the *Tsurezure-gusa*: "There is no greater pleasure than alone, by the light of a lamp, to open a book and make the men of the unseen world our companions." When that book is the *Genji Monogatari*, we open it to some purpose, for whatever its faults may be, and I do not deny them, Murasaki presented live men and women. She was a close observer of life, and in a fluent style that never affected fine writing, or descended to the sensational and monstrous, as in the novels of Bakin, she revealed human nature with extraordinary vividness. What she did above all, and to the point of genius, was to look into the heart of a woman and to describe what she saw there, the ugly as well as the beautiful. A Court lady herself, she was not deceived by the veneer of etiquette. She loved the colour of a silk dress. Her eyes lingered upon it, her brush described it, but it was the heart packed with human desires and human frailties, with love, anger, jealousy that gave her work the quality of lasting success.

Before dealing with the *Genji Monogatari*, it would be well to state the little we know of Murasaki's life. She waited upon the Empress Akiko, and was a member of the famous Fujiwara family. It is from her we learn the intricate and over-refined life in the palace at Kyoto. She wrote an intimate and most interesting *Diary** in which she set down her religious aspirations, various poems, and vignettes of the men and women with whom she came in contact. She was a faithful recorder of the fashion of her day. She tells us that Lady Ben-ni-Naishi's "hair-band were blue-green," her *uchigi* "grape-coloured," and that "the beaten stuffs were like the mingling of dark and light maple leaves in Autumn." She observes that "only the right bodyguard wore clothes of shrimp pink." Of one of the Mikado's ladies she writes: "One had a little fault in the colour combination at the wrist-opening..... It was not so bad, only one colour was a little too pale." Only Japanese or Chinese could have written about colour with so much fine distinction at a time when King

Canute was alleged to have sat by the sea and forbidden the waves to approach. We may be sure that the foolish monarch never described the beauty of their colour.

Murasaki read Li Po's* poems to the Empress, "very secretly when none were about." She seems to have been a little ashamed of her learning, and to have taken to heart the probably envious comments of other less gifted Court ladies. She did not like being called "The Japanese Chronicle Lady," and writes: "I heard people saying that it is not beautiful even for a man to be proud of his learning, and after that I did not write so much as the figure one in Chinese. I grew clumsy with [my writing] brush. For a long time I did not care for the books I had already read." Of her library we read: "A pair of bookcases have in them all the books they can hold. In one of them are placed old poems and romances. They are the homes of worms which come frightening us when we turn the pages, so none ever wish to read them." In a more personal vein Murasaki writes: "Pretty and coy, shrinking from sight, unsociable, proud, fond of romance, vain and poetic, looking down upon others with a jealous eye—such is the opinion of those who do not know me, but after seeing me they say, 'you are wonderfully gentle to meet with, I cannot identify you with that imagined one.'" Turning the pages of her *Diary* to-day we still get the faint perfume of incense and lacquer and flowers. More than that, we sometimes catch a glimpse of Murasaki's heart, enough to realise that, since her husband's death, there was more sorrow than joy in her life. She writes to a friend: "You feel weary of life; please look into my life, also weary." That she had temptations at Court, where there was much licence and much drunkenness, is revealed in the following confession: "One night I slept in a room near the corridor. Some one came knocking at the door. I was afraid and passed the night without making a sound. The next morning the following poem was sent me from the Prime Minister:

*All the night through, knocking louder
than a water-rail,
I stood in vain at the door of hinoki wood,
weary and lamenting.*

*This is included in *Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan*, published by Constable, London.

*China's most famous poet.

I wrote back :

*A cause of deep regret, indeed,
Had the door opened at the knocking of
the water-rail !*"

The *Genji Monogatari* is supposed to have been completed in A. D. 1004, but the date has been disputed by some critics, and the work may have been finished a few years earlier. It is usual to assign the publication of this romance to the eleventh century. Its preservation, and that of the Diary, is extremely fortunate, for this self-deprecating writer, over-sensitive to the comments of others, tore up all her "old writings, burying some, and making dolls' houses of the rest." *The Tale of Genji*, the title given by Mr. Waley to his translation of the *Genji Monogatari*, is the Tale of Love in various keys : gay, pathetic, passionate, tender, sometimes weird. Genji is the Japanese Prince Charming rather than the Japanese Don Juan or Casanova. If his morals seem more than a trifle lax he was never wholly ruthless in his many amours. A beautiful woman was to him the most desirable object in the world, and a palace, mansion, humble abode were but the shrines where he might find her. His ardour was not always equalled by his judgment, and an elusive quest invariably tempted him. Months of careful preparation sometimes led him to accept unwillingly the advances of a lady of fifty-seven, or to encounter, after numerous difficulties, a tall scraggy woman with a red nose as big as an elephant's trunk. Fortunately these were exceptions, and on the

whole Genji was successful in his love affairs. When his wife Aoi died he stood by her funeral pyre, and, pointing towards the sky, whispered : "Because of all the mists that wreathe the autumn sky I know not which ascended from my lady's bier : henceforth upon the country of the clouds from pole to pole I gaze with love." She had died as the result of Genji's neglect and many indiscretions, but however inconsistent it may seem, he was sincere in the last expression of his love for her.

Some of the most charming pages in this volume are devoted to Genji's wooing of the child Murasaki, from whom the authoress of the *Genji Monogatari* derived her name. Here the Prince is seen playing with her toys, taking her on his knee, teaching her music, rejoicing in her childish poems, and finally teaching her love with the quick brutality of a jungle beast. In Murasaki he had found his ideal woman. Whether it was a lasting and satisfying discovery remains to be proved in the further adventures of this romantic Prince. Mr. Waley has given us the first instalment of a Japanese masterpiece containing diverting love episodes, exquisite descriptions of Nature, verse—brief and fragrant as a plume of incense, the manners and customs of Court life, and many intimate portraits of Japanese women. He has done it so well that we eagerly await the subsequent volumes, assured that the skill of the translator will not fail and that our enjoyment will remain undiminished until we regretfully turn the last page with a *sayonara* to the Shining One.

BIRTH OF KASHMIR.

By MR. R. C. KAK.

(Fact and Fiction.)

The dawn of history in Kashmir is shrouded in the mists of myth and legend. Kalhana, following the *Nilamatapurana* tells us that "Formerly, since the beginning of the Kalpa, the land in the womb of the *Himalaya* was filled with water during the periods of the first

six Manus and formed the Lake of Sati Isaras. Afterwards when the present period, that of the seventh Manu *Vaivasvata*, had arrived, the Prajapati Kasyapa caused the gods led by Druhina, Upendra and Rudra to descend, caused the demon *Jalodbhava* who dwelt in that lake, to be killed, and created the land known by the name of Kashmir in the space previously

occupied by the lake." This legend, like other similar heirlooms from primeval man which continue to linger in the memory of mankind long after their true significance has been dimmed and finally lost by the onward march of countless centuries, contains a solid kernel of truth. That the valley of Kāshmir was once a lake admits of no doubt. That not only the valley but even the mighty mountain chains now encircling it were once sleeping secure in the bosom of a vast ocean which stretched from Europe over Asia to America, has been proved by the researches of the geologists. The vertical cliffs of Rāmpur are composed of limestone, a rock which is "merely the accumulation of generations of minute marine shell-fishes. These cliffs, now almost perpendicular, must have once lain flat beneath the surface of the ocean. High up in the Sind valley, embodied in the rocks, are fossil oysters showing that they too must once have lain beneath the sea. More telling still, at Zewan, a few miles east of Srinagar, are fossils of land plants immediately below strata of rocks containing fossils of marine animals and plants, from which it may be concluded that the land subsided under the sea, and was afterwards thrust up again. Again, an examination of rocks on the Takht-i-Sulaimān shows that they are merely dried lava, and must have had a volcanic origin perhaps under the sea. And an investigation of the rocks on the flanks of Nangā Parbat has shown that they are of granite which must have been extruded from the interior of the earth". (Younghusband's *Kashmir*, pp. 252-53). But it must not be presumed that when the waters subsided Kashmir emerged once for all, attired in all the loveliness which we are wont to associate with her name. She had to make many struggles ere nature thought it fit to grant her an existence independent of the protecting envelope of the sea. Her first appearance was in the shape of an archipelago of barren isles of lava which sank and rose and sank again. It was not till the beginning of the Tertiary period, some four million years ago, that Kashmir underwent the final process of resurrection, and casting off her watery veil rose up, if not attired in her present beautiful garb, at least adorned with her principal physical features.

Such is the romantic story of the birth of Kashmir, as told by the men of science. The Śārikamahatmya tells us circumstantially the

story of the defeat and destruction of Jalodbhava, the water-demon, by the gods: how the monster committed havoc among the inhabitants of the adjacent districts; how, being invulnerable in his own element and declining to fight at a disadvantage on land, he continued his life of depredations in impudent security for long; how the gods fumed and stormed in impotent rage, and finally resolved to lay the matter before the Almighty Mother Satī, the controller of all the titanic forces of nature; how she assumed the form of a Śārika (*i.e.* an Indian myna) and taking a pebble in her beak dropped it at the spot where she knew the demon was lying, lulled into false security in the midst of the waters; and finally how the pebble swelled into gigantic proportions and crushed the demon by its weight. The pebble survives to this day under the name of the Śārikāparvata (Kashmiri, *Hārāparbat*) and a depression in the ground outside the Sangin Darwaza of the fort-wall is still pointed out as the spot wherefrom the long-drawn breath of the panting demon forced itself out as he was struggling under the crushing weight. Jalodbhava, the legend continues, though luckily pinned to the ground is still alive and, one might say, kicking; for, whenever at distant intervals, he musters strength enough to writhe his tortured limbs, the earth shakes and muffled rumblings are heard inside her aged frame.

If a scientist were to bring his searchlight to bear upon this legend he would probably not have to go far before lighting upon an explanation. The water demon Jalodbhava would probably be a magnified reminiscence of the huge marine monsters, the flying dragons and the hundred-foot serpents which infested the earth long before man made his appearance. And when he did, he had to contend for supremacy with these and other gigantic animals now extinct. At first man was merely an animal like the rest with no aim and probably little thought but to squeeze out a precarious existence from the doubtful chances of hunt, in which he had no other arms than those that nature had endowed him with. It must have made an epoch in his life when the idea occurred to him to take up the nearest handy stone and use it in self-defence. Once the idea dawned upon him that he could utilize the materials which nature had provided in such prolific abundance all around him, his ultimate

triumph over his fellow creatures of the animal kingdom was assured. Yet the struggle (which has not yet ended though man has for many milleniums been playing a winning game) must have at first been very bitter and often doubtful, so much so that in the end when man's supremacy was more or less assured, he himself was lost in wonder at the issue. He could not believe that his ancestors were strong enough to crush the power of the animal kingdom with their own unaided efforts. And when he was sufficiently advanced in culture to develop the concept of a superhuman agency, sufficiently intelligent to be pleased or angered by the propitiation or otherwise of mankind, he came to believe that the gods whom he took pains to propitiate would lend a sympathetic ear to his needs and, in certain cases help him against his enemies. The legends of all primitive peoples are replete with instances in which man and his god stood bravely shoulder to shoulder in the former's struggle against his implacable enemies. The Káshmirian myth of Jalodbhava and the goddess Sáríká is paralleled by the Teutonic myth of St. George and the Dragon and both are distant reminiscences of those long-forgotten ages when the monsters against whom man had to contend had practically died out and their conqueror was grateful for his

deliverance and the free air he breathed. This accounts for the seeming exaggeration of the stories, though, if the exact truth were known it would probably be not far removed from the fiction.

The dropping of the pebble from the beak of the goddess Sáríká also admits of an explanation, though here we tread on less sure ground. Hárparbat, like the Sánkarácharya hill, is of volcanic origin. It is possible that primitive Káshmiris had a dim inkling into the origin of these bare hills and knowing that the valley had once been a lake which had been drained off by some tremendous convulsion of nature, of which the chief remaining mementoes were these masses of lava, placed solitary and unconnected, as if of set purpose, in the midst of level ground, what better explanation could these simple folk furnish than that the goddess had for their ancestor's sake transformed herself into a bird and dropping pebbles from her beak, crushed the demon and rid mankind of a murderous scourge.

Káshmir is a land of earthquakes, and among a people who connect every phenomenon with some superhuman agency, whether celestial or infernal, their ascription of earthquakes, etc., to the writhings of Jalodbhava, though curious, is by no means unnatural.

THE MOROCCAN QUESTION.

A EUROPEAN VIEW.

By MR. CHARLES PETRIE.

Most of the great questions which are disturbing the peace of the world at the present time have their roots so far back in history that only those who have studied them carefully are really justified in expressing an opinion upon the points at issue: the origins of the hatred existing between France and Germany date back at least to the reign of Louis XIV, the troubles in Syria are in many respects the legacy of the Fatimid Caliph Hakim, while for the

causes of the eternal unrest in the Near East it might even be necessary to go back to the Trojan War. In the case of Morocco such antiquarian researches are fortunately unnecessary, for in its modern form the Moorish "embroglio" is not yet a generation old.

In 1894 Abd-el-Aziz IV, succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, and for the first six years of his reign the Shereefian Empire was ably administered by the Vizier and Regent

Si Ahmed ben Musa; but in 1900 this remarkable man died and from that date the affairs of Morocco began to fall into disorder. The Sultan was a well-meaning monarch but he failed to realize that the changes which he wished to effect in the administration must be brought about slowly, and the not unnatural consequence of his haste was that various tribes began to rise in revolt against the central government: particularly was this the case in the east where the unsettled state of the country soon began to attract the attention of the French authorities in Algeria. It was in fact the Sultan's failure to realize that Morocco could no longer remain isolated from the rest of the world that finally proved his undoing, for in the early years of the present century the rivalry of the European Powers was so intense that even the domestic affairs of the most remote nations came under its influence.

Abd-el-Aziz ignored this trend of events and failed to profit by the lesson of Algeria, Tunis, and Egypt—to look no further afield, yet it is difficult to excuse his blindness, for the Spaniards already held certain places along the Mediterranean coast while the French colonial party was even now proclaiming that the acquisition of Morocco would be the coping-stone of their vast African empire. The day had gone by when a nation could indulge in the luxury of civil war without the fear of foreign intervention, and when the standard of revolt was raised against the Moorish Sultan it was only a question of time when his country would become entangled in the net of European political intrigue. The internal state of Morocco meanwhile went from bad to worse, until in 1905 the visit of the German Emperor to Tangier precipitated the crisis.

When this event took place the Powers most interested in Morocco were France and Spain, for Great Britain had on the conclusion of the Entente Cordiale in the previous year promised France entire liberty of action in the Shereefian Empire in return for a similar guarantee in respect of the British occupation of Egypt. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that France should view with considerable alarm the prospect of being supplanted by Germany on the shores of the Atlantic at the very moment when she had just resigned to England all claim to dictate what should be done on the banks of the Nile. For a moment Europe was within a measurable distance of war, but in reality

neither side was ready to fight, and the Conference of Algenciras took place in the early months of 1906.

This conference was attended by those nations who had sent representatives to an earlier one held in Madrid in 1880, and the outcome of it was that France and Spain were entrusted with the task of representing the Powers interested in Morocco. Two years later Abd-el-Aziz IV, was finally overthrown by Mulai Hafid, who became Sultan in his stead. This change was not effected without widespread disorder, and in pursuance of the powers conferred upon them by the Conference of Algenciras the French and Spanish governments sent troops to occupy various points in the country. The new Sultan proved unable to make his authority respected in many parts of his empire—notably in the Riff and in those districts where the celebrated Raisuli held sway—and Morocco appeared to be rapidly passing into French and Spanish hands when the arrival of the German gunboat "Panther" at Agadir in July, 1911 once more threw the whole question into the melting-pot of European rivalries. On this occasion too the world was brought to the verge of war, but once again the General Staffs were not ready and the evil day was postponed for another three years.

This time, however, France was determined that her claim to the larger part of Morocco should be admitted without any further question, and during the ensuing months the energies of the Quai d'Orsay were devoted to this object. Great Britain had already been eliminated as a rival by the Entente Cordiale of 1904, and the only other European competitors to be placated were Germany and Spain. A Convention was signed with the former on the 4th November, 1911, by which the German government agreed to relinquish its rights in Morocco in exchange for a considerable rectification of the frontier of the French Congo in its favour, but it still retained certain extra-territorial privileges in the matter of its consuls and post-offices. With Spain a treaty was concluded a year later, and by it France renounced all claim to that portion of Morocco which lay North of a vague line drawn from a point on the Atlantic South of Larache and running North of Fez to the frontier of Algeria at Cabo de Agua: this area was to be administered by Spain in the name of the Sultan through a Khalifa who was to be appointed by

him in collaboration with the Spanish government. Unfortunately, this agreement contained within itself the seeds of further trouble for it definitely excluded Tangier from the Spanish zone and it only defined the boundary of the latter very approximately. Meanwhile, however, France went on with her work of securing complete control of what she had acquired, and a French Protectorate was proclaimed: at the same time Mulai Hafid was induced to abdicate and the new Sultan, Mulai Yusef, proved to be as completely the puppet of his masters as the Bey of Tunis, or the Emperor of Annam, or any other of the monarchs whose territories are administered by the French Republic.

The War only served to emphasize the strong hold which France exercised over her zone through the High Commissioner General, later Marshal, Lyautey. In spite of German intrigues the country not only remained quiet but even contributed whole regiments for service in Europe, while in every direction roads were made and fresh districts were opened up. In the Spanish zone, likewise, all seemed to be going well, and step by step the armies of Spain gained control of the mountains of the Riff until the signing of the Armistice once more unloosed the forces of disorder, which have been active ever since. The main feature of post-War diplomacy has been the increasing rivalry of England and France now that the fear of Germany has been removed, and in the negotiations respecting the future of Tangier this feeling was given full play.

By the Treaty of Versailles the German government was forced to relinquish the privileges which it had retained by the Convention of 1911, and as Spain promised to apply the provisions of the Treaty to her zone also it seemed that at last France could consider herself secure in Morocco. The only question still outstanding was that of Tangier, and to its settlement the three Powers began to apply themselves. Almost at once there arose serious differences of opinion. Spain claimed the town with considerable justice as lying wholly in her zone, while France demanded it on behalf of the puppet Sultan. The British government was placed in a situation of great difficulty: it had no desire to see Tangier become a French air-base which would make Gibraltar—where no aeroplane can land—worse than useless, but to hand the town over to Spain would mean a break with France which

was as yet inadvisable. Under these circumstances a compromise was reached by which Tangier was to be permanently "internationalized": an elaborate machinery of administration was set up and is now revolving in an uncertain manner. It is worthy of note that this so-called settlement has never been acknowledged either by Italy or by the United States, and it has only in reality been accepted by France and Spain as a temporary expedient. There can be little doubt that the question of Tangier has only been shelved, and that it will be reopened at the first favourable opportunity.

The rivalry between France and Spain over the future status of Tangier had not only delayed the pacification of Morocco but had placed a weapon in the hands of their enemies in both Europe and Africa. All the adventurers whom the War had produced began to turn their eyes to that part of Morocco which under its tribal chiefs still resisted the two protecting Powers. German officers, unscrupulous concession-hunters, Pan-Islamic enthusiasts, and Bolshevik agents began to find their way into the Riff mountains, while the French and Spanish officials made very little effort to prevent arms from passing across the frontier of their respective zones. Then in July, 1921, Abd-el-Krim, whose name was unknown to the statesmen of Europe, fell like a thunderbolt upon the army of General Silvestre, and Anual was added to Adowa and Tsushima among the victories of the East over the West. The Spaniards fought with all the desperate valour of their race when once the first panic was over, but they were ill-supported by the government at Madrid and in a few days they lost the fruits of twelve years' hard fighting.

The effect of Anual was enormous. The news that the Crescent had at last overcome the Cross spread like wild fire not only through Morocco but also into Algeria and Tunis, and for a moment it seemed as if all North Africa would soon be ablaze. Abd-el-Krim, however, is no Khalid, and instead of falling on the other Spanish army which was operating from Tetuan he frittered away his chances until the arrival of strong reinforcements from the Peninsula once more drove him back into the mountains. For the next three years a desultory warfare went on in which neither party gained any decisive advantage, and of which, the only important result was so to

disgust the Spanish people with their inept politicians that in September, 1925, they allowed General Primo de Rivera to abolish the Parliamentary system—whether temporarily or permanently still remains to be seen.

While these events were taking place in the Spanish zone France, occupied with a hundred troubles elsewhere, continued to regard them with a singular air of detachment. True to the policy of the Third Republic of never entrusting a large army to any one general—particularly to one of such Royalist views as Marshal Lyautey—she kept the number of white troops in Morocco dangerously low, and winked at the caravans of arms that crossed the Spanish frontier. As for Great Britain her official attitude was impeccably correct, though the government—forgetful of the "Alabama"—connived at the assistance which individuals gave to Abd-el-Krim. Under these circumstances General Primo de Rivera decided that it was impossible to pacify the whole Spanish zone, and he accordingly determined to follow the example of Hadrian and withdrew from territory which could no longer be profitably held. In the face of grave opposition on the part of many of his fellow-countrymen he concentrated the Spanish troops behind the "Estella Line", and against it the Moors hurled themselves in vain. The situation in the early part of 1925 then was that the best parts of the Spanish zone were firmly held by Spain, while Abd-el-Krim had come to realize that any advance in the direction of Melilla or Tetuan would only result in a reverse which would shatter his prestige, already dimmed by General Primo de Rivera's successful withdrawal.

Under these circumstances it was only natural that the Riff leader should turn his attention to the French zone where the situation was much more favourable to his schemes. The white troops, except for the Foreign Legion, were few in number, while the coloured were definitely second-class, being almost entirely conscripts from Senegal whose value has always been very low. Nor was this all, for the French armies did not make up in quantity what they lacked in quality, for the traditional republican caution combined with the extensive commitments of France in other parts of the world had reduced their effectives below the margin of safety. Abd-el-Krim was well aware of all these facts, and as soon as

the weather made it possible he began the invasion of French Morocco with the seasoned warriors of his own tribe, the Beni Urriagel.

To understand the events of the campaign of 1925 it is necessary to remember that the inhabitants of the Riff have from time immemorial been regarded as distinct from the other subjects of the Shereefian Empire. They have generally been in revolt against the central authority, and the strength of their geographical position has enabled them to defy successive Sultans with comparative impunity. In all Morocco their martial prowess has gained for them—and particularly for the Beni Urriagel—an incalculable prestige, but at the same time their backward civilization and their savage methods of warfare have alienated the more cultured sections of the population, who would in all probability have otherwise hastened to throw in their lot with Abd-el-Krim. This mixture of antipathy and admiration explains why the invaders received some but not very widespread support, and in addition there is the fact that Abd-el-Krim is not a man of sufficiently high lineage to attract the support of the powerful Kaid of the South. At the same time the victory of Anual and the retreat of the Spaniards behind the "Estella Line" had raised the reputation of the Riffs to incredible heights, and many a tribe threw in its lot with them in the belief that the victory over the Spaniards would be repeated against the French.

At the moment when the storm burst the position of the French troops was a most unenviable one. The bulk of them were scattered in isolated posts just as the Spanish forces had been before General Primo de Rivera took in hand their reorganization. Many of these posts were held only by a dozen Senegalese, and nearly all were situated on the crests of hills while the only available supply of water was almost invariably in the valley beneath them. The consequence of this was that as soon as a post was surrounded either thirst compelled its surrender at a very early date, or the garrison could be sniped whenever its details went to fetch water. The French had thus violated an elementary rule of strategy which insists that to be of any use an advanced post must be capable of holding up the advance of an enemy until the main body is able to strike. These isolated positions merely immobilized a number of men

who might have been utilized to better purpose elsewhere, while their inevitable capture by the Moors was bound to increase the latter's prestige. In addition the frontier was both uncertain and indefensible, for the Treaty of 1912 had neglected geography in favour of tribal boundaries, with the result that neither in Paris, nor in Madrid, nor in these advanced posts did anyone know exactly where ran the line of the frontier which the soldiers of France were now to be called upon to defend. Had the River Wergha been chosen as the boundary between the two zones the history of the succeeding events might have been very different.

Abd-el-Krim's plan of campaign was to avoid anything in the nature of a pitched battle at first but rather to capture as many French posts as possible, and at the same time to conduct an intensive propaganda among the tribes who were loyal to France. In both he succeeded admirably. Post after post fell into his hands, although some managed to prolong their resistance by the ingenious device of receiving their supplies of water in the shape of blocks of ice dropped from aeroplanes. These successes were the most effective form of propaganda, and tribe after tribe threw in its lot with the Riff chief. The French authorities were not only short of troops but quite uncertain upon whom they could still count. Yet in spite of Abd-el-Krim's success the brutality of his soldiers was turning many waverers against him. Accusations of atrocities are brought forward in all wars but in this case there is unfortunately no doubt that they are only too true. Abd-el-Krim has deliberately turned his back upon the chivalrous example set by heroes like Abd-el-Kader in the past and by the Ottoman Turks in the recent war, and the excesses which he has made no effort to check have stained the standard of Islam. The Spanish prisoners captured at Anual were barbarously treated, as the testimony of the survivors proves. On at least one occasion the defenders of a French post were burnt alive after they had surrendered, and fire and sword were carried through the lands of those tribes who refused to acknowledge the Riff chief. This policy did more harm than good for it rallied to the side of the French many who would have preferred to see them defeated, but who were outraged by the savagery of their so-called

liberators. It would, of course, be foolish to deny that the French and Spanish soldiers were also guilty of excesses, but they were perpetrated in the heat of the moment and were invariably punished by the authorities.

His initial successes enabled Abd-el-Krim to develop his strategical plans still further and during May and June he made a determined effort to capture Taza: the possession of this town by the Riffs would have effectually cut the only line of railway connecting Morocco with Algeria and would thus have made the fall of Fez itself only a matter of time. The Moorish strategy was sound, for the attention of the French was distracted by "feints" further to the West, and for a few weeks the fate of Morocco hung in the balance. The railway came under heavy fire, and the Riffs advanced so close to Fez that the sound of their guns echoed in its streets. Yet, as at Verdun, the French revealed an unexpected tenacity when reduced to the defensive, and in spite of their numerical inferiority their line held. The Sultan used every endeavour to save Fez, and so far was Abd-el-Krim from uniting all Morocco under his standard that the levies of the great Kaims of the South flocked to the Tricolour of France. The situation was saved, and the Riff campaign degenerated into that form of warfare so ridiculed by Horace Walpole—a rebellion on the defensive.

If Abd-el-Krim's advance did not have the result of placing him upon Mulai Yusef's throne it did at last convince the French and Spanish governments that unless they sank their mutual differences their future in Morocco would be very black indeed. M. Malvy was sent by the Quai d'Orsay to Madrid, and after some discussion an agreement was reached between the two protecting Powers. The most important points of it were that the French and Spanish navies should co-operate in a close blockade of the Riff coast, the French troops were empowered to cross the vague frontier of the Spanish zone if military operations should render such a step necessary, while the Spaniards were to make a thrust from the sea in the meantime in the direction of Ajdir, the capital of the Riff. It was further proposed to land some forces for the protection of Tangier, and the co-operation of Great Britain—as a signatory of the Tangier Convention—was invited in this task. This was, however, too great a commitment even for Mr. Baldwin and

the British Government courteously declined, whereupon the whole scheme was abandoned and Tangier was thrown back upon its own resources in case of attack by the Riffs.

For some weeks after the fighting round Taza there was a lull in the war while reinforcements were hurried over from an alarmed France and Abd-el-Krim made such preparations as he could to ward off the threatened blow. Before their offensive actually began the French and Spanish governments made it known that they were prepared to grant the Riff leader a position far superior even to that of the Kaids of the South, but Abd-el-Krim refused to enter into any negotiations. Whether he adopted this defiant attitude because he had become intoxicated with success or whether he was compelled to do so by his own followers is difficult to determine, but he certainly made a great mistake in refusing to retreat. He not only lost the support of many well-wishers in Europe but in thus throwing down the gauntlet to two great military nations he rendered his final overthrow inevitable.

Marshal Petain, the defender of Verdun, was appointed by M. Painlevé to the command of the French armies in Morocco, and when the offensive began Abd-el-Krim proved quite unable to check its progress. His forces were driven from the territory which they had so easily occupied in their advance, and with his defeat many of the tribes who had joined him once more changed sides. While these operations were in progress in the South a large Spanish force under General Sanjurjo—now High Commissioner in the Spanish zone—and under the immediate supervision of General Primo de Rivera was landed at Alhucemas: a violent offensive in the direction of Tetuan failed to arrest the Spanish advance, and just before the autumn rains made further campaigning impossible. Ajdir passed into the hands of Spain. There were still very considerable

bodies of Riffs in the field, but they were confined to the more mountainous districts, for with the capture of Ajdir the Beni Urriagel lost the most fertile of their tribal lands.

The future of Morocco is as difficult to predict as that of any other country in the present unsettled state of the world, but events have already proved that Abd-el-Krim is no Saladin destined to drive the foreigner from the land. His ferocity has prevented the cultured and tolerant Moslem of the cities from accepting him as a leader, and the excesses of his followers have occasioned such a reaction against him that even were the French and Spanish armies to be removed he could only succeed as the result of a long and sanguinary civil war. On the other hand, it would be foolish to prophesy that the inhabitants of Morocco will always be prepared to take their orders from Paris and Madrid; yet if the spirit of friendly co-operation which has animated the relations of France and Spain since the rise of the common danger be maintained, it cannot but be to the advantage of Morocco. Both Powers have developed enormously the resources of their respective zones, and without their help capital for these purposes would assuredly not be forthcoming. What Morocco needs is a generation of peaceful development, and there is no hope of it except from a continuation of the present regime. The attitude towards Abd-el-Krim of the Moors proves that he could never unite the country under his rule and the departure of the French and Spanish would under present circumstances be a definitely retrograde step. Those who wish Morocco well can therefore only hope that her inhabitants will concentrate upon the economic development of their country, and for the next twenty years at any rate bear in mind the well-known couplet of Pope:—

*"For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered, is best."*

NEWSPAPER COMPETITIONS.

By Pt. S. M. DATTATRYA, M.A.

Value of Hobbies

Men are, indeed, grown up children. When children they make paper boats, when grown up they rack their brain to solve cross-word puzzles. The idea of competing for prizes which first attracts them as children continues to lure them even in the heyday of life, when they are engaged in the greater and keener competition of later life. However absorbing their worldly duties, they manage to snatch away some time, occasionally though it be, for their pet hobby,—be it stamp-collecting, bird-catching, snapshotting, or contesting for a newspaper prize. A cynic might decide to cry down these hobbies, but a normal human being can seldom get tired of them. Like lovely pictorial supplements to journals, the pursuit of hobbies serves as a welcome supplement or addendum to the more serious vocations of life. And then, newspaper competitions while affording pleasure to the competitors, promise cash or kind—however slender or trivial; and this, for some, adds greatly to the meaning and interest of the whole thing.

Out-of-fashion methods

Now, I am not revealing a secret when I say that one of the objects of the newspaper proprietor introducing any prize competitions generally is to popularise his journal and stimulate its circulation. This is nothing reprehensible, as some would think. Very few journals, however useful to the public, could afford to go on long without being paying to those who run them; and most of the journals that are booming commercial successes are the journals that are prominently instrumental in furthering worthy causes.

At the beginning of the present century, however, there were some forms of competitions whose naked and chief, if not entire, object was to bring money into the coffers of the journal promoting them. For the contestant readers their interest lay in their kinship to the three-card trick. They were pure gambles; and had no counterpart involving cultivation of

mental skill, exercise or memory, augmentation of general knowledge, or development of such traits as perseverance or common-sense, such as are possessed by most of the present-day competitions, which have all but completely, if not altogether, superseded them in Britain, and later jostled them aside into the shade on the European Continent as well. One of those defunct forms was a veritable cozenage: one big prize (worth about a thousand pounds) would be offered to the competitor successfully supplying omissions in a common proverb like the following, which every rustic or loon knew from his childhood:—"H*N*S*V i* t*e b*st p*I*cy". A small entry fee, say one shilling, proved no bar; for the extreme easiness of the problem and the extraordinary richness of the prize were quite out of proportion. Lacs and lacs of persons would go in, each to try his or her luck. The journal after defraying a little more than £1,000 as prize and expenses like advertising would find itself in receipt of a net gain of thousands of pounds, a sum many times more than what would be the promoters' reasonable commission.

Another form that had once become fairly current in Britain was, what may be called, Coupon-Collecting. A prize of a few pounds would be promised to the person sending in to the journal the largest number of coupons, one coupon being obtainable in each copy. Some competitors would be induced to buy dozens of copies themselves, or go about begging for these coupons from their friends to supplement their own collection. This, too, was a clearly shady method; and required of the winner only expense of money and a bit of canvassing ability of a low order, and no intellectual effort worth the name. The insistence of the "Times Illustrated Weekly" upon competitors supplying coupons in its Cross-Word Puzzle, Word-making and Anagram Competitions, or of the "Englishman" similarly upon contestants in its photographic competition, is clearly reasonable and defensible: for 6 annas or 1 anna spent respectively on an issue of these valuable journals should never be deemed as lost, if a

readers never wins a prize even once in his life. And no competitor need send more than one coupon to stand a chance in any of these competitions.

A third variety, once in great vogue with sapling journals, or with those in dotage but bidding for a rejuvenated existence, was what may be called distribution competition. The avowed object of the journals promoting them was to increase their circulation. For the more earnest competitors it meant a sort of speculative business, of the deepest dye. The prize or prizes were to go to the competitor or competitors responsible for the sale of the largest number of copies. One or other of a number of methods was employed by these enthusiasts. One was sending round sandwichmen with advertisements of the periodical. This seldom proved even slightly paying for the competitor, who more often could not recoup himself even for his original investment. Another method, which was buying of copies of the periodical and distributing it broadcast, turned out to be a failure as frequently as the former, though a costlier one. There was still another means used by competitors. This was characteristically adventurous, and carried the day where the hackneyed tameness of handbills or the giving away of copies missed the mark.

Three very plucky exploits of three winners in British contests may be related. One of these took himself into a lions' cage, where he read out to those ex-monarchs of the forests, doubtless to whittle down the anguish of their exile and to reconcile them—however partially—to the humanity of man, a first class joke from the weekly for whose prize he was competing. While he was doing so, he was careful to hold the paper in such a way that the large audience of rational animals whom he had attracted beside the cage, to drink at the same fount of learning at which under the new extension of Primary Education Act—these carnivora were slaking their thirst, might see the paper's cover and its name. His ingenuity won him the first prize of £25, and all the amount was net profit. We have yet to know how many copies were purchased by lions voluntarily appreciating the joke recited.

The feat performed by another winner was tragi-comic. A railway platform was packed like sardines with holiday-makers waiting for an excursion train. As the train came within

sight and was steaming on to the platform, our competitor friend purposely threw on the line a copy of his journal, and at once followed to rescue it from being mangled under the succession of iron feet that were to roll on it in a few seconds. He narrowly escaped being competed out of life; and the same good fortune which saved his life brought him the prize of £100. When he announced to the terrified crowd that his object in risking his life was to win a prize in the journal in question, almost all the people broke out in laughter or smiles. As was pre-arranged, a newsboy appeared on the scene with a stock of that particular journal. Needless to say, he was able to clear his basket within a few minutes.

The third example may be worth imitation even to-day, not by newspaper readers, but by some news agents who want to push the sale of some papers. This winner arranged three public magic-lantern shows, and interspersed between other pictures screened some pictures from the magazine he was booming. He drew the special attention of the spectators to the letter press accompanying these pictures, which was calculated to give some idea of the first instalment of a dramatic new serial and excite their interest for the next one. At the door a very large supply of the number containing the second instalment was sold out in no time. The fellow won the prize all right; and after allowing for all expenses found himself in receipt of a net gain of nearly £30.

Competitions still popular

These were the stories of the past. The Indian acrobat who dances on the rope and performs like tricks of wonderful adroitness may continue to take risks of any magnitude any number of times every day of his working life. But newspaper readers of to-day, though they count several brave hearts among them whom the lure of Shikar might take every summer into the midst of jungle fastnesses, cannot supply more persons than can be counted on the fingers of one hand who would be fool-hardy enough to risk their lives by facing an on-rushing railway train, or recite jokes to lions in expectation of a prize of £100 or £50. This does not mean or suggest that competitions have dropped out of English journalism, or that they constitute a feature that has ceased to

appeal to any considerable portion of readers. In fact that feature is to be met with, both in Britain and in India, in not a few high class magazines and journals, boys' papers and ladies' periodicals. Of course, the more serious types of periodicals like the "Hibbert Journal," the "Nation and Athenaeum" and the "Modern Review", or business or economic reviews and so forth, do avoid it altogether, or—at least—its lighter forms. Many of these competitions are regularly held. The prizes offered are sometimes handsome, their forms being cash, medals, books or journals, or other articles of use. There are a few cases of non-prize competitions as well.

Literary Varieties

The competitions in vogue in India and England are multiform, and divide themselves into three broad classes—literary, games, and photographic. The class literary can be subdivided into three sections: suitable for literary navvies, suitable for literary artisans, and suitable for literary artists. Competitions fit for navvies take several forms. One of these is Picture Puzzles. They admit of rival solutions in cases; and for successful handling require some observation, general knowledge, and common-sense. Succeeding sets go on increasing in difficulty. Other forms are Acrostics and Acrostic-making—to be found in the "Weekly Westminster" of London; Word-making and Anagrams of the "Times of India Illustrated Weekly," and the Cross-word Puzzle featuring the "Weekly Westminster," and the "Englishman" of Calcutta. Some of the competitions suiting literary artisans are these: pacing of certain hymns (I may suggest cinema films and novels, and other books as well) in order of their popularity; naming of a given number of great men of all or specified classes in order of eminence; stating what features of the journal are best or worst, as the case may be.

Contests fitting the tastes of literary artists have fully blossomed in some most commendable forms in the "Bookman" and the "Weekly Westminster" of London. The five prize competitions announced in the "Bookman" (July, 1925), were for the best original lyric; for the best quotation from English verse, preferably of a humorous nature, applicable to any review or the name of any author or book

appearing in the July, 1925, issue of the "Bookman;" for the best quatrain expressing satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the current year's unusual summer in England; for the best review, in not more than one hundred words of any recently published book; and for the best suggestions for the "Bookman" competitions. The "Weekly Westminster" has recently offered prizes for, among other problems, an account of the best way in which to show London to an intelligent stranger, visiting that city for the first time; for a character-study of an animal (in not more than 500 words); for translation into Latin lyrics of a given passage from Matthew Arnold; and for a piece of verse or prose entitled "A widow reads the Parliamentary Debates". This weekly also gives every week a prize to the best writer of political news about provincial English towns. In India we have a Sunday Story Competition in the "Illustrated Weekly" of Bombay. This may better be called a Storyette Competition. The story-writing competition of "Everyman's Review" is also worth mentioning. The "Sunday Times" of Lahore, a promising and precocious new child in Indian journalism, has announced in its issue of 2nd August, the inauguration by it of a monthly article-writing competition on set subjects.

Here it may be observed that all those journals which keep their columns open for outside contributions and pay for these keep going a constant competition of the literary artisans' variety; the chief, if not the only, difference between this competition and a competition pre-eminently so-called being that the former is more difficult,—by its very nature and because its requirements are not as definitely and narrowly formulated for the guidance of competitors as in the other case. In India both these forms of competition are yet, comparatively speaking, very limited. Their slow and small growth is accounted for by the lack of readers due to dearth of education, by the financial weakness of most of our journalistic concerns, and finally by the art of journalism being yet in its infancy.

Games contests

Games competitions are of many sorts. One of them is about forecasts in football, cricket and other like games. The "Civil and Military

Gazette" of Lahore possesses this feature. These are by some believed to be tests of skill and foresight. They are really mere guess-work, akin to betting on the turf, though on a miniature scale. May I venture to suggest here that some enterprising papers might find an analogous competition pertaining to another and more serious field no less interesting for their readers and profitable for themselves,—Parliamentary, Assembly, or Council Election Forecasts? Chess problems competition deserves a warm mention. It figures, among others, in the "Inquirer", a Unitarian organ; the "Times Literary Supplement" and the "Weekly Westminster" of London. It is really sad that the "Times of India Illustrated Weekly" goes without this competition. A very welcome, original and really useful feature for which "Welfare", the young and promising monthly of Calcutta, is responsible,—is a Physical Culture Prize offered to physically the best developed young man. Women may well be included in this contest.

Photography

The third broad division was named above as Photographic competitions. The two papers in India most popular for this item are the "Times of India Illustrated Weekly" and the "Englishman". The former has two such competitions—the Weekly Snapshots Competition and the monthly Photographic one. Selected photos and snaps are published by it. These when depicting Indian ways and scenes can be, almost always, safely depended upon by Western novelists and other writers on social life not knowing this country at first hand, for introducing Indian sketches and characters into their works.

How to do better?

The foregoing survey of the competition world suggests some improvements in existing forms and methods, and also the necessity of change of emphasis from one object to another, and the introduction of healthy new objects as well. For one thing, an attempt should be made through competitions to stimulate research into limited and easy literary and scientific problems, fit to be handled by the non-specialist. Mr. John O'London in his very interesting brochure, "Is it good English, and Like

Matters", gives the following quotation, which he humorously calls "the Orphan Quotation," as it has been ascribed to no less than nineteen different sources:—

"I expect to pass through this world but once; any good thing, therefore, that I can do, or any kindness that I can show to my fellow-creatures, let me do it now; let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again".

Finding out the correct source of this well-known sentence may form a good, though perhaps not a very good, prize proposition. Another object that can be furthered through competitions is to induce some people to do certain useful and desirable things that they might otherwise not do at all, or half-heartedly; and thereby to improve their tastes and let them spend their time sensibly. Prize problems necessitating on the part of competitors a study of really first-rate books—whether old or new, or their presence at really good plays and worthy film exhibitions should be set.

Then the competition might be made an instrument for helping to develop general knowledge and power of observation in the competitors.

It appears that some persons are under the misapprehension that puzzles and anagrams are an easy job, a welcome pastime for leisure moments. The fact of the matter is that it is easier to set such problems to others than actually to solve them oneself. I take a word and reshuffle its constituent letters in a few seconds. It is perhaps imagined that for the competitor the business proves educative, both for his intellect and for his character; and amusing, of course. Such competitions are, however, very taxing, involving a fair amount of hard but haphazard thinking. Excepting the individual who would persevere through all possible permutations and combinations admissible in a particular case, it is sheer chance that one ever stumbles upon the right solution. When there are so many real puzzles in life it is difficult to understand what pleasure men can derive from purposely designing new puzzles and conundrums—of a morbidly theoretical interest, and from trying to solve them.

Further, the method of priority by which prizes are awarded in these word competitions make winning doubly a matter of chance. As

said before, getting the correct solution is accidental. Then, all correct answers being concurrent, as in Arithmetic, and prizes being a few; the question, which of the successful solvers will get the awards, is again left to chance. In this respect, literary competitions like the Bombay Weekly's Sunday Story Competition or those of the "Bookman" and

"Weekly Westminster" are distinctly superior: they demand systematic thinking and knowledge in producing a sensible answer, and then the answers being different—as various as there are competitors, the adjudicating Editor is not made to yield the palm to Mr. Chance and Mr. Luck to shape the result according to their own sweet will.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW: A STUDY.

By DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

Introduction.

George Bernard Shaw is an Irishman. He belongs to an illustrious line of Irish writers who have adopted English as the vehicle of their thought and expression and have made a rich and important contribution to English Literature. Goldsmith, Swift, Sheridan, Thomas and George Moore, Francis Thompson, Lionel Johnson, Dowden, the dramatist Synge, Oscar Wilde, and W. B. Yeats have all been assigned an honourable position in the temple of literary fame. How poor would English Literature be without them! And Shaw, perhaps the last of the great Irishmen to write in English, has fully maintained, nay even heightened what is called Celtic wit and brilliance. Shaw at present is a man of international reputation. No other English writer, past or present, has or ever had, such vast audience and of such high intellectual quality in Europe and America as is attracted by Shaw. The journals and magazines of the whole of his western world are open to him whenever he chooses to use them as his mouthpiece. His plays are performed throughout the United States, England, and almost all the kingdoms of Europe. He is regarded, on the continent, as one of the best exponent of modern English speech. His plays are prescribed as text books in many modern Universities, such as that of Strasbourg. He is besides a fluent and impressive speaker. Apart from prominent political leaders, no other speaker is more popular or

draws more crowded houses in London than Shaw. In this way he directly speaks to, and conveys his message to the man in the street, to the man in the cap and the gown, and the fashionable drawing-room visitor. The stage, and platform, and the periodical are one and all at his beck and call. A man who can appeal to, and successfully catch the imagination of different and such vast strata of society must be truly remarkable and is therefore a worthy object of our study.

The task of interpreting Shaw is a hard one. He is a difficult subject to tackle with. A serious discussion of Shaw is, in the words of a critic, like, 'wasting good blows on a display of fire works.' He is very illusory. Like Socrates he puts on an air of knowing nothing. He is an ardent advocate of the abolition of marriage as an institution, has published a play, and several papers on the subject and is then innocently surprised to find that he is credited with advanced views on marriage, that young couples seek his advice and guidance with regard to their matrimonial affairs. Like Plato he is often a source of perplexity to the student. He is humorous, original, fanciful, but there is always an uncertainty about his motive. He uses words in order to conceal his thought. He deliberately misleads his critics to discomfort them. He does not co-operate with the reader but follows a policy of complete obstruction with regard to an understanding of his ideas. His comedies are disguised satires. They are often exaggerated pictures almost bordering on

the caricature. His descriptions of reality are nothing more than grotesque representations of abnormalities or mere parodies. His precise aim remains undetermined. You never can tell when he is in earnest and when not. It has been suggested to label alternate paragraphs of his plays as serious or humorous as the case may be so that there may be no mistake. He gives free play to his high-soaring imagination and whimsical fancy. His irony is subtle. He puts on his motley garb, shakes his bells and shoots arrows of ideas which if they do not convince at least rankle in the hearts of the present generation. But the world looks upon him as the jester-laureate,—who amuses himself at the cost of others.

There are inherent difficulties as well. His works are full of paradox. With Chesterton he is known as the bird of paradox. His expression of paradox is so free and frequent that it has given rise to the notion that Shaw does not utter a paradox, but is a paradox himself. This view is supported by the fact that his practice is generally at variance with his theory, and in the realm of thought, it is rather strange to find that he is vehemently opposed both to Christianity and rationalism. The following examples of paradox are taken from 'Great Catherine' and the 'Mesalliance.' An English Captain visits a Russian Count, who is half drunk. The latter's niece Varinka remonstrates with him.

Varinka.—And you think you will impress an Englishman by receiving him as you are now, half drunk.

Patiomkin.—(gravely). It is true that the English despise men who cannot drink. I must make myself wholly drunk. (He takes a huge draught of brandy) G. C. Scene I.

Lord Summerhays.—The fact is that as I have nothing to do, I never have time to go anywhere. P. 24.

Again he seems to agree with Plato that consistency is not the test of truth. He therefore makes himself wholly inconsistent. One day he preaches the imposition of the single tax as the best remedy of all the social evils of the human society. Next day he scrapes the single tax as obsolete and takes to the surplus theory of Karl Marx as the new panacea. Soon after he becomes an admirer of Jevons and himself proves that the theory of Surplus value is an exploded bubble. One day he believes in the process of evolution and the survival of the

fittest, next day he accuses science of cruelty. He talks most flippantly of God, morality, and religion. With scathing scorn he holds chastity up to ridicule. The levity with which he speaks of honour, truth, bravery, and virtue is staggering indeed. On the other hand, he assumes an air of most solemn seriousness while describing the leisure of a Persian cat, or the labour of a cab horse.

To these difficulties may be added the multiplicity of subjects on which he has written, the vastness of literature published by him, the magnitude of the task, and the limitations of a short paper. The last though not the least is his dominating personality, and his superb egoism, often boastful, often vain. It is difficult to shake one's mind free of prejudices and passions which are deliberately and consciously raised by his wanton remarks. It is premature to judge him. My paper will therefore be necessarily incomplete and inadequate. No study of a man can be fruitful without taking into consideration, however briefly, the surroundings in which he has been brought up, the influences which have moulded his character, and the ideals and the aspirations which have guided his life. I therefore proceed with a biographical sketch.

Short Biographical Sketch.

Shaw was born in Dublin on 26th July, 1856. His father George Carr Shaw was a descendant of an Anglo Scotch adventurer who had settled in Ireland after the Cromwellian conquest. Carr Shaw was a government servant holding a sinecure from which he retired in 1850 on a small pension. In 1853 he married Lucinda Elizabeth Garley nearly 20 years younger than himself. She was very fond of music which brought her in contact with a talented musician John Vandeleur Lee, conductor of operas. Carr Shaw had invested all his money into corn business, which failed. The Shaw and Lee thereupon set up a joint household. The whole house throbbed with music. In this way Bernard Shaw was, in early childhood, introduced to music and knew many operas by heart.

Shaw did not receive much of an education. His school years were wasted. He contented himself to remain always at the bottom of the class. He did not take any interest in any subject except music and painting and spent a good deal of his time in the Irish Nationalist gallery.

After leaving school he was put in an office of land agency on seven shillings a week. It is surprising to learn that Shaw became a good clerk. As land agent he had opportunities to come in contact with his fellow beings and he observed what a sorry world it was. By religion he was protestant, and the Irish protestants formed a class apart. They did not mix with Roman Catholics whose religious superstitions they derided. It was an exclusive caste with a rigid barrier. Most of them were government officials or professional men of small means. They regarded themselves as superior beings and had developed unbreakable conventions with regard to dress and etiquette. This had given rise to snobbery. As a matter of fact it was a world of small snobs. They held sinecures, were generally incompetent, and led dull monotonous lives. The be-all and the end-all of their ambition was to preserve their respectability. Slaves of a rigid tradition, they had become incapable of the sincerity of feelings or of appreciating anything deeper than external symbolism. It was a class which is so well described by la Fontaine:

*Il se leve un matin sans savoir pour quoi
faire.
Il se promène il va sans dessein, sans sujet.
Il se couche le soir sans savoir d'ordinaire
ce que dans le jour il a fait.*

A year later, Lee migrated to London and the joint household was broken up. A good deal of domestic unhappiness followed. It ended in Mrs. Lucinda Elizabeth Shaw going to London, where she became a self-supporting teacher of music, and is, I believe, still alive. Carr and Bernard Shaw took apartments. Next few years were so awfully dull, the home so cheerless, the routine work in the Land agency so depressing, that Bernard Shaw felt intolerably bored and following in the wake of his mother he crossed over to England in 1876. He approached London with a very high opinion of himself and his great ambition was to have it endorsed by the great metropolis. He took a cheap room in Osnaburgh Street No. 36 and began to work day and night at literary production. For nine years he struggled hard. His total income during this period was six pounds out of which £5 were paid for writing an advertisement of a patent medicine. This means his literary work brought him one pound

in nine years! Yet he was not discouraged. He toiled on with a grim determination. The black frock coat turned green. The trousers became as baggy as baggy could be. Fray of cuffs had to be periodically clipped. The silk hat underwent a complete transformation in as much as the back had to serve as front. Still Mss. after Mss. was forged on his literary anvil and thrust on reluctant editors. One or two small periodicals accepted his articles and Shaw boasts that he ruined them. He lived on six pence a day, which he borrowed from his mother. His father needed his help. And a self-supporting mother could hardly be expected to support a son of 23. But Shaw embraced the monstrosity of a life which brought no help. He says, 'I did not throw myself into the struggle for life, I threw my mother into it. I was not a staff to my father's old age: I hung on to his coat tails.' He had to live on 6d. a day, so he became a strict vegetarian and led a life of austere asceticism. He severely restricted himself to writing five pages a day. He worked during the day at the British Museum and at night his music introduced him to middle class London. Fortunately he had preserved his passport of respectability, I mean his dress suit, so he often received pleasant invitations. During the day his appearance sank from bad to worse, becoming shabbier and shabbier every day but at night he cut a fine figure with his dress suit. It was this contact with middle-class London that furnished him not only with materials for many characters of his plays but also with his art and philosophy.

From the intellectual point of view the eighties was a most momentous period in the history of London. It was a stirring epoch. The early victorians had never troubled themselves with regard to religion, morality, etc. Their ideas on these subjects were traditional and settled beyond controversy. They had come to regard their opinions as the unchangeable absolute truth. This placidity of belief was now broken. In 1874 Tyndall startled England by his famous defiance of theology at Belfast. The discoveries of Darwin had installed the new conception of survival of the fittest, while the ideas of Mill, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Clifford, George Eliot spread like wild fire. It was the height of an energetic almost feverish intellectualism. London was divided into small circles which met in sitting rooms or drawing rooms, which boldly derided

Christian ethics, preached republicanism, applauded agnosticism and practised anti-moralism. Prominent and popular leaders lived comfortably with women to whom they were not married.

A centre of white-hot discontent and rebellion was the Zetetical Society which met in Long Acre. They discussed all the proposed panaceas of the eighties: radicalism, the emancipation of women, atheism, destruction of morality, evolution and so on. Benard Shaw was introduced in 1879. There was a Captain Wilson who denounced morality as a device of Christianity for the enslavement of people. Stuart Glennie, a learned Scotch, held that Christian ethic was a narcotic which the white races administered to the coloured. Shaw found the atmosphere congenial and helped in battering Christianity with the arrows of Darwin and the scorn of Nietzsche. Sidney Webb was a member of this group. His life-long friendship with Shaw dates from this period.

In 1882 Shaw went to hear Henry George at the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street. The fiery eloquence of George opened his eyes to the vast problem of poverty. From that day he became a single taxer.

Soon after, he joined the Land Reform Union. There he met educated middle class men and women who were hostile on principle to the unequal distribution of wealth. Edward Carpenter and our ex-Secretary of State for India, Lord Olivier, then Sidney Olivier were members of the Union. Shaw who himself had a large acquaintance with poverty became an ardent propagandist. Members of this group were known as sandal-wearers and water-drinkers. They no doubt led very simple abstemious almost ascetic but humane lives. Shaw was here introduced to Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Shelley. The Union was against vivisection and vaccination. They already looked on the theory of evolution with suspicion and the law of struggle for existence as encouraging cruelty. Under the influence of the Union Shaw developed an aversion to Science.

Horrors of French Communism in 1871 dealt a strong blow to the revolutionary feeling and the eloquence of Ferdinand Lassalle and the learning of Karl Marx had knocked out the early socialism which was a name given to the system of Robert Owen. The theory of Surplus Value was regarded as the panacea

of the evils of the world and Marx's cry of a 'class war' was loudly reverberated in England. The social Democratic federation was founded. Middle class men like H. H. Hyndman, Belford Bax, William Morris, John Burns and others became members. Shaw once went to attend a meeting of the Federation, was converted, read '*Das Kapital*,' and was profoundly impressed. All other issues seemed pale. 'From that hour,' says he, 'I became a man with some business in the world'. To this new socialism he owes his friendship with Graham Wallas, Hubert Bland and William Archer, later Sir William Archer, who persuaded him in 1885 to take to journalism. From 1879-83 Shaw had written five novels but he had not been able to find a publisher. And it is an interesting fact to note that Mrs. Besant published two of his novels, 'The Irrational Knot' and 'Love Among Artists' in her paper called '*Our Corner*' in 1885.

In 1884 the Fabian Society was formed which also met in Osnaburgh Street not far from Shaw's lodgings. Shaw joined the society in September and contributed two tracts Nos. 2 and 3. Tract No. 2 is a manifesto and gives expression to Shaw's new creed (1) that a life interest in the land and capital of the nation is the birth right of every individual; (2) that the State should compete with private individuals especially with parents in providing happy homes for children so that every child may have a refuge from the tyranny or neglect of its natural custodians; (3) that the established Government has no more right to call itself the State than the smoke of London has to call itself the weather.

Mrs. Wilson was a member of the Fabian Society. She was a vehement speaker, who spread a sort of influenza of anarchism in London. Shaw was under her influence for some time but soon outgrew her anarchism. With Webb, Wallas and Olivier, Shaw founded the Hampstead Historic Club with a view to study social problems in a sober and academic spirit. For the study of economics Shaw joined a more intellectual group which included Alfred Marshall, Edgeworth and Foxwell. This group afterwards developed into Royal Economic Society. Shaw, Webb, and Olivier became the three Musketeers of the Fabian Society.

In 1888 Shaw became musical critic and began to earn a small income. He lectured several times a week but it was his rule not to

accept money for propaganda work. Whenever he was offered anything he bluntly refused, although he could ill afford to do so.

In 1897 he became a Vestry man and Councillor of St. Pancras Borough Council. The Fabians, like our Swarajist friends, had decided to capture municipalities and Shaw became a Councillor. The experience acquired in the Borough was utilised in writing "The Common sense of Municipal Trading."

These are some of the most important associations whose influence moulded his thought and character. It will be expedient to leave his biography at this stage and to proceed to the examination and analysis of his work.

Novels and Plays in their Chronological Order.

Repeated failures at journalism induced Shaw to try his hand at fiction. His first novel "Immaturity" which was really immature has never been published. The second, "The Irrational Knot" was written in 1880. Conolly, an American workman, falls in love with a woman of the upper middle class and is loved in return. Finally he marries her. The wife gets tired of her blunt husband and elopes with a young man. The husband receives the news of the elopement of his wife with an imperturbable tranquility. He behaves as if his errand boy had stolen six pence. The subject is a study of an incongruous marriage, the foregone result of which must be unhappiness. He wrote his third novel, "Love among the Artists" in 1881. The hero Owen Jack jilts his betrothed fiancé for the sake of a continental musician who accepts the offer of marriage in a letter which might relate to the purchase of a new blouse. It is a description of discords of family life and the worthlessness of the middle classes. His fourth novel "Cashel Byron's Profession" was finished in 1882, although first published in 1886. Stevenson characterised the story as "mad and deliriously delightful." To ridicule English ideas of sport and hero worship seems to be the chief motive of his work. In 1883 he wrote his fifth and last novel. It appeared in *To-day* in monthly instalments. It was liked by William Morris, received well by Archer, praised by Stevenson, and declared by the "Saturday Review" as the novel of the age. Notwithstanding the high praise bestowed on it, Shaw's financial position did not much improve.

There was no danger, as he said later, of some adventurous publisher ruining him by the temptation of a successful career in fiction.

Plays.

It was in 1885 that Shaw conceived an idea of writing a joint play with William Archer. Two acts were composed when the attempt had to be given up. In 1892 he again reverted to the abandoned play, and completed the 'Widower's House.' It was written for the Independent Theatre. It is a sociological play. The hero Sartorius is the owner of slum property. All his income is made up by the rent mercilessly collected from the impecunious and half-famished residents of slums. It is in fact an attack on the middle class. The so-called respectable people, who live in luxury and flirt for want of occupation, are in reality blood-suckers. Their selfishness, brutality, and callousness must be exposed. Their income is tainted, their snobbery is ludicrous. As a play it was a failure and had to be withdrawn after the second performance.

His second play "The Philanderers" was produced in 1893. There is marked improvement in dialogue, even occasional sallies of wit and humour. The object of writing this play was, as he himself has declared, to expose "the grotesque sexual compacts made between men and women under marriage laws, which represent to some of us a political necessity, to some a divine ordinance, to some a romantic ideal, to some a domestic profession for women, and to some—that worst of blundering abominations—an institution which society has outgrown but not modified and which advanced individuals are therefore forced to evade." But the play itself contains no such attack on marriage. It is rather a caricature of the popular idea of Ibsenism. There is hardly any plot. The medical profession in the person of Dr. Paramore has its share of Shaw's ridicule. Like its predecessors it was a failure as a comedy, and has never been revived on the stage.

In the same year he completed "Mrs. Warren's Profession". It was praised by some critics as one of the most remarkable plays of the age from the intellectual and the dramatic point of view, and was equally condemned by others as unfit and impracticable for the stage on the ground that prostitution and brothel-keeping are not suitable subjects for dramatic

art. It was censored in England. Ten years later its performance in New York was stopped by the authorities on the ground of immorality. In Kansas the actress who played the part of Mrs. Warren was prosecuted for indecency. But it was very much applauded in Teutonic countries. From there the contagion spread to other capitals. It had had a good run at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Rome and New York. In 1923 it had a remarkable success at Venice, where the actors were called on the stage 16 times after the curtain. Mrs. Warren has been described as a "genial and fairly presentable old blackguard of a woman." Her daughter Vivie is spoken of by Mr. Walkley as "an insufferable little Girton prig." When she finds out that she was sent to Cambridge and has been made a lady with the proceeds of a brothel house, she leaves her mother not on moral grounds, but because she wants to be intellectually independent. She is sometimes compared with Nora of Ibsen. But there is no comparison between the two. Nora is human while Vivie Warren is an intellectual automaton. An English baronet is represented as an associate of Mrs. Warren, which is not quite plausible, for English baronets are seldom shareholders in brothel business. He is a sort of brute who will not be tolerated in good circles. The other male character is a clergyman who though past middle age has yet retained his youthful taste for drink and looseness. Notwithstanding the censorship and failure on the stage, Shaw was seriously encouraged and came to be looked upon as the coming dramatist.

"Arms and the Man" appeared in 1894. This was the first successful comedy of Shaw. The scene is laid in Bulgaria so the English audience was reconciled to, even induced to laugh at, the follies, hypocrisies, snobbishness, indolence, and frauds attributed to the Bulgarian in the play. The object of Shaw seems to disillusion people with regard to the so-called ideals, especially, the romantic ideal of heroism, warfare, and soldiers. A prosaic and blunt Swiss mercenary soldier Bluntschli is introduced. This man goes on active service to the front but carries chocolates instead of bullets in his knapsack. The play does not deal with any social or political problems. It ran for 12 weeks in London and has always been popular in New York. The well-known

musical comedy, the 'Chocolate Soldier' was adopted from this play.

The next play produced in 1895 was "Candida." Of all Shaw's play, "Candida," in my opinion, is the only play which can be called realistic, in as much as it is the only play which is true to life. There is neither caricature, nor exaggeration. And a truce to his eternal war on the middle class is sounded. Candida is a busy, bustling, cheerful, self-sacrificing wife who makes her house a veritable paradise on earth for the sake of the husband Rev. James Morell. They pick up a young unconventional poet Marchbanks of aristocratic connections. The young man falls violently in love with Candida and staggers Morell by confessing his love for his wife who, he declares, is too good for the clergyman and who in reality belongs to him. He proposes that she will choose between the two men. As the crisis approaches, the play becomes intensely emotional and the keenest interest is aroused. Candida makes the conventional choice because she cannot stand a husband 15 years younger than herself. Of all Shaw's women-characters, Candida appears to me to be a real woman but even she has been inoculated with a dose of Ibsenism. She occasionally astonishes the reader by talking like Mrs. Warren and professing indifference to morality. She says, 'Ah, James, how little you understand me to talk of your confidence in my goodness and purity. I would give them both to poor Eugene as willingly as I would give my shawl to a beggar dying of cold'. It is a psychological play and the treatment of emotion as far as Candida is concerned is quite normal. From the dramatic point of view a very fine conflict is brought into play between the high, noble, vague, incoherent, unpractical but passionate love of a young inexperienced new artist and clear, bold, sure, sensible, benevolent, passionless love of a successful clergyman. The play was however rejected in London and was not put on the stage till 1904 when its remarkable success in Berlin and New York induced Londoners to reconsider their judgment.

It was soon followed by the "Man of Destiny." Shaw now turned to historical themes. His object was to administer a severe blow to hero-worshippers. Napoleon is represented as trailing his long hair in his soup and pinning the skin of grapes from his mouth on a military map he is studying. This also

afforded him a good opportunity of railing at England. Napoleon is made to declare: "There is nothing so bad or so good that you will not find Englishman doing it; but you will never find an Englishman in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles; he robs you on business principles; he enslaves you on imperial principles....." The lady in the play is said to represent Miss Ellen Terry. This play was also a failure.

Two years later i.e., in 1897, he completed "You never can tell." In a spirited comedy he describes very pessimistically mutual relations of husband and wife and parents and children. There is not much of a plot. The love scene depicted in the play shows that Shaw has never been in love himself, for as some critics have pointed out, no amount of ingenuity and imagination can ever supersede the real knowledge acquired by personal experience in matters of the heart. This also was a failure as far as representation on the stage was concerned but Shaw remained undaunted as ever. He seemed to be failure-proof.

His next play "The Devil's Disciple" was a sort of melodrama. By a combination of stock-situations he has been able to produce sensational and blood-curdling scenes. The English army under general Burgoyne invests an American town. A troop of soldiers, surround the house of a clergyman who is charged with rebellion against the king and is wanted for trial. The clergyman happens to be out. The so-called Devil's Disciple puts on the collar and the coat of the holy orders and passes himself off as the clergyman. He is produced before a military court. After a strange frivolous trial he is condemned to be hanged. At the last moment he is saved by the clergyman who had run away at the hour of need and leading a ready-made army of American peasants has compelled General Burgoyne to sue for peace and terms.

The action of the *hero* has puzzled many critics. "Why did Devil's Disciple save the clergyman at the cost of his own life?" ask the critics. Surely he must have been in love with the clergyman's wife. "No" replies Shaw. The Devil's Disciple did what he did simply from an altruistic and disinterested motive. Amusing satire, caricature, and levity have been mingled with recklessness. When a moment's

delay saves Dick's life, General Burgoyne flippantly remarks, "I should never dream of hanging any gentleman by an American Clock."

1898 saw "Caesar and Cleopatra". Cleopatra is introduced as a young bad tempered girl who invited Caesar, an old lonely man, to sit with her on the Sphinx in the middle of night because it is so very cosy and is ordered to go to bed. Shaw's theory with regard to ancient historical characters is to present them just like living persons for human nature is the same, so his Caesar might be Lord Curzon or any old Etonian and his Cleopatra has very much in common with a spoilt English school girl. The play is rather cleverly constructed but has not been much of a success.

"Captain Brassbound's Conversion" was written in 1899 after the model of the "Devil's Disciple," abounding in swift movement and sensational scenes with an incidental fling at the British ideals of justice. Later on it ran for 3 months at the court theatre. In 1901 he dramatised his novel "Cashel Byron's Profession" under the title of "The Admirable Bashville". It is a negligible extravagance in blank verse, many of the lines being reproduced from some of the Elizabethan poets.

In 1903 appeared his most remarkable play "Man and Superman". This established his reputation, his intellectual attainments, once for all. This play contains the philosophy of Shaw in a nutshell. There is very slender plot. Goethe's Mephistopheles is nothing but Milton's Satan after centuries of experience acquired in tempting human beings. Shaw has represented Don Juan after a few centuries' experience in hell as converted to asceticism and unfit for social intercourse which traits were the logical development of his immorality and looseness on earth. It is a propagandist play. Main ideas are:

- (1) It is the woman who pursues the man not the man the woman.
- (2) In the cosmogony of the world there is a life-force which reincarnates itself in the woman and compels her to life-giving act. Under the influence of the cosmic will, she must hunt the man till he yields. This has been described as the religion of the play.

Ladies are known to have indignantly left the theatre when Tanner propounds the Gospel

that marriage is not a necessary condition to maternity. The published play considerably differs from the stage version which generally omits or shortens the scene in Hell. The dialogue is witty. The evasions and subterfuges of the heroine are charming. The paradoxes and dread of marriage of the hero are highly entertaining. It had a great success on the stage and ran to 176 representations.

It brought a remarkable change in Shaw's fortune. His plays had attracted the notice of eminent critics like George Brandes, had been highly praised on the continent and enacted before German, Austrian, and American audience. Henceforth Shaw has always been in the lime light. His indebtedness to Nietzsche in this play is evident. The theory of superman is borrowed from him and Shaw owes many of his ideas about women to 'Thus Spake Zarathushtra.'

In 1904 he wrote his next play, 'John Bull's Other Island'. This was written for the Irish literary theatre. The picture of old Ireland, or real Ireland as Shaw calls it, is not very flattering to the Irish. People expected a good deal of railing at England. But it was a conciliatory play. He rather praised England, demonstrated the practical superiority of an Englishman to an Irishman. The Irish Literary Theatre naturally rejected it. It was however staged by the London Court Theatre where it ran to 121 performances. The Irish question was much discussed at the time, so prominent political leaders were seen to frequent the Theatre. A performance was commanded by the King Edward VII.

In 1905 also appeared 'Major Barbara'. It deals with the problems of poverty. Poverty is the worst of all crimes. All other crimes are virtues besides it; all other dishonours are chivalry itself by comparison. A man must redeem his soul by making money. Poverty is the one crime which the police should detect and punish. The dramatic conflict is represented by the tortures of antagonistic influences on the soul of Undershaft's daughter Barbara. Some critics have discovered in this play a fling on the salvation army but Shaw denies any such motive.

'Major Barbara' was followed by 'How he lied to her husband'—a short satire on *Candida* written for the New York Theatre.

'The Doctor's Dilemma' appeared in 1906. The object is to hold the medical profession up to

ridicule and to expose their quackeries. Colenso Ridgeon has discovered a cure for tuberculosis for which he is knighted. He has only one vacancy in his hospital. A pretty woman persuades him to admit her consumptive husband who is a gifted artist but is worthless as a man. On the other hand an honest, worthy, poor medical man, who is also his personal friend, requires treatment. The Dilemma is, should he prefer the beautiful pictures of the artist to an honest man! He decides to save the honest man and to let the artist die. But as Shaw wanted to ridicule not to admire the professional men, he represents Sir Colenso Ridgeon as in love with the pretty wife of the artist, whom he helps to die in order to be able to marry the widow. In the end the widow marries some other person. The doctor is disappointed and regrets that he has committed a disinterested murder.

'Getting Married' saw the light of the day in 1908. It is a debate on marriage disguised as comedy. It is a sort of symposium in which polygamy, polyandry, free love, marriage laws are freely discussed. It is full of dramatic situations. The dialogue is spirited and witty while the plot as usual is very slender. It is a one act play without being divided into scenes. The three classical unities are perfectly observed. The action of the play lasts about 2 hours, the time just necessary for representing it on the stage. From the technical point of view it is a finished product on classical models as far as the unities are concerned.

'The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet' appeared in 1900. The scene is laid in the wilds of Western America. It was censored, the prohibition being repeated in 1913. The moral of the play seems to be that even the most debased characters, are often capable of noble impulses. The chief ground of objection was the theology of the play. Blanco, the hero of the play remarks, 'God always has tricks up his sleeve. He is a sly one. He is a mean one!' Shaw was asked to expunge or at least modify such passages which he refused to do and so the play has not as yet appeared on the stage although it has been published.

1910 saw his next play 'Press cuttings'. Mr. Asquith and Lord Kitchener are introduced under the names of Balsquith and Mitchener. It was not passed by the censor on the ground that personalities cannot be permitted on the stage. Shaw's object is to expose the nervous-

ness of the military commanders and incompetence and corruption of political leaders. It is rather an amusing pleasantry.

During the same year was written the "Dark Lady of the Sonnets" in aid of funds for a National Theatre. Shaw's object seems to be to disillusion people with regard to the originality of Shakespeare with whom he takes great liberties which however were resented.

'Misalliance' is another symposium on marriage. It is 'Getting Married' repeated over again. It was produced at the Duke of York's Theatre but did not succeed and had to be quickly withdrawn. The incident of the aeroplane is borrowed, I think, from H. G. Wells' *Marriage*.

In 1911 was written 'Fanny's first Play'. It is a double satire on the English middle home and the English dramatic critic. It ran from April, 1911, to the December, 1912, almost a record run which was later beaten by 'Chou Chin Chow'. Shaw has borrowed a few expressions here and there from Oscar Wilde. e.g., *Fanny*: You think I have a future. *Trotter*: You have a past, Miss O'Dowda.

It is a play within a play. A French Captain is introduced who gives a very vivid description of the stupidity, prejudices, hypocrisy, and domestic dreariness of the French. But it is an indirect fling on the English middle class.

'Androdes and the Lion' was first produced in 1912. Shaw's object in writing this play seems to be to disillusion the people with regard to the martyrdom of ancient Christians under the Roman Emperors and to expose imperialism. The ex-Crown Prince of Germany was present at its first performance at Berlin but could not tolerate the attack on imperialism and left the theatre. A sample of Shaw's humour is the following:—

Caesar: Which is the Greek Sorcerer?

Androcles: We, your Worship.

Caesar: Well, what miracles can you perform?

Androcles: I can live with wife without beating her?

'Over-ruled' was also written during the same year. It is a short sketch with a skilful dialogue ridiculing the current ideas of sexual morality.

'Pygmalion' was the third play written in 1912. A professor of Phonetics picks up a flower girl from the street and promises an

Indian Colonel to make, in six months, a duchess of her, who could marry the Viceroy of India or the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Shaw's object is to expose once more the snobbishness of the middle class and the heartlessness and idiosyncrasy of expert scholars. I suspect Mr. Daniel Jones of the London University has supplied him the necessary information.

'The Great Catherine' Shaw's next play describes Russian Court life in the 18th century. Shaw's Russian Court is implausible. The play is full of anachronisms. A sample is given below:—

Catherine: (soliloquizing enthusiastically) "What a wonderful author is Monsieur Voltaire! How vividly he exposes the folly of this crazy plan for raising the entire revenue of the country from a single tax on land." Voltaire had never heard the theory of single tax. An English Captain is introduced. He is brought bound in leather straps and placed on the floor before Catherine who tickles him in the ribs with her toe. In this state they discuss M. Voltaire.

Catherine (calmly): Do I understand you to say that M. Voltaire is a great philanthropist and a great philosopher as well as the wittiest man in Europe?

Captain Edstaston: Certainly not. I say that his books ought to be burnt by the common hangman (her toes touches his ribs) Yagh! Oh don't. I shall faint. I can't bear it.

Catherine: Have you changed your opinion of M. Voltaire?

Edstaston: But you can't expect me as a member of the Church of England (she tickles him) Agh! Ow! Oh Lord! he is anything you like. He is a philanthropist, a philosopher, a beauty, he ought to have a statue, damn him! (she tickles him). No bless him. Save him victorious, happy and glorious. Oh, let eternal honours crown his name; Voltaire thrice worthy on the roll of fame!

Shaw wanted to write a historical play but there is no history in it. It is pure fiction. It was first performed at the Vaudville Theatre on the 18th of November, 1913.

'Heart-break House' was his next play begun before a shot was fired. Like Ibsen's 'Wild Duck' this is the most pessimistic of all his plays. Every thing is false. Beauty is false, nobility is false, heroism is false. There is no truth. Every virtue is an imagined illusion

and crumbles between the fingers the moment it is examined. It is as a matter of fact an overdrawn, much exaggerated picture of the moneyed and leisured English Upper Middle Class, who meet in country houses from Saturday to Monday, and are addicted to eating, drinking, fishing, and flirting. The inception of this study is due to the inspiration derived from three plays, 'The Cherry Orchard' 'Uncle Vanya' and 'the Sea Gull',—works of a Russian play-wright Tchekov. Tchekov is a fatalist and thinks the residents of the Heart-break House are destined to be wiped out. So Shaw in his gloomy mood of pessimism throws out dark hints of their future. This race is no good. They have failed to fulfil the purpose of nature. They are bound to be superseded by a better, nobler race,—a race of superior beings, which might be super-snakes or super-cats. It is rather interesting to note that in this play Shaw gives the first indication of being influenced by Indian ideas. By this time probably he has heard the doctrine of the soul force of Mahatma Gandhi to which a reference is made in the following passage from Act, I. page 32:—

Mrs. Hushabye: There is nothing to see in the garden except papa's observatory and a gravel pit with a cave where he keeps dynamite and things of that sort.....

Randall: Dynamite! Is n't that rather risky?

Lady Utterword: What is the dynamite for?

Hector: To blow up the human race if it goes too far. He is trying to discover a psychic ray that will explode all the explosives at the will of a Mahatma.

Again on page 37 he reverts to the same idea:

Hector: What is the dynamite for?

Capt. Shotover: To kill fellows like Mangan.

Hector: No use. They will always be able to buy more dynamite than you.

Capt. Shotover: I will make a dynamite that he cannot explode.

Hector: And that you can, eh?

Capt. Shotover: Yes! When I have attained the seventh degree of concentration.

'O, Flaherty V. C.' is a war playlet written in 1915 to help Irish recruitment, which, according to Shaw, was badly bungled. But it was censored and even after the war has never been produced on the stage. It was first

published in 1919 along with other war plays.

The next war-play 'The Inca of Perusalem' was also written in 1915 and first produced at the Criterion Theatre on the 16th December, 1916. It is a caricature of the ex-Kaiser. There is hardly any history or biography in it, only a few external things associated with the ex-Kaiser, e.g. his big moustache, his pose, etc. are the objects of Shaw's ridicule. Lest it should be regarded as a blow on the fallen foe, Shaw says in the preface, 'But I should certainly put the play in the fire instead of publishing it if it contained a word against our defeated enemy that I would not have written in 1915.'

'Augustus does his bit' is also a war playlet on the model detective plays. It was written in 1916. The first performance was given at the Court Theatre on the 21st January, 1917. Augustus is a well meaning, patriotic, incompetent, fussy, and foolhardy military officer, who negligently leaves important military maps and plans on the coffee table in a public restaurant and allows himself to be outwitted and deprived of them by a clever girl from the war office. This seems to be Shaw's contribution, his little bit, to winning the great war, for he declares the object of the play in the closing speech of the heroine to be the following:

The Lady: Oh, the gallant fellows are not all in the trenches, Augustus. Some of them have come home for a few days' hard-earned leave; and I am sure you won't grudge them a little fun at your expense.

Augustus: (amiable) Ah, well For my country's sake!

'Annajanska or the Bolshevik Empress' is also a war playlet written in 1917 and first produced at the Coliseum Theatre on the 21st January, 1918. The scene is laid in Beotia and deals with the period of Russian devolution. It is a sketch with a view to enable some favourite actress, in this particular case, Miss MacCarthy, to make a dazzling appearance on the stage and to enable her to make a display of her ankles and shoulders on a dramatic pretext.

'Back to Methuselah' was published in 1921, and was produced on the stage in Manchester. Shaw is now nearing 70. And garrulity, the sign of age, is quite obvious in this so far the longest of his plays. Preface alone runs to 86 pages. Like Wells' Outline of the History of the World, *Back to Methuselah*

is an outline of the history of the state of the world from 4004 B.C. to 31920 A.D.

The second part 'Gospel of the Brothers Barnabas' is a repetition of the 'Press Cuttings,' with a few modification. Mr. Asquith reappears as Lubin. A few phrases from his speeches like 'fighting to the last drop of your blood' and the famous 'wait and see' are put in his mouth. But even without these phrases Mr. Asquith could not be missed in Lubin. Mr. Lloyd George replaces Lord Kitchener and is introduced as Burge. His war work especially in connection with munitions is mentioned and few characteristic phrases from his speeches like the 'Knock out Blow' or 'Hang the Kaiser' etc. are made use of. There is very little action, almost no plot. A decided fall in wit, humour, and dramatic situations is noticeable. The fine distinct individuality which characterise his characters and with which he endows his men and women is somewhat lacking in this play.

He seems to have been considerably influenced by ideas similar to those taught by the Yoga system of philosophy, according to which a man can prolong his life indefinitely and can acquire supernatural powers such as the capacity to reduce men and women to ashes by a mere glance. Shaw draws the line at 200 years. And he invests the residents of Great Britain with such wonderful magnetism and electrical brilliance that ordinary mortals cannot bear to look at them or come near them without insular veils or dresses. He even allows an elderly gentleman to be struck dead by the glance of the Oracle whom he had come to consult.

The war seems to have changed Shaw's opinion with regard to England and the English people. In his pre-war work he has an unlimited capacity of abusing the English and of railing at their stupidity, hypocrisy, ignorance and so on. In his post-war work England is the divine country and the English the chosen people of god. For every useful man born in Ireland, England produces a thousand, and for every useful man born in Scotland, England produces a hundred. If there is any race which is capable of generating the supermen, and superwomen, it is the English race. Accordingly it is in England that man first attains an age of 200 years. It is in England that men and women acquire supernatural powers and wisdom. People from

Bhagdad come to England to seek the advice of oracles. Other elderly persons are mere children even to the English children and so on.

The last part 'As far as thought can reach' is a remarkable piece. It shows to what inconceivable heights his high soaring fancy can take its flight. Art he thinks will progress so far that it will be possible to endow portraits with life. It will be a common place thing to artificially manufacture living men and women. The present human machine will be modified to such an extent that people will be born like an egg from a shell. A girl one minute old will behave exactly like a girl of 21 at present. There will be no sex-distinction, not only mentally, morally and emotionally, but all physical distinguishing characteristics will be altogether effaced. The chest will be flat in both cases. Both will be completely bald. Men and women will outgrow their taste for music, dancing, pleasures of the world, and will lead ascetic lives, absorbed in deep meditation and contemplation, far from the maddening crowds and busy bustling haunts of men.

Literary Criticism.

Shaw has often been called the Aristophanes of the 20th century. It will not be out of place to examine the statement and to make a short comparative study of the two comedians. The first striking thing is that Shaw began life as a poor man living on six pence a day while Aristophanes was a rich man, a landlord who had an estate of his own in Aegina. The fact that he had no sympathy with the poor and publicly betrayed his dislike for them indirectly shows him to be a wealthy man. Further he had to make monetary payments to Callistratus and Philonides for teaching the chorus in producing his comedies. This would not have been possible if he were not rich. As Shaw was not a Londoner but had come to the great metropolis as a stranger in search of his fortune, so Aristophanes did not enjoy full Athenian citizenship. He was a foreigner. And a few lines of Eupolis fragment 357 complaining of the success of foreigners are supposed to refer to him.

Aristophanes began writing very young. His first comedies were written under the name of older poets Callistratus and Philonides, who had to teach the chorus as well as to perform

the pleasant task of receiving the state prizes. Shaw has never assumed a *nom-de-plume*. Whatever he has written, he has always written in his own name.

Aristophanes often descends to vulgarity. In the *Lysistrata* for instance women are ridiculed. The jokes made by men at their expense are almost indecent and all sorts of vices are attributed to everyone. It reminds one of the drama of the Restoration period in England. Of course a comedian has every right to amuse himself and his audience in the manner he likes best and this sort of thing may be regarded as a humorous pleasantry, yet there is a limit and good taste draws the line at a certain standard of refinement. Shaw is never vulgar. He has always preserved his decency and refined artistic taste. His ideas are often shocking, staggering if you like, but never vulgar or indecent.

There is another difference between the two comedians. Aristophanes often descends to personalities: *The Cloud* is a caricature of Socrates, who is represented as a sophist, the embodiment of the new culture. The very theme of the play—an old man wishing to learn how to avoid paying his debts will be denounced by Shaw as immoral. Aristophanes was persecuted by Cleon for treason on account of making a scandal with his play, "*The Babylonians*" and sent him rolling in dirt and all but killed him. He smarted under the punishment and took his revenge in the *Knights* 424 B. C. where the state is represented as a gouty old man wholly under the power of a slave, i.e. Cleon. It is a rollicking and reckless abuse. For some reason or other Aristophanes hated Euripides and goes out of his way to attack him in two of his plays, the *Acharnians* and the *Daitales*. His comedy *the Peace* contains a parody of Euripides' *Bellerophon*. In the *Thesmophoriasuzoe*, written in 411 B. C. Euripides is again introduced. The women assembled at the feast of Thesmophoria, to which no men were admitted discuss the ways and means of punishing Euripides who has represented such horrid women in his tragedies. Euripides persuades his father-in-law to attend the meeting in female disguise. He is recognised and handed over to the police from whose custody he is set free with the help of Euripides. *The Frogs*, the severest attack on Euripides, was written after the latter's death. Aristophanes' hatred

pursued him even in the next world. Dionysus, the patron god of drama, finds life intolerable. He descends to Hades to fetch Euripides. On his arrival into Hades he finds not only Euripides but also Aeschylus and he decides to bring Aeschylus back. *The Triphales* is an attack directed against Alcibiades describing his private as well as public life. Shaw, on the other hand, never attacks his personal enemies in his plays. To utilise drama for the purpose of revenge would be described by Shaw as the prostitution of a noble art.

Aristophanes reverts again and again to political themes. *The Babylonians* 426 B. C. was an attack on the system of Democratic Empire. The *Acharnians*, a mainly political play, is a personal attack on Cleon and on the war-party. *The Wasps* 422 B. C. is a satire on the Athenian administration of justice, their juries, their procedure and their love of litigation. Shaw on the contrary generally eschews politics. Not one of his plays can be described as political.

Both Aristophanes and Shaw possess wonderful imagination. *The Birds* and the 4th part of *Back to Methusalem* show their capacity for imaginary creations and original inventions.

Shaw and Molière.

Monsieur Hammond, Shaw's French translator and admirer calls him the Molière of the 20th century. The French and the Irish comedians have no doubt a few points of correspondence but otherwise they are poles asunder. Both had to pass through a terrible struggle in their early life. Molière was not only an author but also an actor and the manager of his troop. Failure for him meant not only personal failure but also starvation for 'Illustre Theatre.' Shaw's fortunes on the other hand have never been bound with the fortunes of any other person except himself. Molière found a permanent patron in Louis de married life was made miserable by the conduct of his wife Armande Bejart. Shaw leads an austere and ascetic life. His private life is beyond reproach. And his domestic happiness has never been ruffled. Both came in the lime light when they were past middle age. Molière found a permanent patron in Louis de Grand. From his return to Paris he was not the master of himself. He had frequently to

entertain the court at Versailles, St. Germain, or Fontainbleau. He had often to produce original farces, musical comedies, melo-dramas at a very short notice. Molière had become a permanent fixture at the court of the *grand monarch*. No such luck for Shaw. One or two of his plays have been privately performed at Buckingham Palace but he has never been commissioned to write plays for royalties.

With regard to technique Shaw refuses to divide his plays into scenes and sometimes, as in *Getting Married*, even the acts are dispensed with. Molière, on the other hand, goes to the other extreme. He divides his plays into too many scenes. The arrival of every new character on the stage inaugurates a new scene. This numerous division into scenes often disturbs the action of the play. In *Le Bourgeois Gentle Homme* the hero M. Jourdain is annoyed with his tailor who has not kept his promise and delayed his suit very much. Jourdain cannot control himself and begins to swear at the tailor. Just at that moment the tailor makes his appearance and Molière has a new scene although Jourdain's swearing was only half finished, the unfinished part being carried to the new scene.

Molière like Shaw was an ardent social reformer. He mercilessly exposed the evil practices of his contemporaries, with a view to reform them. The 'Tartuffe' attacks such individuals as lead abominable lives under the cloak of religion, but religion itself is not the object of attack. *Les femmes savantes* ridicules those who being shallow and superficial pass as original wits and scholars but wit and scholarship themselves are not exploded. Molière never directs his attack against the bourgeoisie as such. He laughs at their vices and tries to reform them by his withering ridicule. He is not beyond hope of their reform. And then it is not the bourgeoisie alone, which is to be reformed. Other strata of society are equally good and bad. He does not spare any particular class. The church, the court, the middle classes all share his attention. Shaw on the contrary intensely hates the middle classes and severely deals blows after blows on their noses for the salvation of their souls. He is a pessimist and believes the middle classes are past reform. They must be wiped out and superseded by a new race of supermen and superwomen. Shaw is not content with the exposure of the hypocrisies and evils of

his age but like a revolutionary tries to destroy every fundamental notion which civilisation has established during the last millennium.

Shaw and Dickens.

The same distinction can be made between the works of Shaw and Dickens. Dickens often paints villains and draws exaggerated pictures. But no one ever resented his use of fiction for social reform. Dickens had not alienated the sympathy of the middle classes. He suggested that there were many evil-doers like Squeers, Ralph Copperfield, Jingle, sergeant Buzfuz, etc., but they were a disgrace to the society and the society was quite ready with Dickens to denounce them. Shaw seems to think that every middle class man is a rogue and a cheat. Instead of suggesting that there are slum-property proprietors, like Sartorius, or shareholders in brothel-business like Mrs. Warren or manufacturers of explosives like Undershaft, who thrive on killing life, that there are parasites, hypocrites and so on, he accuses the whole middle class of vices in sweeping generalisations. The sympathy of the middle-classes is thus alienated and Shaw has failed where Dickens succeeded.

Conclusion.

Shaw is undoubtedly endowed with great gifts. His dramatic talent is unquestionable. He has created a galaxy of various characters such as very few playwrights have done. Every character is invested with a distinct and sharply defined individuality. His powers of observation are keen, and his characterisation vivid. Dramatic situations are cleverly constructed. His wit, humour, spirited dialogue, intellectual quality, and refreshing originality make his plays of absorbing interest. He has no doubt been under the strongest influence of Ibsen. As in the case of Ibsen, his plays never came to an end. His men and women are all inoculated with strong doses of the so-called Ibsenism. The result is, his women, except a few, are detestable. They are cold, bloodless, intellectual automata. They are not real. Shaw himself admitted that a good deal of machinery will be discovered at their *post mortem* examination. His men are equally unconvincing. They are selfish, brutal, helpless, incompetent, indolent, and vicious.

ALLA-UD-DIN KHILJI: A STUDY.

By S. ABDUR RASHID.

1. Of all the Turkish Dynasties, that ruled in India before the advent of the Mughals, none excites so much interest as none was productive of so many and so far reaching results as the house of the Khiljis. Their accession to power marked the break up of the tottering machinery of the Government of the Slave Kings, the beginning of a reign of terror which swept away the ancient regime, and the shifting of the power and burden of Government from the Turkish aristocracy to the middle class Hindus and the non-descript Muslims.

No reasonable inference can be arrived at as to the origin of the Khiljis⁽¹⁾ whose early history is shrouded in mystery. They were identified with the non-descript Muslim nobility of the Slave Kings who by their sheer genius, force of character, and adventurous spirit had risen to prominent places in the State and had excited the hatred and jealousy of the Turkish nobles, who monopolized all the great offices and even held the throne in commission. Spasmodic efforts were made to subdue the spirit of aristocratic lawlessness and inter-democratic feeling of the nobles who might have preserved their power indefinitely while striking both at the Crown and the people, but for the existence of factions and bitter feuds which rent their ranks. Balban was the first to begin

systematically to break down the power of the nobles by a "liberal use of poison" and the assassin's steel, but he aimed not at the annihilation of the Turkish nobility but simply their subjection to the central authority. When his strong hand was removed the country was plunged once more in a state of "prodigal anarchy" and the Turks began to play the old game of a puppet king, a well fed nobility and a terrorised people. But the impulse given by him and the forces of revolution let loose, swept away the power and the prestige of the Turkish nobles.

2. When the last of the Slave Kings Keikabad lay sick and dying at the Kilughari Palace attended by his doctors a conspiracy was formed among his officers to denounce several nobles of foreign extraction, at the head of whom was Jalal Uddin, the Arz-i-Mumalik (Master Master general). The latter having got an inkling of the plot forestalled the conspirators, collected his adherents round him, surprised and defeated them and succeeded in securing the person of the infant son of Keikabad and the sons of the Kotwal of Delhi. On the death of the king Keikabad he assumed the title of a king and ascended the throne in the year 688 A.H. (1289 A.D.).

3. This change of dynasty marked the first stage of the "Khilji Revolution" which ended the violent and irregular tyranny of a faction. The moderation of the aged Sultan and his reluctance to shed the blood of the Muslims in his old age together with the sentimental aversion of the people of Delhi who considered it undignified and intolerable to submit to the Khiljis, helped to mask the change. Some of the Turkish nobles had to be re-appointed and the final act in the *coup d'état* was played by Alla-Ud-din who drove the argument further home by exterminating the old aristocracy root and branch, with the exception of three nobles—one of them a Khilji, the second a converted Rajput and the third a non-descript Musalman.

Thus the Khilji revolution becomes the revolution of the Indian Musalman against the foreigner. The former before this had no

(1) According to Major Raverty and Biphinstone, the Khiljis were "a people who were Turks but having been long staying in Afghanistan, first round Herat and then eastwards, they became so assimilated to the population of the locality that they were taken to be more Afghans than Turks." Zia Uddin Barni says of Jalal Uddin that "he came of a race different from that of the Turks.....nor would the Turks own him as belonging to the number of their friends" and that "by the death of the Sultan Keikabad, the Turks lost the Empire." According to Nizam Uddin Ahmad, the author of *Tabqat-i-Akhari* the tribe of Khilji are the descendants of Khilji Khan, son-in-law of Chengiz Khan who settled in the hilly country of Ghaur and Gharjistan, after Chengiz Khan's return from river Indus. According to the author of *Seljuk Nama*, Turk, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, had eleven children, one of whom was called Khulich; and from him are descended the Khilichis or Khiljis. Frishta considers this account as the most probable because the Khiljis are often mentioned in the histories of the Kings of Ghazni, particularly in the reigns of Sabuktigin and Sultan Mahmud; and it is certain that they existed anterior to the time of Chengiz Khan.

status; the revolution asserted his right to a recognition. There is another equally important aspect of this change. Up to this time the city of Delhi had held the premier position among the cities of the Empire. The Empire of Hindustan was the Empire of Delhi. The accession of Alla-Ud-din marked the revolt of the Provinces against the Capital and the overthrow of its citizens.

4. Jalal Uddin in the hour of victory had not forgotten his friends and relatives. The Sultan's brother Yagrish Khan was made Arzi-Mumalik, Alla-Ud-din and Almas Beg (sons of Shahab Uddin Masud) his sons-in-law, were made Tuzak and Akhurbeki respectively. After Jalal Uddin had defeated Malik Chajju, the nephew of Keikabad, he bestowed Karra on his nephew Alla-Uddin. In his new government he was joined by a number of the rebels whom the king had with unwise and impolitic clemency pardoned. These disaffected nobles, themselves in a state of nervous ecstasy, began to poison the mind of the young governor by dangling before his eyes the Crown of Delhi. Instigated by them to make a bid for the throne of Delhi, spurred by his own ambition and goaded to desperation by the contemptuous and overbearing treatment of his wife⁽²⁾ he began to form plans to either carve out an independent principality in the south as a soldier of fortune or else to secure the necessary means to attain the Crown. In 1203 he requested permission of the king to lead an expedition into *Bhilsa*. The permission was granted and while conducting operations there made enquires as to the Hindu Kingdom of Maharashtra lying across the mountains with its capital at Deogir. After having ravaged the country, he returned with much booty and some bronze idols which he presented to the king. The aged Sultan made it an occasion of preferment by making him the Arzi-Mumalik and conferring upon him the territory of the Oudh in addition to the fief of Karra. The favour shown by the king instead of awaking the sense of gratitude in him only whetted his ambition and strengthened him in his iniquitous resolve. He next wanted to lead a punitive expedition into *Chanderi*, and having secured

the permission of the Court, he marched to the south, the land of his dreams, gave out that he was out to seek fortune by taking service with some Hindu Raja,⁽³⁾ and quietly passed on to Etichpur and thence to Deogari. The town was ill-defended at this time, and the Raja after some show of resistance submitted and promised to pay tribute to the Delhi King. Alla-Uddin, intoxicated with success, returned laden with huge spoils.

Now began the battle of wits between the guileless loving old Sultan and his crafty nephew. The former, while stationed at Gawaliar had heard that Alla-Uddin was returning with unprecedented amount of wealth and a large number of elephants, and had been advised to intercept his return to Karra "lest the elephants and wealth should so intoxicate him as not to know his hands from his feet." The Emperor in the simplicity of his heart declined to give credence to the evil rumours against him. A few days after intelligence arrived that Alla-Uddin had marched straight to Karra. From there he wrote a letter to the Sultan in terms of abject humility posing as a penitent sinner and asking his forgiveness for having undertaken an expedition without his previous sanction and requesting permission to present himself at the Court and lay all the booty at the Emperor's feet. His brother Almas Beg who was at the Court counteracted all the wise counsels of the king's advisers and prevailed upon him to proceed to Karra as a mark of having forgiven his undutiful behaviour. The king "blinded by destiny" and taken in by the show of remorse arrived at Karra on the 7th of Ramzan.

After a course of dissimulation the nephew succeeded in making the Sultan meet him unarmed and unguarded on the other side of the river. Alla-Ud-din came forward in all humility and threw himself at the feet of his uncle. The latter raised him up, embraced him and stroked his cheek and said "I have brought thee up from thy infancy and loved thee more than my sons. Why should you be afraid of me." The Sultan

(2) The early history of Alla-Uddin is shrouded in mystery. The name of his father is given by Prishtas only; other historians are silent about him. His career begins with a scandal about his strained relations with his wife, the motive of which is difficult to discover and impudent to guess.

(3) This might have been done with the object of stilling the fears and throwing dust into the eyes of the Hindu Rajas through whose principalities he passed with an inadequate force. The wisdom of the measure was justified by the support and the hospitality he received at the hands of those who might have made the rash venture a failure. That he meant to openly defy the central authority is improbable when we consider the character of our hero.

then took him by the hand and was proceeding to the boat, when on a signal being given by Alla-Ud-din he was hacked down by Muhammed Salim of Samana and Iktiar Uddin Hud. The head of the venerable old Sultan was stuck immediately on a spear and paraded through the camp. On the same day "the royal canopy was elevated over the head of Alla-Ud-din" who was proclaimed king with the title of Al-Sultan-Ul-a'zam Ala-Uddunya-o-Aldin Abul Muzaffar Muhi Shah-al Sultan, on the 16th of Ramzan 695 A.H. (4).

On the news of the assassination of the Sultan reaching Delhi, Malka-i-Jahan who retained her influence in that city, in her haste to secure a representative of royalty, selected *Rukan Uddin Ibrahim* in preference to the proper heir *Arkli Khan* who was absent at his post in Multan. This act of Malka-i-Jahan whom Barni styles the "silliest of the silly" secured Rukan Uddin temporary existence as a king, a dignity which otherwise as a younger son and a minor he was neither entitled nor fitted to hold.

Alla-Ud-din having already at his command a powerful army and wealth of Deccan supplying him with unlimited means of increasing his forces and conciliating wavering opponents, had merely to advance to the capital to put an end to the rule of the boy Sultan. That year there had been exceptionally heavy rains and all the roads had been blocked by "mud and mire". But such was the magic of the gold which Alla-Uddin took care to scatter broadcast among the people by means of "a small, light and movable *Munjamik*" that in spite of the inclement elements, within two or three weeks of his march from Karra, by the time he reached Badaun, he had collected 56,000 horses and 60,000 foot-soldiers besides an enormous following (Barni). "But the scales seem to have been finally turned by the empty treasury of legitimacy at the capital and the super-abundant resources of the

spoiler of the idolators. His catapults instead of projecting hard stones against the city walls were employed as toys in scattering largesses among the greedy multitude." As the new Sultan marched towards Delhi the Malik and Amirs of Jalal Uddin's party, men like Taj Uddin Kochi, Malik Abba Ji Akhur Beg, Malik Amir Ali Diwana and others came to Baran and paid homage to him. Frightened by the defaction of the nobles Malik-i-Jahan, now wrote a coaxing letter to Arkli Khan at Multan, inviting him to come to Delhi and defend it. That Prince, however, did not deem himself strong enough to interfere with the *fait accompli*. "When the Malik and the Army have joined the enemy," he wrote in apology, "what is the use of my coming."

Alla-Uddin crossed the river Jumna at the ford of Katah. Rukan Uddin marched out of Delhi and encamped opposite to Alla-Uddin. At midnight the left flank of his army went over to the Sultan. This completely disheartened him, and sending his mother and the Harem in advance he marched away out of the Ghazni Gate to Multan with a few followers and some bags of gold Tankas hastily taken out of the treasury. The field was now clear, the fickle goddess of fortune having placed the throne of Delhi at his feet without a blow. The Kotwal with the keys of the fortress, the Qazis and the Ministers came out to do him homage in his camp at Siri. On the 12nd Zil Haj 696 A.H. (October 20, 1296) at the head of a large and well equipped army the king made his state entry into Delhi. This was made an occasion of much rejoicing; feasts and festivals were held; large gifts were made to the people in general, and in the words of Barni "wine and women, music and song were the order of the day.....whether from considerations of expediency or to deceive the people or to draw a veil over the criminal murder of Sultan Jalal Uddin, he opened the doors of generosity and munificence to the nobles as well as to the general public." From considerations of political expediency he distributed offices of trust and responsibility among the Jalali nobles and thus created what we should now call a Coalition Ministry. The army was given 6 months' pay in advance.

Having secured himself on the throne by the reconciliation of the nobles, the army and the people, he turned his attention to the destruction of the sons of the deceased Sultan.

(4) The enormity of the crime is obvious; the cold blooded cynicism which prompted it is patent. Alla-Uddin throughout his long reign never attempted to justify the act or play the clumsy part of the apologist. By his strong rule he made the people forget the crime if they could not forgive him. "Public opinion did not expect that the laws of private morality would be respected by the members of the royal family in their dealings with each other the..... Affections dear and all the charity, of father, son and brother were considered sentiments highly dangerous for kings." Self-preservation is the first postulate of political morality and a similar fate would in all probability have been his in case Jalal Uddin's son had succeeded his father.

He nominated Ulgh Khan and Zafar Khan with 40,000 horsemen for this duty. These officers marched to Multan and laid siege to it. The Kotwal and the people of Multan turned against the sons of Jalal Uddin and went over to the besiegers. Thus betrayed, the Princes deputed Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Rukan Uddin to intercede for them with Ulgh Khan. He courteously received the princes and along with their Amirs, Malikis and their Harems conveyed them to Delhi. There they were blinded and sent as prisoners to the fort of Hansi. A similar treatment was meted out to their Amirs and Malikis and even to those Jalali Amirs whom he had at first taken into his Ministry. Their goods and estates were confiscated and by means of these forfeitures he realised a karor in the course of the year.

5. *Conquest of Gujrat*: In the month of Zil Haj 698 A.H. (1298 A.D.) Alla-Uddin sent his brother Ulgh Khan and Nasrat Khan with a large army to Gujrat. With a "view to holy war and not for the lust of conquest, they enlisted under their banners about 14,000 cavalry, and 20,000 infantry.(5) The king's armies having laid waste the country occupied Nehrwal, the capital. Its Raja, Rai Kurram, fled away and sought refuge with Raja Ram Deo of Deogir. His treasures, wives and concubines fell into the hands of the conquerors. Among other captives was Kamla-devi the beautiful wife of the Rai, "who for beauty, wit and accomplishments was the flower of India." She was taken into the Harem of the Sultan where she rose to be his favourite.

The Amirs proceeded further into Gujrat and laid siege to Somnath. The temples were plundered and idols broken. Among the largest of these was the one called Somnath "fixed upon stone, polished like a mirror of charming shape and admirable workmanship. Its position was such as it was about to move and its expression such as if it was about to speak". The idol was removed and carried to Delhi where it was laid down for people to tread upon. A heavy tribute was laid upon Gujrat. Nasrat Khan then proceeded to Cambay(6) "the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population

and wealth. Its air is pure, its water clear, and the circumjacent country beautiful and charming both in scenery and buildings." This town which formed the most busy commercial centre of the country was plundered and immense amount of booty captured "such as pearls, diamonds, rubies and emeralds, etc., as well as a great variety of clothes, both silk and cotton, stamped, embroidered and coloured." (7)

6. *Capture of Ran-Tambhor and Jain*: Alla-Uddin next turned his attention to the capture of Ran-Tambhor which was held by Hamir Dev, a relative of Rai Pathaura(8) of Delhi. Ulgh-Khan from Niana and Nasrat Khan from Karra were ordered to march and lay siege to it. They seized Jhain first and besieged the citadel of Ran-Tambhor. Nasrat Khan who was conducting the operations was struck by a stone hurled by an engine from inside the fort and was killed. The Raja taking advantage of the fact marched out from the fort and compelled Ulgh Khan to fall back on Jhain with great loss. The Sultan on hearing of his death himself started for Ran-Tambhor.(9) and proceeded to lay siege to it in all earnest. The Hindus offered a stout resistance and kept up constant fire on the besiegers who were forced to prepare entrenchments with bags full of sand. The Hindus were at last starved and forced to surrender. "No provisions remained in the fort and famine prevailed to such an extent that a grain of rice was purchased for two grains of gold.(10) The Rai performed the terrible rite of Jauhar and on the 3rd of Zil-

(7) The plunder of the coastal towns had far reaching economic effects. It discouraged if it did not wholly cut off trade with the foreign countries. The rich products of Gujrat were diverted inland and commerce and communication sprang up between the town and the sea-ports.

(8) Hamir Dev is wrongly called the grandson of Pithaura by Nizam Uddin Ahmad. If Pithaura is the same Prithvi Raj who fought against Muhammad Ghauri and was killed in 1192 A.D. the statement cannot be accepted. The Persian Texts have got the word "Nabasa" or "Nabira" which may be taken to mean loosely, as suggested by Dowson, simply a relative.

(9) He halted for some days for the purpose of hunting at Tilpat. There while engaged in hunting he nearly lost his life in an incursion headed by his nephew, a rash and foolish young man whose ambition was too great for his wisdom. The Sultan who had been left as dead by the nephew soon appeared among his soldiers. Aklat Khan was captured and put to death. The other conspirators were scourged to death with iron thongs. Another mad revolt broke out at Delhi headed by a young slave Haji Maula, but this too was soon suppressed.

(10) Wassaif in Elliot and Dowson, Volume III.

(5) Wassaif-Tajiyatul-Amsar in Elliot and Dowson, Volume 3.

(6) It was from one of the merchants of this place that Nasrat Khan secured the famous slave Malik Kafur who wielded so powerful an influence over the Sultan and was in the end instrumental in bringing about the collapse of his dynasty.

Qada 700 A.H. (1301 A.D.) the fort was taken by the "slaughter of the stinking Rao." Jahin an iron fort, an ancient abode of idolatry was also captured.

7. *Conquest of Chitaur*: On Monday the 8th Jamadi Us Sani 702 A.H. the armies marched from Delhi with a view to the capture of Chitaur. The fort was taken on Monday the 10th of Muharram 703 A.H. (August, 1303). The Rai fled but afterwards surrendered himself and was secured "against the lightening of the scimitar." The Government of Chitaur was bestowed upon Khizar Khan, the son of the Sultan, and the place named Khizar Abad. He was on this occasion publicly proclaimed the heir to the throne.⁽¹¹⁾

8. *Conquest of Malva*: Rai Mahlak Dev

(11) The story of the two sieges of Chitaur by Alla-Uddin as told by Col. Todd relying upon the accounts of the Rajput bards is one of the most romantic that adorns the annals of Indian history; but it finds no corroboration in the contemporary accounts. Amir Khusrû who accompanied the expedition does not mention it. Frishta gives the story in outline but does not give the source. A brief account of it as given by Todd is appended. The imagination of Alla-Uddin having been inflamed by the description of the unequalled beauty of Padmani, the daughter of the King of Ceylon, he desired to bring her into his harem. He marshalled an army for the conquest of Rajputana and after a weary march of several months, encamped under the walls of Chitaur and demanded as the price of his return the hand of the fair Princess. The Rajputs, considering the honour of their women far above all earthly consideration, rejected these insulting terms. The siege having protracted, Alla-Uddin modified his demand to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, a gratification he was only permitted to enjoy by the reflection of numerous mirrors. Relying on Rajput honour, he entered Chitaur slightly guarded and having contemplated the reflected charms of Padmani he set out on his return to his camp. Bhimsi, the regent of Chitaur accompanied him back to the front of the fortress. There Alla-Uddin had prepared an ambush and seizing Bhimsi, hurried him off to his camp, and made his liberty dependent on the surrender of Padmani. The Raja, who was ill-treated in his confinement, consented, and sent for her. Padmani's family, hearing of this dishonourable proposal concerted means of poisoning the Princess to save their honour. The Princess being a girl of invention, proposed a stratagem to save her and her family's honour. Selecting a number of dashing dependents, who in complete armour concealed themselves in Dolis, and attended by a chosen retinue of horse and foot as befitted her station and dignity marched towards Delhi, where they were admitted without interruption. It was night and by the king's permission they were allowed to see the Raja. As soon as the Dolis got inside the prison, the armed men leapt out, put the king's guard to sword and carried off the Raja. The Raja, having got back to his kingdom, ravaged the country held by the Muslims until the latter gave up the fort and the Raja retained the tract of Chitaur as a tributary of Alla-Uddin.

of Malva fought against the armies of Islam at the head of a large force consisting of 30 or 40 thousand cavalry and numerous infantry but he was defeated and slain while attempting flight from the field of battle. Malwa was annexed and placed in charge of Ainul-Mulk. The Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dev, tendered his submission soon afterwards and the cities of Mandu, Ujjain, Dhar Nagri, and Chanderi were all captured. By the end of 1305 A.D. practically the whole of northern India came into the hands of Alla-Uddin.

THE MONGOL TERROR.

II.

1. The early history of the Mongols is extremely obscure. The name is said to be derived from Mong meaning the brave. We get the earliest notice of them from the history of the Tang dynasty of China (617 to 190 A.D.). Their ancestry is lost in the mist of fable and may be roughly described as a hybrid race. The physical features of the country which they inhabited, with its deserts and mountains were admirably suited to the habits and customs of a sparse population of nomadic graziers and shepherds. By much the greater part of the land is barren, mixed in many instances with sandy deserts with an inhospitable climate, so that the difficulties of procuring subsistence at one spot or at a moderate distance from their habitations has compelled the inhabitants in all ages to adopt a wandering life. "When they were strong they attacked a neighbour with or without a reason; if successful, they enjoyed, usually a short period of blood thirsty revenge and debauchery; if beaten, they would lie low till a fresh opportunity was offered of aggrandisement or plunder." These barbarian tribes rose to an important position under Chengiz Khan (12) and his father.

(12) Formerly these tribes were between two civilizations like a pumpkin between two iron pots. But the defeat of the Karakhtai Turks by Alla-Uddin Khwazram Shah removed the only checks on their power. From the laws of Chengiz Khan we get a glimpse of the social organization of these people. They professed the Mahayana form of Buddhism but the tincture of Buddhism was very little. They were very superstitious, worshipped stars and the sun, but withal they were remarkably tolerant. There was a strong sense of social structure and nationality. The central principle of all laws was the race as symbolized in the person of the Khan, religion being only a secondary affair. Military organization was another

2. The conquests of Chengiz Khan and his immediate Mongol successors were conducted with an exterminating cruelty and a cold contempt of human life and suffering unparalleled in history. By the barbarity of their massacres in which age, sex or status were alike disregarded, they spread terror and dismay all around them. Their habit of slaughter seems to have hardened them to the sight of blood and "rather engendered an almost sportive and unnatural thirst for it." We have harrowing details of these massacres,—how in one place all the young and old women were stripped naked and asked to fight with tooth and nail, and then all were put to the sword; how when the Governor of Hirat rebelled 16,00,000 souls were massacred; how Bukhara was sacked and burnt, mosques defiled and the Holy Book spurned. One of the inhabitants of Bukhara having contrived to reach Khurasan was asked by the people as to the state of that unfortunate town. His reply sums up the whole situation. "The Mongols," he replied, "came, dug, burnt, slaughtered, plundered and departed." As they advanced farther from their home and left their deserts behind them, the course of their march was marked by the burning of the cities, the devastation and the ruin of the country and the slaughter of all the inhabitants whom they did not carry off as slaves. "Their uniform plan was to convert the fields into a desert and to leave behind them no human being that could rise on their rear, or that could offer a moment's annoyance or occasion the slightest risk to the invader." (13)

strong feature of their laws. They were divided into military groups on a decimal system Amir-i-dah, Amir-i-sad, Amir-i-hazar, and Amir-i-Tuman. All were liable to conscription.

(13) Chengiz Khan (1162-1227 A.D.) having subdued Pekin and the Northern half of China led his Mongol hordes against the other Turk tribes lying between Transoxania and his own original country, most of whom he compelled to acknowledge his sway. His Empire great and mighty though it was would not have attracted so much attention and notice both in the east and in the west but for an accident. His ambassador to the Court of Alla-Uddin Khwarezm Shah met his death in the latter's territory. Chengiz Khan demanded the person of the Governor in whose city his agent had met his death. The messengers sent by him were maltreated and sent back without their head. This roused the wild wrath of the wildest warrior. After besieging and sacking with relentless cruelty the numerous rich and populous cities with which the country of Transoxania then abounded, he crossed the Oxus and poured the destructive inundation of his barbarians over Khwarezm, Balakh and Khurasan, ravaging on the one hand a large portion of Persia and Armenia and

To realize the terror inspired by the Mongols and to appreciate the difficulties of the Government which had to cope with them, the felicitous description given of the Mongols "riding on camels, all with steel-like bodies, clothed in cotton, with faces like fire and with their heads shorn," by Amir Khusrû which Lane-poole characterizes as a "caricature of fear" will not be out of place:—

"Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel. Their stink was horrible than their color. Their faces were set on their bodies as if they had no neck. Their cheeks resembled soft leathern bottles, full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from cheek-bone to cheek-bone. Their nostrils resembled rotten graves and from them the hair descended as far as the lips. Their moustaches were of extravagant length. They had but scanty beards about their chins. Their chests, of a colour half black, half white, were so covered with lice that they looked like sesame growing on a bad soil.....They devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth.....Their origin is derived from dogs but they have larger bones. The king marvelled at their beastly countenance and said that God had created them out of hell-fire. They looked like so many white demons, and the people fled from them everywhere in affright."

3. Such were the people who hung like a thunder-cloud on the borders of the kingdom and kept constantly battering on its frontiers demanding the proverbial pound of flesh. They were a constant source of anxiety to all the Governments, and Alla-Ud-din succeeded in keeping them away from the frontier after having inflicted on them several crushing defeats and the maintenance of a huge army.

(a) In the second year after succession of Alla-Ud-din Amir Daud, king of Mavaramnahr, crossed the Indus and entered Hindustan like an "avenging deluge," with an army of 1,00,000 Mongols. "The advancing wave of the hellites burnt down all the villages of the

on the other spreading desolation through Gandhar and Ghazni as far as the Indus. Khozest, Tashghand, Nahr, Bukhara, Samarkand, Merv, Neshapur and Hirat were all plundered till his Empire extended from China to Neiper, the largest Empire the world has ever seen.

Khokhars in such a way that the flames extended as far as the suburbs of the city.....Such a wailing arose that the sound reached His Majesty the King of kings." Alla-Uddin sent Ulgh Khan with the whole of the right wing of the army. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Jallundhar.⁽¹⁴⁾ In the bloody battle which ensued, Rabi-ul-Arkhir 695 A.H. (1296 A.D.), the Mongols though in numbers, "like ants and locusts," were defeated with a loss of 20,000 men left dead on the field. The prisoners were taken to the Sultan with wooden collars round their necks and were all put to the sword.

But the most terrible invasion of the Mongols came in the year 1298 A.D. when Katlugh Khwaja with 20 Tumans of Mongols came from Mavarunnahr to conquer Hindustan. Crossing the Indus they marched straight upon Delhi and laid siege to it. Great consternation prevailed in the town and the suburbs as they saw the Mongol hordes encamped outside in large numbers. The people of the neighbouring villages swarmed into the city to seek shelter within its walls. The place was so crowded by these homeless refugees that mosques and Sarais and houses were filled with them. The Sultan summoned the Amirs and the Maliks from different parts of his Empire and having reinforced and equipped the army marched out with "regal pomp and splendour," to measure his strength with these human locusts who respected neither person nor property, nor laws human or divine. Placing Delhi in charge of the Kotwal, he with 3,00,000 horses and 2,700 elephants (Frishta) encamped in the plain of Siri. Some of the Amirs advised a temporising policy. The king refused to listen to these pacific counsellors and his spirited reply to them bespeaks the soldier in him. "No more can we retain the kingdom of Delhi by following advices such as yours, by avoiding war and by dreaming of injuring the Mongols while creeping behind the camels' backs. It will be unbecoming for me to avoid the Mongol battle by cowardly deceit and fraud. If I acted on your suggestion, contemporaries and posterity will laugh at my beard and think me a poltroon... Of what account would I remain to the people of my country? How will my courage and

bravery keep my turbulent people in obedience? Happen what may, I will to-morrow move from Siri to the plain of Kili. There I will fight Katlugh Khwaja and his men till it be made clear to which of us two God grants victory and success." Alla-Uddin accordingly marched from Siri to Kili and encamped there. Katlugh Khwaja on the other side advanced to deliver the first attack. Zafar Khan, who commanded the right wing of the Sultan's army attacked the Mongols, threw them into confusion and routed them. The Mongols unable to bear the onslaught of his men broke and fled precipitately, followed by Zafar Khan for a distance of over 18 Kos. When the first fears had been allayed the demoralized Mongols realised that Zafar Khan's pursuit was not supported by Alaf Khan who commanded the left wing of the army. Suddenly, some of the Mongols who under Targhi Khan had been lying in ambush came upon him and surrounding him from all sides, hamstrung his horse. But Zafar Khan, "the bravest of the brave", fought them to the last and defied the efforts of the enemy to take him alive. The Mongol leader, struck by his courage, made him an alluring offer to which he replied, "I know no greater honour than to die in fulfilling my duty." He was pierced by arrows and died a soldier's death. The Mongols found a refuge in the approaching night and hurried off to their confines. "After this an army so large never came to give battle in the precincts of Delhi." (Barni).

(b) We next hear of the inroads of the Mongols at the time when the Sultan was engaged in the siege of Chitaur. This time the Mongols marched under their leader, Targhi, and encamped on the bank of Jamna near Delhi. The Sultan's army was so much weakened by detachments—the flower of the king's army had marched to the south and others of his Amirs had gone to their Jagirs—and so badly equipped that when he arrived at the capital he was unable to meet the enemy in the open field and so entrenched his camp and waited for reinforcements to arrive. Two months passed by without any of the rivals attempting to draw the other out to give battle. The Mongols who were not in all probability prepared for protracted operations withdrew without a battle.⁽¹⁵⁾ In the next two

(14) The scene of battle is variously described. It is near Jullundhar in Elliot III, page 162; Jaramanpur in Barni; Jaran-Majhar in Tabqat-i-Akhbari; Jaramanpur in Badauni and it is Lahore in Frishta.

(15) A close study of the plan of the Mongol army explains the inexplicable retreat of the Mongols which was ascribed by the poetry of the age to the interces-

years there were three inroads of the Mongols into India. On all occasions crushing defeats were inflicted upon them and cruel punishments meted out to those who fell into the hands of the Sultan's soldiers. The forays of Ghazi Malik into the Mongol territory struck terror into their hearts and never again as long as Alla-Uddin lived did they dare to make their appearance in Hindustan. The cessation of the Mongol raids was an unprecedented feat in the annals of Muslim India.

"It is related in sober fact that the blood and the bones of the Mongols formed part of the building material of the new walls and defences with which the Sultan improved the capital. The enemy conceived such a fear and dread of the army of Islam that all fancy for coming to Hindustan was washed out of their breasts. All fear of the Mongols departed from Delhi and the neighbouring provinces. Perfect security was everywhere felt and the rayat carried on their agriculture in peace." (Zia Uddin Barni).

III.

1. The name Deccan is applied to the territory lying south of the river Narabda and separated from Upper India by mountains and forests. The physical features of the country have gone a long way to make the history of Deccan. It has from earliest times been open to trade with the neighbouring countries, while protected from the north by dense forests and mountains it has been less subject to invasions, than Hindustan proper. The Table-lands of the southern Deccan and Mysore and the burning plains of the Carnatic have preserved the Hindu type of language, caste and religious worship in its pristine purity.

The Muhammadan conquest of India had hitherto been almost entirely confined to that part of the peninsula known as Hindustan. (16)

sion of Hazrat Nizam Uddin Anlia. The author of "The Chronicles of Pathan Kings," makes the curious mistake of supposing that Hazrat Nizam Uddin Anlia sent men into the Mongol camp who assassinated the Mongol leader.

(16) The native Hindu Rajas of the Deccan had as yet entirely escaped the attack of the Muslim although there were Muslim traders and settlers on the Western Coast. There is also an evidence of certain Muhammadans being employed in the armies of the Southern Rajas.

See Wasif in Elliot and Dowson, Volume III. Mahmud of Ghazni after the sack of Somnath, unsatiated by the immense booty he had secured, had

Rumours of fierce invaders from the snowy region of the north, of kingdoms depopulated and dynasties overthrown, of priests killed in cold blood and temples desecrated, of idols broken and religious places plundered and defiled would naturally reach the courts of the distant kingdoms of the south, but "as yet it was only the shadow of war that caused them disquiet; the reality was far off."

2. Alla-Ud-din when he was a governor at Karra had turned his restless eyes towards Deccan as holding the means wherewith he hoped to place the golden crown on his burning brow. As related above under pretence of leading a punitive expedition into Chanderi, the Raja of which according to him "had grown proud of his wealth and declined submission to his government," he had made a dash with 8000 chosen horsemen from Chanderi to Elichpur. Halting there for a few days he marched to Ghatilajaura, otherwise called Lasur, about 12 miles from Deo Garh. When Ram Dev heard of the approach of the Muhammadans he collected what forces he could and despatched them under one of his sons to Ghatilajaura. They were defeated and dispersed by Alla-Uddin who following close upon them invested the town. The Raja threw himself into the citadel and hoping to be soon relieved by his other son, decided to stand a siege. Alla-Uddin adopted the clever ruse of giving out that his forces were but the advance guard of the main army of 20,000 horse, following close upon him. This had the desired effect, and the Raja ill-provisioned and despairing of receiving any relief, and sure of being starved out, considered it prudent to treat with the enemy. Alla-Uddin also realized the dangerous position he had put himself in by having rashly marched into the midst of a hostile country with a wholly inadequate force, and with the probability of his retreat being cut off by the Hindu Rajas Khandes, Malva and Gondwana behind him. But he also

cast longing looks to the South, the land of fabulous wealth. His generals had, however, prevailed upon him to desist from this perilous plunge into the unknown and the Great Sultan had perforce to give up the plan. The task was left for Alla-Uddin and his famous General Malik Kafur to accomplish. It was the most suitable time as the country was divided into small kingdoms constantly at war with each other. The chief of these were the kingdom of Maharashtra, the kingdom of Talangana, the Hoysala kingdom and the most southernly kingdom of Pandiya.

realized that the Raja must be in sore straits to make the overtures of peace. He, therefore, agreed to depart from Deo Garh in a fortnight if Ram Deo "guaranteed to him a ransom of 50 maunds of gold, 7 maunds of pearls and some valuable stuff in addition to 40 elephants, some thousand horses and the plunder which he had already collected from the city." The Raja had no other alternative but to submit. His son, on the other hand, having returned to Deo Garh with his long expected and anxiously waited army, refused to abide by the terms of the humiliating treaty his father had entered into. He threatened to annihilate the Muslim army unless Alla-Uddin restored all the plunder he had taken. For Alla-Uddin it was easier to fight than to disgorge the booty he had secured at the risk of his life and governorship. Detaching 1,000 of his men under Malik Nasrat Khan and leaving him to watch the fort he fell upon Shankar Rao's army. The day would have been lost but for the timely arrival of Malik Nasrat with his 1,000 men who were mistaken by the Hindus as the main Muhammadan army. The panic-stricken Hindu army broke and fled and the conqueror re-entered the town to more closely press the siege. Ram Dev again opened negotiation but Alla-Uddin charged him with breach of faith and insisted upon far heavier terms. According to Frishta he exacted from the Raja a "ransom of 600 maunds of gold, 7 maunds of pearls, 2 maunds of other jewels, a thousand maund of silver and a yearly tribute of the Elichpur province." (17)

3. Events that followed his return from Deo Garh have been narrated in their proper place. No further expeditions were led into the Deccan as the Sultan after his accession was too much occupied in preserving the kingdom from foreign

invasions and internal rebellion to devote his attention to its extension. (18) When he had secured himself against the internal and the external danger he set himself to the realization of his early dreams of conquest.

Ram Dev who had so far been sending the tributes regularly took advantage of disturbances in the first year of Alla-Uddin's reign and withheld it. Under the command of Malik Naib Kafur, Hazar Dinari, a large army was sent against the Raja, Khwaja Haji, Naib Arzi-Mumalik, was to attend to the administration of the army, the collection of supplies and the securing of elephants and spoils. Ain-ul-Mulk, the governor of Malwa, and Alai Khan, governor of Gujrat, sent their troops to reinforce the invading army. (19)

Malik Kafur marched into Deo Garh and laid the country waste. Ram Dev sued for terms and was sent to Delhi where the Sultan showed him great favour and gave him a canopy and the title of Rai Rayan. He was confirmed in his kingdom and according to Frishta the district of Nausari (20) taken from Gujrat was given over to Ram Dev as a personal estate. This secured the allegiance of the Hindu Raja who was of immense help to the Sultan's Generals in their subsequent expeditions into Deccan. (21)

4. In the year 1309 Malik Kafur was again commissioned to undertake the capture of Arangal with a similar force "accompanied by

(18) Before the year 1300 A.D. Alla-Uddin had made two attempts to get into Talangana but neither of them had advanced beyond Jainagar the capital of Orissa in those days.

(19) As stated above Rai Karan of Gujrat had escaped from Nehrwala with his two daughters. Kamla Devi, his wife who had entered Alla-Uddin's harem pined for her daughter Deval Devi, she having died in the meantime. Alla-Uddin made a demand for the surrender of the little girl, but the father taking it as a further insult to his previous injuries declined to give her up and in despair pledged her in marriage to the Prince of Deo Garh. This expedition was also commanded to secure the person of Deval Devi. Alai Khan pursued the Rai Karan, defeated him but failed to accomplish his object. It was by an accident that a body of 3 or 4 hundred of his men who went out on a holiday in the region of the Ajanta caves met a party of horsemen who were conveying the Princess. The horsemen were overpowered and sent over to Delhi.

(20) It is a district on the sea coast of Gujrat. The modern spelling seems to be Navassari—Kinard's history of the Maharatta people.

(21) Ram Dev died in 1300. His son Shankar Dev discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to Deccan in 1312 to reduce him to submission. Shankar Dev was put to death and his kingdom laid waste.

(17) The great accumulation of treasures, gold and precious stones found by the conqueror in the possession of the Rajas and priests cannot be wholly attributed to their thrifty holdings. Neither sovereigns nor priests can accumulate wealth from a needy people. We may, therefore, naturally conclude that the population of Southern India had for generations been wealthy and judging from the analogy of history we may fairly attribute to a peaceful rule and developed resources, the foreign trade and the gold mines, the undoubted existence of prosperity at the period of the invasion by Malik Kafur. These conclusions are further strengthened by the corroboration we receive from a very distinct account of the condition of Deccan from the pen of Ibn-i-Batuta, a native of Tanjir who travelled through the country during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak.

the royal red canopy through the kindness of the son of Sultan". Marching through uninhabitable and inhospitable tracts "the obedient army went through this inhospitable tract, file after file, and regarded this dreadful wilderness as the razor bridge of Hell". Crossing five rivers in the course of six days the army arrived at last in Sultanpur. From thence the army "like a raging deluge" proceeded to Qandahar and then to Nil Kanth. Here they were met by the minister of Deo Garh who attended to the wants of the army till the latter had crossed the frontiers of Deo Garh. Marching for 16 days in what seems a south-eastern direction through "hills, streams, ravines and path-ways narrower than a guitar string", they arrived at the fort of Sarbar (Sirpur). The fort was set fire to, and the inhabitants either perished in flames or else had to fling themselves on "a ring of pitiless steel". The army marching further forward arrived at a place called Kumar Pall, "very near Warangal" (22).

Warangal was a double fortress, the outer wall being made of mud but so strong that a "spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball from a western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut with which children play." The fort was immediately laid siege to, Malik Kafur fixing his tent a mile from the gates of Warangal. Tents were pitched all around the fort and orders were issued that every man should erect behind his own tent a Kath Garh, i.e., a wooden stockade. They were so well and so strongly constructed that in the picturesque language of Amir Khusru "if fire had rained from heaven their camp would have been unscathed."

A night attack led by Banak Dev proved unsuccessful. The walls over the length of about 100 cubit were stormed and a breach effected. By a night attack the bastions of the outer wall were taken. Rudra Dev submitted and offered to pay annual tribute. Everything that the Rao's country produced "from vegetables to animals was demanded", and on a threat of a general massacre the Raja was forced to yield all his treasure. The Rai further agreed to pay annual tribute and the Malik left Warangal with "a thousand camels groaning under the weight of the treasure". He returned to Delhi by way of Deo Garh, Dhar and Jhain.

5. According to Amir Khusru this "world conquering king now determined to carry his army to Malabar which is so distant from the city of Delhi that a man travelling with all expedition could only reach it after a journey of 12 months." The army left Delhi on the 24th of Jamadi Ul Akhir 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.) and marched by the bank of Jamna and halted at Tankal for fourteen days. Having taken the muster there, they arrived at Kanhan after a rapid march of 21 days. A further march of 17 days brought them to Gurganw. The Raja of Talangana and the Rai Rayan Ram Dev rendered all help to the army. The Malik learnt that two rulers Bir Pandya and Sundar Pandya had gone to war against each other at the time and Bilal Dev who was the Rai of Dhar Samandar had marched down upon their city with the object of plunder. The fort of Dhar Samandar was infested by the Malik with a select body of cavalry. The Rai capitulated and agreed to surrender all his property. The Bilal prince, like the Rai of Deo Garh was sent to Delhi. (23)

He next turned his attention to the Pandya country at this time rent by fratricidal war between the two brothers, Sundar Pandya and Bir Pandya. The former prince having been driven from his kingdom had sought the help of the Sultan of Delhi, most probably at the camp of Naib Kafur. The Rai of Bir Dhar sought safety in flight and fled to Kandur. The Malik pursued him to that place but learnt that the Raja had gone on to Jalkota. From there the Rai again eluded the vigilant pursuit of Kafur and escaped into the jungle. Kafur gave up the pursuit and proceeded to Brahamaspuri where there was said to be a gold idol round which were stabled many elephants.

A night expedition was led against this place and in the morning no less than 250 elephants were secured. He then determined on razing the beautiful temple to the ground—"you might say that it was the paradise of Shaddad which after being lost, those Hellites had found. The temple was dug from its foundations and much gold and valuable jewels fell into the hands of the Musalmans". From Bir Dhar on

(22) Arangal was the ancient capital of Talangana—Imp. Gazetteer, Volume 15, page 251.

(23) Vir Balala is called Bilal Dev by Barni. Amir Khusru calls him Balala and says he was asked to embrace Islam but refused. He was, however, made a Zennari. He ascended the throne in 1302 A.D. and died fighting the Turks in 1342.

Thursday the 17th of Zil-Qāda, the Royal Canopy moved on to Kham and thence to Madura. The Rai had fled away having left a few elephants in the temple of Jagnar. The elephants were captured and the temples burnt.

The account of the Deccan campaign given by Amir Khusrū in the *Tarikh-i-Alāhi* ends here. But the campaign is resumed in his other work called "*Ashika*". He says that army proceeded to Mabar, that it might take the shores of the sea as far as Lanka and spread the "odour of the amber-scented-faith." The ruler of the country was Pandiya Gun with his capital at Fatan. The ruler had many troops and ships and Musalmans and Hindus were in his service. The Raja fled from Fatan on the approach of the Muslim army. 500 elephants are said to have been taken and after destroying the idols Malik returned to Delhi.⁽²⁴⁾

IV.

1. Before the advent of the Khiljis little had been done beyond the merest security of the kingdom. The conquest of the country had gone on so rapidly that administrative organization could hardly have kept pace with it. The administrator and the organiser was out-distanced by the soldier and the conqueror. Alla-Uddin, the great creative spirit of the age, gifted with a breadth of imagination and wealth of resource realized with an almost intuitive perception that his power could be founded on a permanent basis only by an elaboration of principles and policies, a fixed ideal of government and a vigorous effort to organize the civil and military administration. To accomplish this object he set himself to work with his characteristic energy in a bold and decisive manner.

(24) "Apparently this is a continuation of the campaign from the Chola into the Pandiya country and Fatan must be the Pattanam, the one of the two or three Pattanams in the vicinity. Rameshvaram itself and the temple therein referred to is almost certainly the great temple in Ramesvaram. From all that is before us it would be safer to regard this as a continuation of the campaign, which, according to the previous account terminated in Madura, and to extend it to Ramesvaram. But the clear mention of Fatan leave no alternative but to accept the progress of the Muhammadan raid upto Ramesvaram. The ports near this contained at that time a comparatively large Muhammadan population which finds mention in this work of Amir Khusrū." (Aiyangar's *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*).

The State:

The Muhammadan State in India was by its nature and the force of circumstances a *military* State and therefore necessarily a centralized despotism. The greatest influence working for the growth of Imperialism was the prevalence of war which demands concentration of power for its efficient conduct. The occupation of the country was a military occupation: "the aim of the government was materialistic, almost sordid."

The King:

At the head of the State stood the king. According to the strict Muhammadan theory monarchy is a non-legal institution. The Muslim Commonwealth is based on the absolute equality of all Muslims in the eye of the law, there being no privileged class, no priesthood, no caste-system. Another important feature is that the law of Islam recognizes no difference between the Church and the State. Every Muslim is subject to the impersonal authority of the same law. The State is a unity in which no such distinction exists. But the theory of State and of Kingship had undergone a radical change under the influence of Persian Renaissance as modified by Abbasside and Byzantine influences. The medieval kings in India, before the advent of the Mughals, were all men of humble origin who had risen from the ranks by sheer force of genius. "No immemorial tradition hallowed the prestige of the Imperial family." Their right to the throne was based on their power to hold it, the sword being called to keep what the sword had won. The Imperial throne was a competitive post which could not become the monopoly of a particular dynasty, specially so because no definite law could be evolved for the devolution of the Crown, the principle of primogeniture being unknown to Muhammadan Law. The consequence was the interminable wars of succession which followed the death or removal of the *de facto* king. "The warrior's sword was called upon to solve the problem which the jurist's pen had left in perplexity and doubt." This system while it checked the monopolization of royalty in a particular family, necessitated the extermination, root and branch, of the late royal House to preclude the possibility of pretenders. When Alla-Uddin ascended the

throne he suppressed the family of Balban and the relatives of his uncle Jalal Uddin. (25)

The administrative duties of the Emperor were multifarious. He was the supreme legislator, the chief of the Executive, the fountain-head of justice and the highest court of appeal in the kingdom against the oppression of the Provincial Governors and the decisions of the judges. He was in chief command of the army in peace and in war, leading in person all campaigns or supervising the conduct of military operations. He was the head of the spy system which kept him informed of the good and bad things of the people. Enquiries were made into the income and expenditure of all persons who incurred the evil eye of the Government and an attempt was made to keep the people on a path of righteousness by a system of state-regulations. Over the whole of this system the king had to preside and keep a careful watch.

Bar-i-Khas: Below the king were the Ministers; there was no regular cabinet in the modern sense of the term, but in all autocratic governments a council is inevitable. The council was not a parliament with any constitutional power. The members did not sit in their own right but were summoned by the king as a matter of grace. It was a merely consultative body whose functions were advisory, not mandatory. Nevertheless it was a thing of reality and not a sham. The council, though constitutionally impotent to make its will prevail, could by mild persuasion and veiled warnings wield wholesome influence on the policy of the king.

Majlis-i-A'm: The Imperial Court was an institution radically different from the Council

(25) The position of a king under such circumstances would be a position of much strength and many weaknesses. The king was the "shadow of God" in the eye of the people and their bulwark against anarchy. It was not a time of weak kings. The only fault which the people did not forgive was weakness; the only virtue which they admired was the mailed fist of the king. The authority of the monarch was absolute, though the sovereign's actions were often influenced by his fear of Muslim soldiery and his reluctance to incur social odium. There was no constitutional limit on his power except the patience of the people. It was an "external limit" as Dicey calls it, to this "restricted omnipotence." In all political matters the will of the Sultan was supreme; it overrode the principles of Muslim law as well as the ancient administrative system of the country. The following words of Alla-uddin sum up the whole position. "I do not know whether it is lawful or unlawful. Whatever I think to be for the good of the State or suitable for the emergency, that I decree."

or *Bar-i-Khas*. While the latter was a consultative and confidential meeting to which the chosen few only could gain admission the former was public assembly, the Court of reception and highest Court of appeal. It was the "dignified part" of the State as Bagehot puts it. Access to the Emperor was a matter of right and the meanest of his subjects could lay the complaint before the monarch in person by making a previous application. Every kind of public business was transacted there. Orders and *Farmans* issuing from the throne were taken down by the court-scribes in strictly legal form.

2. *The Ministers*: Under the supervision of the Emperor the business of the State was divided among four ministries—Revenue (*Diwan-i-Wizarat*), War (*Diwan-i-Arz*), Local Government (*Diwan-i-Insha*), and Markets (*Diwan-i-Riasat*). The Wazir took precedence over the others on account of the importance of his position. But they were not his subordinates and there was no joint responsibility. Their relations to each other and with the Emperor are best illustrated in the advice given by Bughra Khan of Laknauti to his son Keikabad:

"Select four wise and experienced men from amongst your officers and consider them the four pillars of your Government. Place all public affairs in their hands. And trust one of them with *Diwan-i-Wizarat* (Revenue) and raise his status above others. Give the *Diwan-i-Riasat* to the second and believe in his words and advice. To the third assign the *Diwan-i-Arz* and ask him to look after the management of the army. Give the *Diwan-i-Insha* to the fourth and leave him to reply to the petitions of the Provincial Governors and Officers according to his best knowledge and judgment. Keep all the four equally near to yourself and make them your advisers in all political matters. Do not let any one of your Ministers or your Courtiers have too much influence over yourself or the administration. Though the position of the Wazir is higher than that of the other Ministers, it will not be prudent for you to favour any of the four pillars of your kingdom to such an extent as to wound the feelings of others and wound their hearts."

The duties of the Minister of Markets were to control the economic activities of the people and regulate the supply of food stuffs and other

necessaries of life. This was the Department to which the Emperor diverted the whole force of his exuberant imagination and wealth of resource. The Minister of the Markets apart from his other duties had to look after the collection of taxes. All tavern keepers were registered and taxed by the Ministry of Markets, it levied the octroi duties from commodities brought to the towns and supervised the weights and measures kept by the shop-keepers. "Fair and not competitive prices were the order of the day." The position of the Minister became one of great trust and responsibility. An idea may be formed of the qualifications required in such a person by a perusal of the following passage from Barni:—

"Alla-Uddin after much consideration entrusted the Diwan-i-Riasat to Yaqub Nazir who knew the mind of the whole city and was perfectly acquainted with the ins and outs of the purchases and sales of every community. He was a man not only faithful and straightforward but was also ill-tempered, hard-hearted, harsh, severe and rude.....excess of kicks, imprisonment, chains and disgraceful punishments made the shop-keepers tremble at his name."

The business of the Government was further divided into Departments, the chief being the Departments of Justice, Agriculture and Admiralty. The structure of the Central Government was reproduced in the Provinces. The Kotwal had to discharge the chief policing duties in the town and was a functionary of great importance.

3. *Administrative Measures*: Sultan Alla-Uddin intoxicated by his early successes had entertained mad schemes of out-shining Alexander as a conqueror and the Great Prophet (may peace be on him) himself as a religion maker. During his drinking bouts and private conferences two grandiose schemes formed the subject of discussion. One of these schemes he used to explain thus "God almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends through whose energy and power the Law and Religion were established, and through this establishment of Law and Religion the name of the Prophet will endure to the Day of Judgment. God has given me also four friends—Ulgh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nasrat Khan and Alp Khan. If I am

so inclined I can with the help of these four friends establish a new religion and creed, and my sword and the sword of my friends will bring all men to adopt it." Besides this project to imitate the Prophet (may peace be on him) he aspired to emulate Alexander the Great as world conqueror. He caused his title to be proclaimed in the Friday Prayer and the same engraved on coins and inscriptions as the "Second Alexander." But Alla-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Delhi counselled him to leave religion-making to the Prophet for "no one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided by God and give up the idea of universal conquest, an enterprise which required stability of "rule" and a Vizir like Aristotle. The people over which he ruled were such as had not the slightest regard for their promises and agreement. If they do not see at their head a strong and active king, if they do not find quartered over themselves and their property innumerable horse and foot with sword and axe they would not pay any tax but only commit a hundred crimes and raise a hundred insurrections. He should set about reducing the many cities and districts of Hindustan—such as Ran Tambhor, Chitaur, Chanderi, Malva, Ujjain which were still in the hands of the Hindus. He further advised him to concert measures to effectually close the road to Multan against the Mongols by stationing one general with large army at Samana, a second at Depalpur and the third at Multan. He also advised him to give up "wine and junketing" and to abstain from devoting himself so much to hunting as to permit the administration of State to suffer. Instead of having resented the blunt but frank advice of the loyal Kotawal which was "based on reason and supported by precedent" he suitably rewarded him with a Khilat and a Jagir and it must be said to his credit that he abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The timely advice of the sagacious Kotwal had appealed to his strong common-sense and intensely realistic nature and turned him towards the consolidation of the kingdom. The-would-be-Alexander found that mere siege of Ran Tambhore taxed his energies and whilst it was dragging on for many months other events occurred to rudely rouse him from his dreams of vain-glory. He was very nearly assassinated in a conspiracy headed by a nephew. The nephew was with all the conspirators put to death; but the harsh

treatment did not discourage pretenders to the throne. Two other nephews had raised the flag of insurrection and a mad revolt had broken out at Delhi under a slave named Haji Maula which had been nipped in the bud. Then there was the terror of the Mughals which appearing like a small cloud had increased in size and portent and now threatened to carry all before its devastating deluge. It was this frequency of revolts and the terror of the Mughals which forced him to give up dreaming and face the reality.

After many consultations with his chief advisers he came to the conclusion that the causes of the ferment among the people and the nobles were: (a) The Sultan's disregard and ignorance of the affairs of the people, (b) the excessive use of the wine in the country, (c) the intimacy, affection, alliance and intercourse of Malikis and Amirs with each other and lastly (d) the superfluity of wealth which "engendered evil and strife and fostered pride and disloyalty," by providing means of suborning adventurers and setting revolts on foot. The evil effects of the possession of wealth as admitting of "an easy and gratifying cure" impressed him most. 'The Sultan,' says Barni ordered that wherever there was a village held by proprietary right in free gift as a religious endowment, it should by one stroke of the pen be brought under the Khalsa or exchequer. The people were pressed and amerced, and money was exacted from them on every kind of pretext. Many were left without any money, till at length it came to pass that excepting Malikis and Amirs, Officials, Multanis (i.e. large traders from Multan) and bankers no one possessed even a trifle in cash. Secondly, he organized a universal system of espionage in order to acquire information and intelligence about nobles whether under suspicion or not. His reporters communicated to him all that happened in their houses. No one could stir without his knowledge and no act of theirs was kept secret from him. Nor were the reports shelved; they all led to unpleasant explanations and severe action. "The system of reporting went to such a length that nobles dared not speak aloud even in palaces of a thousand columns," and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs. In their own houses, night and day, the reports of the spies made them tremble."

This did not stop here. Bearing in mind the advice of the counsellors that wine was a direct cause of the promotion of disaffection among the people, he prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling as also the use of beer and other intoxicating drugs. The Sultan himself set the example by entirely giving up wine-parties and by directing all the China and glass of his banquet room to be broken. "Jars and casks of wine were brought out of the royal cellars and emptied at the Badaun gate in such an abundance that mud was produced as in the rainy season." Many of the better sort renounced wine-drinking, but these hard measures could not wholly stamp out the sale or use of wine. It was distilled and sold secretly. The people used to smuggle it into the town by putting it into leather bottles and conveying it hidden "in loads of hay," fire-wood and such like. The State Officials kept a diligent watch and the sellers, importers and drinkers of wine, were subjected to corporal punishment and were kept in prison for some days. "But their numbers increased so much that holes for the incarceration of offenders were dug outside the Badaun Gate. The Sultan, realizing the futility of wholly stamping out the habit of wine by drastic regulations, relaxed the stringency of the rules and was obliged to "wink at a certain amount of drinking provided that it was private and the liquor brewed at home."

To check conspiracy and discourage private understanding, the king did not stop here. "The Sultan," says Barni "gave command that noble men should not visit at each other's houses or give feasts or hold meetings. They were forbidden to form alliances without consent from the Throne and they were also prohibited from allowing people to resort to their houses. To such a length was this last prohibition carried out that strangers could not gain admittance into a nobleman's house. Feastings and hospitality fell into total disuse.

Alla-Uddin now set about depriving the Hindu of his wealth and property which fostered revolution. "There was to be one rule for the payment of tribute applicable to all from the 'Khuta' to the 'Balahar' and the heaviest tribute was not to fall upon the poor. The Hindu was to be so reduced as to be left unable to keep a horse to ride upon or to carry arms, to wear fine clothes, or to enjoy any of the luxuries of life.....All cultivation whether on a

small or large scale was to be carried on by measurement at a certain rate for every Biswa. Half of the produce was to be paid without any diminution. The 'Khutas' were also to be deprived of all their peculiar privileges. A tax for pasturage at a fixed rate was to be levied and was to be demanded for every inhabited house so that no animal, however wretched, could escape the tax. The rules as to the payment of the tribute were to apply equally to rich and poor."

Collectors of revenue and others concerned in it were severely punished if accused of malversation in the discharge of their duties. "The people were to be brought to such a state of obedience that one revenue officer could string 20 Khuts Muqaddanis or Chaudhris together by the neck and enforce payment by blows." Such was the terror inspired by his strong rule that the assesses would sell their wives in order to pay up the taxes. Hindus were ground down to such a state of poverty that in their house no sign of gold or silver was to be met with. They were relieved of all superfluous wealth. "Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains were all employed to enforce payment.....Men looked upon revenue officers as something more than fever. Clerkship was a great crime and no man would give his daughter to a clerk."

V.

Economic Measures: The occasion for these reforms (?) was the existence of an external danger as has been stated above. The Mongols had become a sort of political bogey, a constant problem for the rulers of India. Though so repeatedly defeated they again appeared on the borders of India every time stronger and more numerous. The main problem was to keep a standing army and maintain it in efficient order, well-mounted, well-armed, well-trained and well-supplied with archers. The Sultan after much deliberation as to the means of supporting such an army arrived at the conclusion that unless the price of horses, arms and other equipments of the army, the commodities necessary for the men and their women and children was greatly reduced the army could not be built up. Regulations were made accordingly to control the prices. These regu-

lations are given in seriatum below from Zia Uddin:—

Regulation No. 1, fixing the price of grain:

The prices during Alla-Uddin's reign.		Akbar's reign.		The present prices.
per maund.		per maund.		per maund.
Wheat	7½ Jitals.	12	Dams	Rs. 5/-
Barley	4 Do.	8	Do.	Rs. 2/6/-
Rice	5 Do.	20 to 110	Do.	Rs. 8/- to 20/-
Mash	5 Do.	16	Do.	Rs. 5/-
Gram	5 Do.	16½	Do.	Rs. 3/1/-
Moth	3 Do.	12	Do.	Rs. 4/8/-
Sugar	1½ Do.	128	Do.	Rs. 14/8/-
Brown-Sugar	1 Do.	56	Do.	Rs. 8/-
Butter	1 Jital (for 2½ seers.)	105	Do (for 2½ seers.)	Rs. 75/- (for 2½ seers.)

Cheapness of grain was a source of universal blessing and the scale of prices was maintained as long as Alla-Ud-din lived. This "unvarying" price of grain in the market was looked upon as one of the wonders of his time.

Regulation No. 2:

To secure permanence in the cheapness of grain and the observance of the tariff Malik Kabul Ulugh Khan was appointed Controller of the markets and was assisted by a Deputy Controller and other Deputies appointed by the Crown. Intelligent spies were also sent into the markets.

Regulation No. 3:

The Sultan gave orders that all the Khalsa villages of the Doab should pay the tribute in kind. In the New City and its Province also one half of the Sultan's share was ordered to be taken in grain. In Jhain also stores were established. The corn collected there was sent by means of caravan to Delhi and enormous quantity of it was collected in the State granaries. In time of scarcity occasioned by drought or any other cause the granaries supplied the markets and the corn was sold at the tariff rates.

Regulation No. 4:

To secure easy transport of food supply into the capital, in an age when the means of communication were so undeveloped and roads so bad and few, the king ordered that all the carriers should be forced to live with their families and beasts of burden in the villages

along the banks of the Jamna. An overseer was placed over them and they were required to agree upon one common mode of action and give bail for each other. Malik Kabul was placed over them.

Regulation No. 5:

The fifth regulation was for the prohibition of regrating and this was carried to such a point that if it appeared that any soldier or cultivator had committed the offence of regrating his grain was confiscated and the man amerced. The Governor and the other nobles in the Doab were held responsible for any infraction of such rules.

Regulation No. 6:

To secure a constant supply the Provincial Revenue Officers and their assistants were required to see that the corn carriers were supplied with corn by the rayats on the field at fixed price. The Chief Diwan and the overseers and other Revenue Officers were ordered to so vigorously exert themselves as to ensure that the corn was sold in the field to the carriers so that the dealers should have no excuse for neglecting to bring the corn into the market.

Regulation No. 7:

The Sultan kept himself well posted about the state of the market, the fluctuation of prices and the supply of corn. When the rains failed, a quantity sufficient for the daily supply of each quarter of the city was consigned to the dealer every day from the market, and half a maund used to be allowed to the ordinary purchaser in the market. Similarly for the purpose of securing low prices for piece-goods, garments, sugar, vegetables, fruits, animals, oil and lamp-oil, five regulations were issued. All the piece-goods brought from the different parts of the Empire were to be deposited in an extensive building erected near the Badam Gate and surnamed "mansion of justice." All buying and selling was to be done in that building and was to be carried on from the early morning to the hour of the first prayers. All prices were fixed before the Crown. Sums of money were advanced from the royal treasury to the merchants of the city to enable them to buy goods abroad and sell them at the prescribed rate. Whenever any of the noted Amirs required any specially fine piece of cloth, he had to obtain a license from the Chief of the market.

Rules were also framed to secure the cheap sale of horses which were divided into classes and prices fixed for each class. Horse dealers and moneyed men of the city were not allowed to buy horses at the market. Brokers of horses were admonished and punished if they tried to raise the prices. The price of a serving girl was fixed from 5 to 12 Tankas, of a concubine at 20, 30 or 40 Tankas, of a male slave 100 or 200 Tankas and so on of handsome lads, slave-labourers and young domestic slaves—even of prostitutes. Even such things as needles and combs, earthen pitchers and cups were not too trifling to escape his eye. The care and the supervision which the Sultan exercised over the market people and the close scrutiny which he made about the rates was carried to such a pitch that young children were sent to buy things by the Sultan, and if it appeared that there was the least difference either in the rates or in the weight the man who had sold the thing was punished. The mildest punishment that was inflicted in such cases was the cutting off the ear or nose or of an equal weight of flesh from off the haunches of the cheat.

By these economic measures the Sultan was enabled to maintain an efficient army at a low cost. The pay of the soldier was fixed at 234 Tankas; of a man with two horses at 78 Tankas in addition.

The last days of Alla-Uddin.

No phenomenon is more pathetic than that of the degeneration of a great man. From these lofty aims and exasperating methods of repressive legislation he was speedily weaned. Towards the close of his life he grew more violent and whimsical and his suspicious nature alienated him from his most trusted and experienced nobles. His autocratic nature expanding with every fresh conquest made him intolerant of opposition and chary of advice. The minion Malik Kafur whom he had raised from the dust and set over the head of the ancient nobility deftly fomented quarrels between the Emperor and his sons. Khizar Khan and his younger brother were incarcerated in the fort of Gawalior and their mother in the old fort of Delhi. The parvenu further procured an order to seize Ulgh Khan who had so ably served the Emperor, and had him put to death. Ulgh Khan's brother, Nizam Khan, Subedar of Jalwar, was also assassinated by

Kamal Khan. In the outlying provinces the authority of the Emperor ceased to command respect. The rebellion of Gujrat followed by the assassination of Kamal Uddin Gurg, who was sent to deal with it, was only a prelude to other and more serious insurrections. The Rajputs of Chitaur asserted their independence and Hupal Dev, the son-in-law of Ram Dev stirred up the Deccan to arms. "Fortune proved as usual fickle; and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him," and the mighty monarch in impotent rage "bit his own flesh" as he saw the work of his life time crumbling to dust. Already in the grip of a mortal disease, his end was accelerated by the news of revolts against his authority and on the 8th of Shawwal 715 A.H. he breathed his last and was solemnly interred in a tomb in front of the Jama Masjid.

VI.

In power as in renown, Sultan Alla-Uddin towers high above his predecessors on the throne. At his accession the kingdom of Delhi was one among many of the several kingdoms of India. He asserted his right to be acknowledged as the overlord of all these kingdoms and under his imperialistic sway, the banners of Islam floated over the forts of Delhi and Dwar Samandra and Madora in the South. There was the expansion of kingdom in all directions, and elaboration of principles and policies and a vigorous and conscientious effort to organize the civil and military administration of the country to the highest pitch of efficiency. The fear of the Mongols, which had so long hung like a thunder cloud over the kingdom, passed away before the host which he gathered to meet it. Cool-head, clear-sighted, quick to resolve and quicker to strike, his career forms one long series of victories over all his rivals. He was a consummate general and had the gift of personal bravery which formed the special distinction of the house of Khilji. To these qualities of the warrior he added a power of political organization, a capacity for far reaching combinations and a faculty of practical statesmanship which raises him high above the intellectual level of some of his successors and his predecessors, as their shameless wickedness degraded them below the level of men.

Far from being a mere soldier he was a thorough realist and a man of strong common sense. A love of adventure, a pride in power,

here and there a romantic generosity, jostled roughly with the craft, the unscrupulousness, the violence of his race; but he was at heart a statesman, cool and patient in the execution of his plans as he was bold in their conception. As a governor he had conceived the ambitious plan of ousting his uncle from the throne by similar methods which had been adopted by his predecessors and which had the sanction of an age in which loyalty was unknown, weakness a crime and hatred and contempt a virtue. Alla-Uddin is a creation of his age with all its virtues and its vices and if he be judged by the modern standards of justice and morality he would deserve to be hanged; but the time in which he lived was different and we must not lose sight of this fact in judging the man.

It was almost a bloodless revolution which placed the throne of Delhi at his feet. There was an utter absence of all opposition to the *coup d'etat* which he effected. To the Hindu populace the transfer of a throne from one to the other was a mere passing from one master to another and foreigner for a foreigner the young Sultan seemed to be the less alien and the more liberal of the two. One of the strongest traits in his character was his aversion to shed blood by process of law though he waded in blood throughout his long reign. This explains the fact, already alluded to, that he never tried to say a single word to justify the murder of his uncle.

When he ascended the throne he found that there was no regular system of administration, no political ideal and no political programme. His predecessors had had no time to devote to the organization of the Empire, being too much occupied in its preservation. The democratic system of local government had been swept away before the blast of war and the blight of anarchy. The Muqaddams and Chaudhris oppressed the rayats; the Rajas and the Rais who were fast disappearing oppressed the Muqaddams and the Chaudhris and the whole burden of this organized anarchy was borne by the people. Alla-Uddin made radical changes in civil and military administration of the country, developed a policy of far reaching imperialism, secularization of State and centralization of all authority. He plundered and amerced the people but he permitted no other rapine but his own; and that according to his own ideas with the beneficent object of

curbing the forces of anarchy and rebellion by taking away from the people the means of it. His punishments were a refinement of cruelty from which neither kith nor kin, nor friend nor foe, nor high nor low, nor young nor old escaped if any of them had the temerity to transgress his law. Before his time defiance of the agents of the government was the order of the day; he created or rather instilled such a respect for it that one revenue officer could string by the neck twenty Muqaddams or Chaudhris and the people are said to have sold their wives in order to pay his taxes. Its *raison d'être* is to be found in the baronial combination against organized government, the fear of the Mongols, civil strifes and the unsubdued power of the Hindus whose sullen hostility was a source of constant anxiety. Alla-Uddin was no hero and much less a saint. He had his shortcomings of an ordinary mortal and falls short of an ideal king. His only claim to merit is that he whole-heartedly, and to the best of his ability, worked for the efficiency of the government, and whatever stood in his way or threatened to impair this efficiency was to be ruthlessly brushed aside.

The great axiom of his internal policy was that religion had no connection with civil government but was the business or solace of private life. He held that government was one thing and law another and all his new enactments were promulgated without any reference to the legal authorities. This secularizing tendency is observed in the political maxim long before it influenced the western thinkers. It is a remarkable coincidence that "while Frederick II, a strikingly modern sovereign in a medieval age was locked in a death grapple with Innocent III and Honorius, Alla-Uddin Khilji in many respects a curiously modern ruler in the darkest period of Indian history was engaged in war with the Islamic hierarchy." On this matter nothing illustrates better the internal policy of Alla-Uddin than the brilliant account "so rare in eastern chronicles" of the interview of the king with Qazi Mughis Uddin of Biana who used to go to the court and sit in private audience with the Sultan. It gives a keen insight into the character of the Sultan, the political morality of the time and the aim and end of the government of the Emperor, to calumniate whom some of the European authors have spilt so much ink (limited space does not permit us to reproduce the whole of it.

See *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* by Zia Uddin Barni in Elliot and Dowson - Vol. III pages 183 to 188. A better translation of it is to be found in journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1869, 1870, 1871 by Major Fuller. I have contented myself with a brief extract).

"I do not understand any of the statements thou hast made; but I have taken my measures and made my subjects obedient to me. So much that at my command they are ready to creep into holes like mice. Oh doctor, thou art a learned man but thou hast had no experience. I am an unlettered man but I have seen a great deal; he assured then that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have therefore given orders that just sufficient shall be left to them from year to year of corn, milk and curd that they shall not be allowed to accumulate boards of property.....I have not had the advantage of reading books like yourself but I can never forget that I was born the son of a Musalman and while I am quite prepared to admit the truth of all you say, yet if the doctrines which you call law were put in practice they alone would not answer the purpose of government and most particularly such a government as this of Hindustan. Unless severe punishments were inflicted for crimes they would never be checked; so that while I act with rigour in all such cases, according to the best of my judgment I place reliance on God that if I have erred, the door of mercy will be open to me, a repentant sinner."

All the measures of Alla-Uddin, economic and administrative, are a practical commentary on these views. In early life he was illiterate but after his accession acquainted himself with the art of reading Persian to some extent. It is a remarkable fact that Alla-Uddin's reign is made brilliant by an eminent galaxy of poets, learned men and saints. Badauni mentions no less than 53 distinguished men of letters, divines, physicians and reciters of Quran. The poets of note were Khwaja Hasan Dehlwi, Sadr Uddin Ali, Fakhr Uddin Qawas, Hamid Uddin Raia, Maulana Arif Abdul Hakim, Shahab Uddin and Hazrat-Amir Khusru both a mystic and a poet. Amir Khusru's father was one Saif Uddin Mahmud, an inhabitant of Kush in Turkistan. During the Mongol invasion of

that place Saif Uddin migrated to Hindustan. He settled in Patiali, a small village in the Eta District of Agra Division and it was in this favoured village that the future poet was born in the year 652 A.H. His mother was the daughter of the Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk, one of the nobles of Altamash. His father died when he was 7 years of age and the care of the young boy devolved upon his maternal grandfather. Khusru was a precocious boy and according to his own account he "talked in verse and pearls fell from his mouth." His education was complete ere he was 20 years of age.

At this time Ghias Uddin Balban was on the throne. Khusru entered the service of the Sultan's nephew Katlu Khan, nicknamed Chhajju, who was a patron of learning in his time. After two years Khusru Khan left his service and went to the court of Bughra Khan at Samana. Shortly afterwards, in the year 678 A.H. he was brought to the notice of the gifted Prince Muhammad Khan known as Khan Shahid. The latter took Khusru Khan to Multan with him. In a battle with the Mongols Khan Shahid was killed and Khusru was taken a prisoner to Balkh. After two years he obtained his release and came to Delhi. One of his most remarkable poems is an elegy of this accomplished Prince. After many vicissitudes of life Amir Khusru finally entered the service of Jalal Uddin and then formed one of the brilliant courtiers of Alla-Uddin.

Amir Khusru's authority is great as a narrator, for he was not only contemporary with the events which he describes but was a participator in many of them; and his friend the historian Zia Uddin Barni appeals to him frequently for confirmation of his own assertions. To call Khusru merely a poet, although he ranks with the highest of all times, is to detract a great deal from him. He was a man of singularly brilliant parts and a versatile genius, well versed in all the known sciences of his time. He was the most prolific of poets for he is said to have left behind him "some half million of verses" (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 20, page 225). The most important of his works which concern us are (1) *Tarikh-i-Alai* or *Kharain-ul-Futuh*. This contains an interesting account of the first years of the reign of Sultan Alla-Uddin Khilji from 1205 to 1310 A.D. (2) *Kiranus-Sa'dain*. In this poem Khusru celebrates the meeting of Sultan Keikabad with his father Nasir Uddin Sultan

of Bengal. (3) *Ghuratul-Kamal*, *Miftah-ul-Futuh*. The poems contained in this Masnavi comprise panegyrics upon Nizam Uddin Aulia, Sultan Keikabad and other notables. (4) *Ashika* which is a kind of epic having for its main subject the loves of Deval Rani and Khizar Khan. In this poem the author describes in greater detail the conquest of Deccan. The story of the loves of Khizar Khan and Deval Rani is one of the romantic and at the same time the most pathetic of its kind. The Sultan wished to betrothe Deval Rani to his son Khizar Khan; but the mother of Khizar Khan objected to this match. As Khizar Khan had conceived a passionate love for Deval Rani they were separated from each other, but as they were able to have occasional interviews their love grew into a passion. Khizar Khan was ultimately married to the daughter of Alap Khan. Deval Rani on learning of Khizar Khan's marriage wrote him a letter full of reproaches. After many distressing scenes the mother of Khizar Khan agreed to the marriage of her son to Deval Rani. They were married but Khizar Khan falling under the displeasure of his father was put in confinement. Upon the death of his father, Kafur had his eyes put out. When Qutb Uddin Mubarik Shah ascended the throne he had Khizar Khan, another of his brothers murdered. (26)

The most famous mystics of the time of Alla-Uddin "who shed lustre on the faith" were (1) Shaikh Nizam Uddin Aulia of Delhi; (2) Hazrat Alla-Uddin of Ajjundhiya and (3) Shaikh Rukkan Uddin of Multan. The thirteenth century is a time of literary revival and the growth of mysticism which drew its impulse from the devastating ravages of the Mongols, which turned the minds of the people from the material world to spiritualism. The increase in the number of converts to Islam which goes on rapidly under the auspices of these mystics is due to the silent preaching of

(26) The fate of Deval Rani is doubtful. Khusru (*infra* p. 555) says that her hands were cut off while she was clinging to her husband's body, and implies that she was left among the slain, though he says not so distinctly. Frishta asserts that she was taken into Kutub Uddin's Harem, and that she was also taken after his death by the villain, Khusru Khan. Barni, who was intimately acquainted with the facts, is silent upon the subject, so that it may be hoped that the high-born damsel escaped that union with "the foul Parwari," which would have been worse than death. (Elliot & Doxson, Vol. III).

these holy men who by their example succeeded in doing what Sultan Mahmud and his successors professed to accomplish by means of sword. (For detailed account of their lives see Frishta, Zia Uddin Barni, Mashahir-i-Islam, Hadiqatul Aulia, Favaid-ul-Favud by Amir Hasan and Siratul Aulia).

Nizam Uddin Aulia was born in the year 633 A.H. (1232 A. D.) at Badaun. The name of his father was Ahmad Danyal. He was a Chisti saint of considerable piety. Alla-Uddin had extreme faith and belief in him but never saw him and never said anything against him. On one occasion when no news arrived about the army of Warangal, he sent one of his courtiers to the Shaikh and asked him to tell him the fate of his men. Hazrat Shaikh Nizam Uddin by his power told him the condition of the army. He enjoyed the premier position among the saints of his time and was the last of the three great mystics of India. He died in the year 725 A.H. (1324 A.D.). The following verse sums up the great reverence and estimation in which he stood:—

*Zin fun mullab bland nâmi
Kâm Khatam Shûd ast bar Nizami*

"The piety of the age ascribed this excess of plenty and happiness, security and peace to the benediction of the great saint."

The Sayyids of Alla-Uddin's reign were among the greatest and the noblest of their line—Sayyid-us-Sadat Sayyid Taj Uddin Qazi of Oudh, Sayyid Qutab Uddin, Sayyid Rukan Uddin, Sayyid Muhiis Uddin were all "embodiment of virtues." Scholars of "such incomparable eminence that the like of them were not to be found anywhere in the world....they could split hairs in every imaginable branch of knowledge whether rational or traditional," masters of teaching the Kirat, preachers and physicians

were all drawn to the capital. Delhi in the words of Barni became "an envy of Baghdad, the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople and Jerusalem."

We have not to go far to seek the causes (or enter into a discussion of them) of the collapse of his great Empire. Its foundations were unsound. It was not built on the affection of the people nor had he enlisted the strength and the power of a democratic Local Government. His strong will and harsh measures kept the agglomeration of the people together as long as he lived but as soon as he closed his eyes the whole fabric came down like a house of cards. Th ever widening conquests entailed fresh responsibilities which he was unable to meet. But the fall was accelerated and the end hastened by the removal of wise Counsellors, evil ways of his son Khizar Khan, the violence and jealousy of his temper and his infatuation for Malik Kafur who undermined the very foundation by the disgust which he inspired in the hearts of the nobles.

BOOKS CONSULTED.

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2. Tarikh-i-Allahi—By Amir Khusrû in E. D. Vol. III.
3. Ashika—By Amir Khusrû in E. D. Vol. III.
4. Tazjiyat-al-Amsar—By Wassaf in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III.
5. Travels of Ibn-i-Batuta—Urdu Translation.
6. Muhammadan Invaders of Southern India—By Aiyangar.
7. History of Deccan—By Bhandarkar.
8. Rise of Khilji Imperialism—By Mr. Ishwari Prasad in Allahabad Journal of Indian History.
9. Journal Asiatic Society—Bengal, 1866.
10. Tarikh-i-Ferishta (Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi)—By Frishta.
11. Tabqat-i-Akhari—By Nizam Uddin Ahmad.
12. Thomas Chronicles of the Pathan Kings.
13. Hrkine's Introduction to the Memoirs of Babar.
14. History of the Mongols—By Rashid Uddin.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

War and International Law*

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

To those who have watched the progress of the world war and the numerous flagrant violations of International Law, the severity and the inhumanity with which it was conducted and the gross disregard shown for the rights of neutrals, it might seem that to speak of War and International Law in the same breath is a contradiction in terms. War is generally considered the very negation of law and it has been said that in the clash of arms the laws are silent. This, however, would be but a superficial view. Violations of International Law do not disprove the existence of such law any more than the breaches of municipal law disprove the existence of such law in a country. As observed by Sir Frederick Pollock, law does not cease to exist, because it is broken or even because for a time it may be broken on a large scale. Breaches of the laws of morality are common enough in the world, but no one will suggest that there are no moral laws. So long as a law is admitted in theory at least to be binding, so long as it is appealed to as the criterion of conduct and there is a general sentiment in favour of its observance, it must be recognised as having an existence. But in what sense can International Law be regarded as being a law? To some extent, the question may be regarded as one of mere academic interest. Even those who, like Dr. Garner, claim the character of law for the rules of International Law admit that they lack in some of the most essential attributes of positive law. Criticism of the Austinian conception of law has only affected the view to be taken as to the sources of law and not the fundamental elements of sanctions and agency for enforcement. International Law is more akin in character to the rules of morality or the rules which guide social intercourse and which, in so far as they regulate the conduct of civilised communities, have attained a fair measure of universality or general acceptance. Breaches of the latter kind of rules may be and are visited with penalties by

public opinion, by ostracism, boycott or otherwise, but the penalties are indefinite in character and uncertain in operation. Breaches of international Law are not, at present, followed by any punishments except in the way of reprisal or private vengeance, which is analogous to the remedy of self-help in the sphere of private law.

It may be asked whether there is any use in devoting any attention to the elaboration or study of the rules of International Law. Undoubtedly there is. Examination of the principles which should regulate the conduct of nations towards each other and the attempt to place them on a rational basis in accordance with the social and economic conditions of the age and the principles of justice and fairplay are necessary to procure their general acceptance; and the formulation of definite rules has all the advantages of codification. In spite of the fact that the rules of International Law are often violated in war, belligerents seek to justify their conduct with reference to any charge of violation. The very accusation of a breach of International Law necessarily implies the existence of a generally accepted canon of conduct. It may also be safely affirmed that the rules of public International Law have exercised a restraining influence on the conduct of nations in war towards each other and towards neutrals and that, but for the existence of a body of rules recognised as binding upon the conscience of civilised communities, the horrors of warfare would have been far greater in intensity and area. How far public International Law has been affected or modified by the world-war, what defects in the existing system have been revealed by the war, in what directions remedies have to be sought and on what lines the law has to be developed are questions of vital importance to all those who are interested in the peace of the world.

II.

It was a happy decision of the Calcutta University to have selected "The Development of International Law during the 20th Century" as the subject of a course of Tagore lectures. We congratulate the University of Calcutta on its choice of Professor Garner for delivering the

*Prof. Garner's Tagore Law Lectures on "The Development of International Law." (Calcutta University), 1925.

lectures upon the subject. The task could not have been entrusted to better hands. He has produced a masterly treatise giving a comprehensive and up-to-date survey of the field of public International Law. His criticisms of the conduct of nations during recent wars are fair and impartial, his discussion of principles full and thorough, his suggestions for the development of the Law generally sound and helpful and his exposition luminous and interesting. Though he confines himself to the development of International Law in the twentieth century, he has been rightly impelled to sketch its history in the nineteenth century. Till recently, it used to be held that the system of International Law was of European and Christian origin and was applicable only to the Christian nations of Europe. Its extension to the new world was a natural and an easy process, but its extension to Asiatic countries was the result of much discussion and took place only towards the end of the last century. In the light of this narrow attitude of the publicists and Powers of Europe, it is interesting and gratifying to read the considered opinion of Dr. Garner, that with remarkably few exceptions the conduct of the Japanese Government and its Commanders in the Russo-Japanese war was above reproach and that they showed a regard for the law and a respect for the rights of prisoners of war, of non-combatants, of enemy aliens and of the sick and wounded soldiers such as we have seen in few other wars.

The outstanding features of the development of International Law during the present century have been the adaptation of the rules to the changes in economic conditions, the declaration and codification of the accepted rules of International Law and the attempt to evolve and construct machinery for the peaceful settlement of International disputes and for penalizing wars of aggression. As illustrations of the necessity for the adaptation of International Law to changed conditions, we may refer to the growing disappearance of the distinction between the rights of the combatant and the non-combatant population, as a result of wars being transformed into contests between nations in arms, the tendency towards the abolition of the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband, the adoption of the doctrine of continuous voyage by England which had formerly opposed it and the justification of blockades for the complete starvation of the population of the

enemy country. The invention of new weapons of warfare and other scientific devices for destruction like submarines, torpedoes, aerial bombs and poison gas has given rise to a large number of questions and much passionate controversy. The indignation is, in many cases, due rather to the fact that some of the belligerent nations have been taken by surprise by a new weapon of warfare invented by the enemy or by the greater loss sustained by one nation as the result of ruthless and systematic employment by the enemy of devices already in use. Thus, when poison gas was first employed by the Germans, there was an outburst of indignation on the part of her enemies. But the allies were not slow to adopt the same instrumentality and even to improve upon it. Considering the question from a purely scientific and dispassionate point of view, there is no greater cruelty or inhumanity in the employment of poison gas than in aerial bombardment or the use of bullets which cause wounds from which the victim may suffer for weeks. Chemical warfare is not likely to be abolished and the only check upon it will be those dictated by the self-interest of those who employ it, if as happened in the recent case of the Spaniards against the Riffs, the engineer is hoist with his own petard. The use of submarines, again, is not likely to be stopped, for, though it may inflict immense losses upon the mercantile marine of neutrals as well as belligerents, it is the weapon of the weak nations which cannot afford expensive battle ships and cruisers like England. The developments of aviation, wireless telegraphy and telephony and their employment during the war have led to many interesting questions with regard to the control of the aerial regions over countries which cannot be said to have yet been satisfactorily settled. As between belligerent States, the practice of aerial bombardment has not been unconditionally approved. The attack and bombardment by any means whatever of undefended places was forbidden by the Hague regulations of 1907. During the world war, many undefended places were subjected to aerial bombardment. It is satisfactory to note that Dr. Garner, like many other International lawyers, is opposed to the aerial bombing of places outside the zone of military operations and is of opinion that its use outside such zone, if any, should be restricted to military or other similar establishments, only when they can be

attacked without endangering the lives of the civil population. What a lurid light does this doctrine throw upon the bombardment of the undefended places by the Government of the country where they are situated for the purpose of putting down a riot or even an insurrection as in Amritsar or in Damascus? Military necessity is no justification for the slaughter of peaceful inhabitants, whether subjects or aliens.

The organisation of the League of Nations is perhaps the most hopeful outcome of the world war. But how far the League will be able to prevent war by the enforcement of the obligation to submit disputes to arbitration is a matter upon which it would be difficult to prophesy. That the League has been able to settle some minor disputes between the minor Powers is an achievement to its credit. On the other hand, so far as the bigger Powers are concerned, no real disposition has been shown on their part of any willingness to refer to arbitration any question of real importance. The imminent hostilities between Greece and Bulgaria have no doubt been averted. But the League was powerless to compel Italy to submit its dispute with Greece to arbitration and punish the unlawful seizure of Corfu by Italy. It has been suggested that breaches of International Law by a State should not be regarded as of no consequence to neutral States and that they should intervene for the purpose of preserving the peace of the world. But, as long as States preserve the mentality which permitted them to watch in silence the purely wanton and aggressive war of Italy against Turkey or the aggressive occupation and exploitation of backward countries, it is idle to hope that any keen sense of justice will come to prevail. Article 13 of the Covenant of the League imposes an obligation to submit to arbitration, only in cases where the members of the League in dispute recognize that it is suitable for submission to arbitration—a condition which practically nullifies the value of the clause. Article III of the Geneva Protocol required the signatory Powers to recognise as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in a limited class of questions of a more or less legal character, but allowed any State to make reservations compatible with the said understanding. But Mr. Chamberlain insisted on reserving all questions which in the opinion

of the British Government, affected the vital interests, national independence or honour of Britain. The elastic words of the reservation would cover any refusal to submit to arbitration.

Many interesting suggestions are made by Dr. Garner as to the lines on which the rules of International Law should be developed or modified. While we are disposed to agree with most of them there are a few to which we must take exception. One such suggestion is that the theory of absolute sovereignty and equality of States heretofore recognized as a basic principle of International Law should be definitely abandoned so that the law may conform more nearly to facts. But this is the only theory upon which it is possible for the States to enter into any federation and the abandonment of the theory will spell the domination of the weaker States by the powerful.

[This review was originally written for the *Hindu*, but it has been printed here with the writer's approval. Ed. H. R.]

ORIENTAL ART AND CULTURE.*

By MR. N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

The *Year-Book* (edited by the well-known sinologist, Mr. Arthur Waley and embellished with 60 well-executed plates) is a welcome sign of the serious interest taken by British savants in the art and culture of the Orient. By far the largest portion of the volume is occupied with contributions on the various phases of Chinese art, which has recently been extensively studied and admired in Europe. India has still to be content with a comparatively minor place not because her contribution to the art and culture of the world is qualitatively or quantitatively less than that of the other countries of the East, but primarily because her sons have hitherto looked askance at their own priceless heritage of plastic and graphic arts, while European scholars have not infrequently been hampered by considerations other than those of scholarship in properly evaluating Indian creations. In fact, the problems of greater India seem to receive far more atten-

*The *Year-Book of Oriental Art and Culture*, 1922-23. Edited by Arthur Waley, with 60 plates (Ernest Benn Ltd., London), 1923.

tion at the hands of European savants than those of India itself.

In a brilliant article on "The Westward Movement of the Art of Printing" Mr. T. F. Carter takes us to the outposts of India's civilization in Khotan and Chinese Turkistan, which have yielded such a rich harvest of finds of all sorts during the recent excavations of Stein, Lecoq and Grünwedel. Some of the material gathered by Stein has been collected in the Stein Museum at Delhi, which does not seem to have attracted the attention due to it of Indian scholars. The oasis of Turfan is a strange depression in the earth's surface, almost as deep as the Dead Sea and surrounded on all sides except the east by high mountains. This was the place which was the melting pot of cultures, arts, languages and religions, for no less than seventeen different languages are represented among the documents found by the Prussian expedition written in four or five different alphabets. Manicheism was the religion of the royal house, Buddhism that of the majority of the people, Nestorian Christianity that of the minority, not counting the Confucianism of the Chinese overlords. Here the cultures of Syria, Iran, India including Bactria and China met in fruitful contact and built up the variegated civilization of the Indo-European folk which inhabited this area between the 7th and the 13th century. Physical causes as well as drain of manpower in the wake of Mongolian expeditions finished for ever what was a chapter of dazzling colours in the history of human civilization. In Turfan have been found Buddhist books printed in a Turkish language with Sanskrit notes and Chinese page numbers in the Sogdian alphabet—a script brought from Syria. The territory comprised by the depression of Turfan passed in this way to a Turkish tribe called the Uigurs, who furnished the brains to the barbaric hordes of Chingiz Khan and supplied them with an enlightened band of officers during their onward march of conquest. Human enterprise made up for the deficiencies of mechanical transport. Tabriz, the Mongol capital of Persia, was then the focal point of Western-Asiatic culture just as Baghdad was before. Here were quarters for the Uigurs, for the Chinese, for the Venetian and the Genoese, who were numerous enough to have a separate council of their own consisting of 24 elders for the management of their local affairs. The first paper money that the world

ever saw was also attempted at Tabriz—printed in Arabic but with also a few Chinese characters. We too had our currency reformer in Mohammad Tughlaq; but the result in the case of Persian Wazir was more serious than for the Emperor of Delhi. Mr. Carter thus estimates the indebtedness of Europe to China: "Peaches, apricots, silk, paper, playing cards, gun-powder, the compass, porcelain as well as printing are among China's early gifts to the west; while grapes and carrots, Mohammadanism and Nestorian Christianity and certain impulses from Greek art are some of the things that China received in return."

The veteran scholar Lecoq has reproduced two figurines also from Chinese Turkistan of the 9th or the 10th century of exceptional interest. One of them may be a *dhobi*—the earliest representation of this useful servant of humanity, and the other is that of a sacred individual, who wears rather clumsily made top-boots. Mr. Edmunds has reproduced an exquisite landscape of the Japanese master Hiroshige and makes some remarks which I quote on account of their appositeness to the present state of study by Indian scholars of their country's art: "It required the united testimonies of Europe and America shouted in their ears to convince the Japanese that they did not know when they had the good thing at their own doors; so that more than half a century had passed since the artist's death, and Japan had been denuded of his masterpieces of landscape, before more than a mere handful of the collectors could be counted in Japan, who appreciated and prized the work of their great countryman." Karl With has a learned article on Chinese carvings in steatite which were extensively used for purposes of interior decoration by the Chinese *bourgeoisie*; which are "attuned to the intimacy of dwelling places, endowed with rich, picturesque, decorative charm, and all the ingredients of a sensuous beauty or realistic character painting." They are intermediate between old sculpture and what passes as mere *bijouterie*, and are inspired not so much by religion as by the conventions of Taoism. Regarding India, Coomarswamy has brief notes on three paintings—one of Raga Dipaka and two Mogul miniatures. The contents of this fascinating volume with its beautiful plates range over a field as wide and varied as the Orient itself. No serious student of Oriental art can ignore the present work and

also the *Year-Book of Asiatic Art* published in German from Leipzig.

ISLAM AND ZOROASTRIANISM.*

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

Carlyle has somewhere said: "Every quarrel is at bottom a misunderstanding," and the saying is nowhere more true than in the case of differences on points of religion—particularly in studies of comparative religion. In these studies the author, as a rule, starts with the pious intention of seeing all the good he can in the particular religion he has taken up for his disquisition. But such, alas, is the frailty of human nature that while the author makes an honest attempt to see nothing but points of beauty of that particular religion, he invariably ends in laying bare its short-comings or what he thinks to be its short-comings. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din's book makes one such attempt. It is no doubt a notable attempt and would have gone a long way in bringing the two religions it takes up for discussion a step nearer to each other, had the scholarly author flung his scholarly net a little wider and brought in a little more of his sympathetic imagination to bear on the study of a religion not his own.

The initial mistake the author makes is to confine his study of Zoroastrianism mainly to one particular book—*The Message of Zoroaster*,—and that book is far from being a representative or authoritative work on the religion of the Parsis. The *Message* purports to expound certain basic beliefs of Zoroastrianism as apprehended by a particular individual. Consequently, it is in the nature of an individual's confession of faith or a kind of *apologia pro vita sua*. For instance, the Fire-Worship acclaimed in the *Message* as the fundamental feature of Zoroastrianism is the author's own way of looking at the fire and is emphatically denounced by the Parsis as a class, more emphatically than the Khwaja Saheb does himself. The Khwaja Saheb, therefore, will find no stauncher upholders of his contention against fire-worship than the Parsis themselves.

II.

When we take up the author's discussion of Zoroaster's philosophy, the case, however, is different. There, I think, most Parsis will substantially agree with the view taken up in the *Message* and admit that the philosophy of good and evil expounded therein is essentially and characteristically Zoroastrian. As I said at the beginning every quarrel is at bottom a misunderstanding, so I fear the Khwaja Saheb's quarrel with the Parsis in the matter of their philosophy is mainly a quarrel of words and phrases.

The word "evil", at which the learned author jibs and for which he takes the modern Zoroastrians to task, is a word of unique significance and wide connotation in the Zoroastrian theology. It includes both what is ordinarily known as evil and what is merely negative, the twin-half of positive, bearing no ethical significance whatever, as for instance, the night. In this connection the Khwaja Saheb pointedly quotes—"Glory be to Him who created pairs of all things"—from the Koran and then exultantly proclaims:—"Pairs of all things! What wonderful Revelation of a great scientific fact!" A thousand years before, Zoroaster made a similar revelation in *Gatha Ahunavadi* (Yas. XXX. 5.) when he said: "In the beginning there was a Pair of Twins." Whatever difference there may be between the two revelations, the basic idea of *Pair* lies at the root of both the Koranic and Gathic texts. Are we not, as I said before, quarrelling over mere words and phrases?

Again, take the text:—"Allah is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth, a likeness of His light is as a pillar on which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, and the glass is as it were a brightly shining star, gives light though fire touch it not." A Parsi reader would naturally suppose that the text was taken from the Gathas and that Allah was a misprint for Ahuramazda. Such, however, is not the case. It is taken from the Koran (Sura XXIV 35) and quoted by the Khwaja Saheb himself and consequently it is as fine a text as could be found to prove that it is possible for the most devoted votary of Mohammed to get on common ground with the most bigoted follower of Zoroaster in their fundamental ideas of their common Creator.

The world at present is full of religious differences. Let us not add any more to these.

*Islam and Zoroastrianism. By Khwaja Kamal-ud-din. (The Basheer Muslim Library, Woking).

Let us, on the contrary, leave these differences to liquidate for themselves, confining our attention and energy to finding out points of resemblance and agreement. In the present state of world politics no greater service could a man do to his fellow-men than by finding out these points of resemblance and agreement in the texts of the great religions of the world. Anyhow, the searching out of these texts, where two religions agree rather than where they disagree, should be the one aim and ideal of books on Comparative Religion such as *Islam and Zoroastrianism*. Let me, in passing, commend to the Khwaja Sahib the beautiful text from his own Holy Koran (sura XXIX 46) which is a great favourite of mine and which should serve as a fitting motto to any future work of his on comparative religion:—"Dispute not, therefore, unless in kindly sort, with the People of the Book, save with such of them as have dealt wrongfully with thee: and say ye:—'We believe in what hath been sent down to us and we believe in what hath been sent down to you. Our God and your God is One, and to Him are we all in common pledged.'"

METHODS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.*

By PROF. J. N. SAMADDAR, M.A.

The keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali is to be heartily congratulated on the production of this invaluable *vade mecum* which has been compiled in pursuance of the resolution of the Government of India in 1919 in constituting the Indian Historical Records Commission and which will be of great use to all students of History

*A Handbook to the Records of the Government of India in the Imperial Record Department (1748 to 1859): Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1925. Price Rs. 5/-.

interested in the British period of Indian History. The object of the book under review is to enable a student to find out if the Imperial Record Department is likely to contain materials for his particular line of research and when this information is available he can proceed to consult the printed lists and set to work with the various manuscript indexes themselves. As such the value of it is immense.

The handbook contains, besides a Chart showing the quantity of records represented by the principal series in each department available in the Imperial Record Rooms, five chapters dealing with the East Indian Company and their Records, growth of the Secretariats of the Government of India, System of Record-keeping, hints on the mode of conducting searches among the records, and list of Records in the Imperial Record Department with brief notes. It also has two important appendices and a full Index. Each of the above consists of full and detailed informations on their topics and affords ample material to the research student to continue his work in the proper direction.

The period dealt with in this interesting book is a very important one and therefore the volume before us is all the more valuable and we do not think any student of history interested in this period can be without it. Such a thing was a desideratum and by the publication of this Handbook, it is indeed more than a mere handbook, a great want has been removed.

Perhaps a word may be added regarding the price of the book. Considering everything the price is indeed small—Rs. 5 for a mine of information as it is, is practically cost-price but taking into account the proverbial poverty of scholars, may we suggest that in future when similar publications will be brought out, the keeper may kindly remember our suggestion and which will not only make such useful publications popular ones but what is more will make these within the reach of all.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

SOCIOLOGY

A Brief History of Civilisation. By John S. Hoyland (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1925.

Buckle's monumental "History of Civilisation" still remains indispensable and all students delight to draw upon its wealth of information and fullness of detail. Mr. Hoyland's task was much more modest. He set out to write a school-book, at once accurate and simple. He has succeeded in making his book exceedingly interesting; about one hundred and fifty illustrations enrich it. He has adopted a sensible plan and has divided his story into nine parts dealing with The Beginnings of History; The Meaning of Civilisation (India and China); Christianity and Islam; Greece; Rome; The Middle Ages; Nationalism; Internationalism; The Return of Greece. In his Chapter on India we think that he devotes more attention to Buddhism than to the other numerous civilising forces and agencies; in fact these latter seem almost to have been neglected. But despite this, we commend this very helpful book. The spirit in which it has been written is clear from the author's concluding words: "We have studied the great forces which have combated the enemies in the cause of civilisation, first the great spiritual and religious forces which had their birth in the East—the Chinese ideal of service for the future, the Indian denunciation of caste and desire, the Moslem demand for brotherhood, the Christian gospel of the Kingdom of God in which all men, as the children of one divine father, shall dwell together in love and mutual service."

Freedom of the Mind in History. By Henry Osborn Taylor (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London) 1925.

The author tries in this volume to trace the free action of the human mind through history, and to distinguish this agency from the grosser or more palpably determined factors shaping the fortunes of the human race. History, he thinks, is not altogether a driven or determined series of events. In contrast with such a view, the author emphasises that the mind's free action is to be distinguished from economic and other compulsory or material influences upon the fate of nations. He also lays stress on the necessary

co-operation of the various sides of human nature in the attainment of whatever has proved best or most permanently valid. Accordingly, impulse and feeling are given due credit, along with the faculties of reason and ingenuity; while typical illustrations of human progress are selected from civic institutions, from religion, from philosophy and physical science, and from art. It is remarkable also that the moving will of God is assumed to comprehend and guide the whole; and he ends with the sentence, "Through many conflicts and in many ways, but always in the way of freedom, the human soul has been emerging, and has been gathering, as it were, affinity to God, in whom lies its immortality."

The State. By Franz Oppenheimer (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London) 1925.

This is a translation from the original German by Dr. Gitterman of New York. It has already become a recognised classic on the subject of the origin and essence of the State, and in its English garb, it is bound to appeal to an even larger circle of readers that devote serious thought to questions of such fundamental importance. The author, Professor Oppenheimer, is a noted economist and sociologist, and here he gives in a short compass an account of his political and historical philosophy. The chapters deal with Theories of the State; the Genesis of the State; the Primitive Feudal State, the Maritime State; of the Feudal State; the development of the Feudal and Constitutional States; the Tendency of the Development of the State. Of special interest is the discussion of the class monopoly resulting from political power which stands between the masses and the land, through which a labouring class without control of the means of production is influenced by the upper classes. That is followed by an analysis of the whole conception of monopolies. This thought-stimulating volume ought to be in the hands of all students of social philosophy.

The Passing of Politics. By William Kay Wallace (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London) 1925.

Politics, it is gratifying to note, is being increasingly studied as a science in direct relation to actual

history; it is no longer considered to be an abstract and abstruse subject to be read in the study and occasionally acted upon. Mr. Wallace in the volume before us traces the course of the evolution of politics and points out that political methods no longer offer an adequate technique for dealing with present-day problems of social life. The work throws a new light on the true status of politics to-day. The author views politics first from the outside by examining its factors of strength, and then from the inside, laying bare its weakness and the corrosive elements at work.

Second Chambers in Theory and Practice. By H. B. Lees-Smith (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London) 1925.

Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith's is no new name to students of economics. His present book is one that will be of great use to all students of constitution and public administration. It contains a full account of the chief Second Chambers of the world. It explains the lessons that England can learn from their experience, describes the Second Chamber most suitable to England, and brings the subject up to date. As was natural, he draws his illustrations mainly from the experiences of the British Dominions, as these furnish a variety of experience made by peoples possessing many of the English traditions and with constitutions created upon the British model. Prof. Lees-Smith is of the opinion that no Second Chamber should be entrusted with the right to defeat legislation; its proper function is to make suggestions for amendments, and its power should be confined to securing sufficient delay to ensure that these amendments shall be properly debated, and that sufficient time shall be allowed for the expression of public opinion upon them.

American Individualism. By Herbert Hoover (William Heinemann Ltd., London) 1925.

Mr. Hoover is the great organiser whose relief work rescued the starving peoples of Europe and war-time Belgium. He crystallizes in this little book the aims and characteristics of the American nation. He deals with all sides of the *res Americana*, concentrating on the main facts with a clarity and a brevity that shows a powerful and a discerning brain. It is interesting to note that in Mr. Hoover's opinion individualism has been the primary force of American civilisation for three centuries; and it is his hope that individualism may continue and flourish. "What we need to-day," he says in his concluding chapter, "is steady

devotion to a better, brighter, broader individualism—an individualism that carries increasing responsibility and service to our fellows....Progress will march if we hold an abiding faith in the intelligence, the initiative, the character, the courage, and the divine touch in the individual." Beneath a thin veneer of emotionalism and rhetoric, the book contains much sound sense.

International Social Progress. By G. A. Johnston (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London) 1925.

Messrs. Allen and Unwin deserve well of all students of economics and politics, for during the last few years they have done more than any other single publisher, to make available works of recognised merit on these subjects. Dr. Johnston's book gives a minute and detailed account of the origin, constitution, and activities of the Labour Organisation or the League of Nations. It contains a description of the sessions of the International Labour Conference held at Washington, Genoa and Geneva, and a lucid and interesting *resumé* of the results of its work in the prevention of unemployment, the protection of women and children in industry, the regulation of hours of labour, conditions in Eastern countries, industrial health, safety, emigration, and other fields. The book concludes with a discussion of some of the problems involved in the gradual development of an international code of labour legislation, applied not only in Europe but also in the East, as a firm foundation for international social progress.

Democracy and Labour. By P. J. C. Hearnshaw (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1925.

Professor Hearnshaw's *Democracy at the Crossways* is already well-known as a book remarkable for independent thought and close reasoning. His present book embodies the main conclusions of the earlier work, but it incorporates also a large amount of fresh material accumulated during the last several years, when the author has addressed large assemblies of working men up and down England on subjects related to Politics and Labour. Dr. Hearnshaw is convinced that Socialism and its offshoots have no real hold on the English working man, and no very strong hold on the working man of Scotland and Wales. On the contrary he has noted a deep and widespread resentment at the control which Socialist Societies have secured over Trade Union Executives and funds. It is a plain-spoken, earnest appeal to reason and commonsense. We hope it will attain as great a popularity as its predecessor.

Population and the Social Problem. By J. Swinburne (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London) 1925.

The pressure of population is either not realised at all, or it is regarded as something which may assume some importance in the future only. Again, some think that over-population affects the poor only. Mr. Swinburne points out in this book that population pressure has existed since the beginning of man, and that it is the controlling force in all classes of society. All schemes for helping the poor which are not based on a knowledge of the principle of population are helpless; and most of them, through ignorance, accentuate the evils which they are intended to prevent, and cause great unhappiness by fomenting the discontent of the poor by persuading them that they are the victims of injustice. We should like to express our gratification at the vivid and picturesque style of the author. The book deserves anxious thought and serious consideration.

RAILWAY ECONOMICS.

The Elements of Railway Economics. By Sir William Acworth (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1925.

Sir William Acworth's book on Railway Economics has been a well-recognised classic during the last twenty years, and several editions of it have already appeared. Mr. W. T. Stephenson, a Lecturer in the London School of Economics, has now brought out a new edition, thoroughly revised; the facts have been brought up to date, and the illustrations are drawn from the most recent experience. Three new chapters have been added, those dealing with the war period, the sweeping changes following upon it, and Passenger Traffic. The distinguished author rightly remarks that millions of money can be saved on English railways, for the benefit partly of the shareholders, but in much larger degree of the community at large, if the rising railwaymen of the present and the immediate future can be taught to establish and to justify their practice on the basis of sound economic theory by familiarity with that which has been done or is being done or attempted in other places outside the range of their own possible individual experience. All these remarks apply to India as well, and we trust all railway officers will make it a point to make the acquaintance of this valuable book.

A Paper on Railway Economics. By S. C. Ghose (The Book Company, College Square, Calcutta) 1925.

It is a welcome sign of the times that Indian scholars are beginning to take an interest in subjects that had hitherto been regarded as the preserve of foreign scholars alone. Mr. S. C. Ghose deserves well of the public of India for having written this useful little book on Railway Economics. He had the advantage of receiving assistance from Sir George Godfrey of whom it may be said that what he does not know of railways is not worth knowing. But Mr. Ghose has not by any means attempted to defend the present Railway policy. He discusses many problems with great ability and fairness and does not hesitate to express his own views with absolute frankness. We should like, in particular, to commend his Chapters on the position of State Railways, and the necessity for separate and independent management of each railway system. The last chapter on Indian Railway Reorganisation deserves more than a passing notice; his main recommendation (we are glad to note it has been adopted in part) is to do away with departmentalism in the districts and to replace it by the American system of divisional organisation. He suggests, too, the separation of the Traffic Commercial from the Traffic Transportation branch and the Locomotive Running from the Mechanical branch. We cannot here enumerate all his recommendations, with some of them we do not ourselves agree. But mostly they are thoroughly reasonable and practicable, and we trust the powers that be will very carefully consider them. We would like also to draw the attention of our public men and politicians to this book.

Railway Problems. By "Economy" (Servants of India Society, Poona) 1925.

This book is a collection of articles contributed from time to time to "The Servant of India." The question of the management and finance of Indian railways bristles with difficulties, and the author has rendered useful public service by expressing some of these problems in a manner that is clearly intelligible even to the layman. The subjects which "Economy" discusses are of those of such vital importance as State Management and Separate Railway Finance, Fiscal Autonomy for Railways, Separation of Railway Finance, Stocks of Railway Store, Management of Indian Railways. Naturally the papers published here present the Indian side of the case and something might be urged against it on the official side. We are very pleased to have this book which will be of

immense use to all publicists interested in Indian railways.

Indian Railways. By K. V. Iyer (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1925.

We have noticed, in a previous number, the "India of To-day" series, published under the general editorship of Dr. Rashbrook-Williams. Mr. Iyer, the writer of this little book, is in the Railway Board and what he has to say is the result of direct contact and first-hand knowledge. Construction of Main Lines, Branch Line Companies, Railway Finance, Rolling Stock, Rates and Fares are some of the important subjects dealt with in this volume. We hope it will be received with public encouragement.

INDIAN HISTORY.

A Sketch of the History of India (1258-1928). By Henry Dodwell (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London) 1925.

We have nothing but unstinted praise for this accurate and brilliantly-written work. Professor Dodwell of the London University has achieved remarkable success in writing a narrative of Modern Indian History in a truly historical spirit. It was so easy to overcolour the picture, to allow prejudice, party or racial bias to vitiate the account; to run down to criticise or minimise Indian achievements and efforts; to exaggerate the services of Great Britain. The author has strenuously resisted the easy temptation and the result is a production that may without hesitation be commended to the notice of the most ardent nationalist. To the difficulty of his task Mr. Dodwell is not blind. "A knowledge of the past," he admits, "is an essential to an understanding of the present; and so the purpose of this volume is to explain how the India of our fathers has been transformed into the India of our own day, to sketch the causes which have produced this remarkable change, and to outline the manner of their operation. It is not an easy task. In so complicated a story much must be left untold; amid a multiplicity of causes some must be omitted, some may be mistaken; above all the principal figures of recent events are still distorted by the passion of conflict and obscured by the dust of controversy." The book is divided into three well-defined parts, dealing respectively with The Executive Government, Foreign Policy, and Political Development. The

bibliography appended to the volume is select and helpful. We hope the book will receive wide-spread welcome.

Landmarks of Indian History. Book I. (Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., London) 1925.

This is admittedly a book for boys, profusely illustrated and written in simple language. It deals with the earliest days in Indian history, from the days of the Mahabharata to the Empires of Gupta and Harsha. We are gratified to find that almost all the illustrations are drawn from Indian sources. We have carefully read the book and we are agreeably surprised to notice the accuracy and fullness of detail that characterise the narrative. The second volume, which we are promised, will bring the story down to 1680, the year of the death of Sivaji.

Scenes and Characters from Indian History. By C. H. Payne (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1925.

"For perspective, proportion, and sequence of cause and effect, we go to the scientific historian; for atmosphere and life, to those who wrote amidst the scene they describe. The greatest historians cannot give us genuine 'period' atmosphere: the humblest contemporary writer crudes it automatically. The latter may be too close to his subject to see it in its true perspective; many of its features which, to the historian, stand out in sharp relief, may, from his nearer view-point, be out of focus, or altogether outside his field of vision; it may be that he does not describe with scrupulous accuracy even what is before his eyes. All this leaves us unconcerned. For us the volume of his narrative lies in the personal and intimate touches with which, all unconsciously, he gives reality to his scenes, and life to his characters." It is in this spirit that Mr. Payne has compiled the book before us. The authors from whose works the compilation has been made are Plutarch, Hiuen Tsi, Abdul Razak, Castanheda, Babar, Fernalda, Dr. Jarric, Ozinden and Tavernier. The names are sufficient guarantee of the reliability and interesting character of the narratives. The ten chapters are devoted respectively to Alexander the Great; Hiomen Thang; Vijayanagar; Vasco da Gama; the Battle of Khanash; Founding the Mogul Empire; Akbar; Prince Khurru; Sivaji; Aurangzeb. The Editor has not been merely content to print the extracts, his own explanatory notes are full, copious and scholarly, and add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

Men and Thought in Ancient India. By Radhakumud Mookerji (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1925.

It is not without hesitation that we include this book in the History group; but as it attempts to present a view of ancient Indian Culture and Civilisation as seen in some of their best representatives, the grouping may be defended. Doctor Mookerji needs no introduction to our reader; his earlier volumes have already won for him a high place in the ranks of Indian historians. The present volume is fully worthy of him and his high attainments. The five persons chosen as typical or representative of their age are Yajñavalkya, Buddha, Asoka, Samudra Gupta, and Harsha. It was Yajñavalkya that anticipated, centuries ago, Goethe's pathetic last words, "*Varcho me dahi*,"—Give me Light,—a cry that may still be heard. Some of the men whom Professor Mookerji mentions in his book did shed an imperishable light over many obscure corners of obscurity.

Jahangir's India. By Francisco Pelsaert Translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl (W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge) 1925.

Mr. Moreland is well-known to Indian Scholars as the author of *India at the death of Akbar, From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, and a hand-book of *Indian Economics*. Dr. Geyl is the Professor of Dutch History in the University of London. They have rendered signal service to the cause of Indian history by translating this remarkably entertaining and useful book. About three hundred years ago, Pelsaert sent to his employers in Holland an account of the Mogul Empire. This account shows him to have been a merchant of great ability and a keen observer of life. His "Report" is a most vivid document, and it has now been made available in its entirety for the first time. The importance of this document cannot be exaggerated, and we hope that all students of Mughal India will welcome the publication of it.

Tibet, Past and Present. By Sir Charles Bell (Clarendon Press, Oxford) 1924.

Sir Charles Bell is well-known as the author of the monumental Tibetan Dictionary; he has known Tibet for many years with an intimacy not vouchsafed to casual travellers. He knows most of the leading people there, and the present book is dedicated to the Dalai Lama. So little is known to the world about this land of mystery, it is so full of interest,

it affords such a glimpse of things not seen elsewhere, and it is so picturesquely situated, that the general reader is bound to feel profoundly grateful to Sir Charles for his wonderful account. He treats in this of Tibetan history from the earliest times, and discusses in particular the aims and movements of the present day. The Tibetan points of view are illustrated throughout by anecdotes, conversations with prominent Tibetans, and quotations from poetry and proverbs. The author gives an inner view of Tibet and the Tibetans, he was for many years on the Indo-Tibetan border and his impressions and views are consequently deserving of respectful consideration. It may be added that the book gains in attractiveness by reason of three beautiful colour plates and eighty-nine other illustrations.

A History of the Deccan, Vol. II. By J. D. B. Gribble (Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London) 1924.

Mr. Gribble was a member of the Indian Civil Service; he wrote in an Indian periodical a series of articles entitled "Tales of a Deccan Grandfather." After his death, his daughter, Mrs. Pendlebury has edited and completed his work, and the present volume is devoted mainly to a narrative of the alliance entered into between the Nizam of Hyderabad and the British, and to a discussion of the thorny subject of the "Berar Trust." The account ends with the death of the great statesman and administrator Sir Salar Jung of whom his master said publicly that he was even willing to sacrifice self to the well-being of his country. Mrs. Pendlebury has written an attractive book which is accurate without being dull. The get-up and printing leave nothing to be desired.

RECENT HISTORICAL WORKS.

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II. (Cambridge University Press, London) 1925.

We welcome the second volume of the monumental *Cambridge Ancient History*. It contains an account of the Egyptian and Hittite Empires to about 1000 B.C. We have remarked already on the enormous difficulty of co-ordinating the labours of a large number of collaborators, and it is a tribute to the success with which this task has been accomplished that the entire volume presents a connected, running account, without any hiatus or perceptible break in the narrative. The six centuries that are covered in

the present volume saw momentous events, fairly well-known from the Old Testament and from classical tradition. But several facts have only recently come to light and specially is this true of the Hittite monarchy, of which even now but little is known. But enough is known to tell us that it must take an important place in the list of the great oriental monarchies. In this book, in addition to all the available knowledge on this obscure subject, we are supplied with the history of Syria and Palestine, the civilisation of Crete in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries at the culmination of its power and influence, the Trojan War and the Iron Age, the results of the exploration in the area of the Western Mediterranean and the Extreme Western countries of Europe. In a fascinating chapter Professor Halliday gives us an account of the religion of the Greeks, its origins and characteristic features, and the structure of their mythology which remained so important a factor in the history of Greek life and literature. This *History* is sure to take its place as the standard authority not only for scholars and specialists, but also for the general reader it will be of great value.

Ancient Egypt. By Reginald C. Clover (The Sheldon Press, Northumberland Avenue, London) 1925.

This is a small book of about sixty pages intended as an introduction to the fascinating history of the civilisation that grew up on the banks of the Nile in ages gone by. The materials for such study are no longer scanty, but they are too voluminous and too technical and dry for the general reader. We have, therefore, to be grateful to Mr. Clover for producing this most attractive survey of the history of Egypt from the earliest period of barbarism to the conquest of Alexander. A number of illustrations and a select bibliography add to the interest and utility of this excellent volume.

An Outline of Ancient History. By Mary Agnes Hamilton and A. W. F. Blunt (Oxford University Press) 1924.

Mrs. Hamilton's *Outlines of Greece and Rome* are well-known and deservedly popular. The publishers have wisely decided to add to it a Chapter dealing with the history of the Ancient East. The writer of this new chapter, erstwhile lecturer at Oxford, has done full justice to his subject, and in his sections on Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria and Persia

he shows a full and accurate knowledge of the subject. It is unnecessary to add that the utility of the book has been considerably enhanced by this addition, and it now forms a suitable text-book of the subject it attempts to deal with.

Roman York. By Gordon Home (Ernest Benn Ltd., 8, Bonverie Street, London) 1925.

It is remarkable that any scholar should have thought it worth his while to investigate into the history of Eboracum or Roman York. It is very creditable that on a subject so obscure the author should have succeeded in producing a volume which has been well described as a valuable contribution to Romano-British history. The book contains lively and picturesque word-pictures of the town, its rise, its public and domestic life. It will be found to be particularly acceptable to Yorkshire men. The illustrations and drawings are many and admirable.

The Greatest Story in the World, Vol. II. By Horace G. Hutchinson (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1925.

This volume takes up the story at about 100 A.D., where the first volume left it, and goes on to 1500 A.D. In this part men of Britain played an important part and the world story thus becomes, in some measure, England's also. The story is told in what the author calls the English way. There are numerous interesting illustrations. The story ends for the present at 1500, when the darkness of the middle ages begins to be dispelled by the light of Italy. It is hoped that the author will continue his very illuminating account and bring it down to quite modern times.

A Short History of the British Empire. By Agnes F. Dodd (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1925.

This is a comprehensive book dealing briefly with English Colonial policy in general, and in particular and in full with the history of the American Colonies till the treaties of Versailles; the history of Canada, its trade, life, and potentialities; the West Indies, Egypt; South Africa; the Mediterranean and Eastern possessions; and Australasia; while India is treated more exhaustively. The book concludes with a chapter on the government and defence of the Empire. Subjects such as slavery are discussed in

their right places; the resources of each colony are explained; and their history is brought down to the present time. The author deserves to be congratulated on having on the whole, been successful in keeping prejudice and bias out of the book and in producing a volume which may with confidence be commended as a reliable and accurate guide.

Movement in European History. By D. H. Lawrence (Oxford University Press) 1925.

The first edition of this useful little book was first published in 1921. The author insists that history must be either graphic or scientific. The former consists of stories about men and women who appear in the old records, stories as vivid and personal as possible. But Mr. Lawrence warns the teacher of history against making it too personal and familiar. "We must leave in," he emphasises, "the impersonal, terrific element, the sense of the unknown, even as it is left in *Red Riding Hood*." His book is intended for those who have had almost enough of stories and anecdotes and personalities, and who have not yet reached the stage of intellectual pride in abstraction. "It is an attempt to give some impression of the great, surging movements which rose in the hearts of men in Europe, sweeping human beings together into one great, concerted action, or sweeping them apart for ever on the tides of opposition." The book is written throughout in a most attractive style. We must say a special word about the numerous beautiful, well-chosen and useful illustrations which considerably enhance the value and interest of the book.

The Caliphate. By Sir Thomas Arnold (Oxford University Press, London, Bombay and Calcutta) 1925.

Sir Thomas Arnold's name should be familiar to our readers, as that of one who has devoted a lifetime to the study and teaching of Arabic. He has written a book which is one more proof of his abiding interest in the East. The present volume is, we believe, the first attempt in English to give a complete exposition of the political theory of the Caliphate and a consecutive account of the history of this institution. The narrative covers the whole period from the death of Muhammad and the election of the first Caliph to the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate last year. Sir Thomas has utilised not only all the published volumes, but also unpublished manuscripts in the British Museum, the *Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, and other libraries. The narra-

tive is one of surpassing interest and the style is one of great simplicity and charm. A great deal of communal disagreement and distrust would disappear if members of various communities were conversant with the tenets, traditions and history of other sects. To all those interested in the time-honoured institution of the Caliphate the present book may be recommended unreservedly.

The Foreign Policy of Government. By Harold Temperley (G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London) 1925.

Mr. Temperley is a Reader in the Cambridge University. His book is fully worthy of a great scholar; it is accurate, interesting, authoritative. The author takes up the study of British foreign relations at the point where Professor Webster's "*The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*" ended. The opening chapter of the book shows the diplomatic forces at War in Europe, just before Canning's accession to office, thence the reader is taken to a study of Canning's own political ideas, the Congress of Verona, and the Neo-Holy Alliance, and the trend of events in America which brought forth the Polignac Memorandum and the Monroe Doctrine, to the point where an English policy, now independent, emerges. Thence Canning becomes more and more a dominant factor in European affairs, until the signature of the treaty over Greece in 1827 puts the finishing touch to his policy, and marks the culmination of his fame as one of England's greatest Foreign Ministers. No student of English political history in the 19th century can overlook this splendid volume.

Studies in Polish History and Life. By A. R. Tennant (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London) 1924.

This book surveys comprehensively Polish history (largely from the constitutional side), Polish Commerce, industry, agriculture, modes of life, music and literature, from their beginnings to the present day. It is written with great sympathy and knowledge. We are particularly interested in the chapter dealing with Poland's Romantic Poets. So little is known about these, they are so interesting and arresting that it is a real pleasure to read this chapter especially. It will be a revelation to many to find poetry of such excellence as the "*Ode to Youth*" (p. 246). The book will make it possible for those who are interested in Poland to know much that is well worth knowing.

A Short History of the World. By Mr. H. G. Wells (Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., London) 1924.

Mr. H. G. Wells' great book needs no introduction; it was a marvellous achievement, not likely to be equalled or approached. Mr. Wells says: "This Short History is meant to be read straight forwardly almost as a novel is read. It gives in the most general way an account of our present knowledge of history, shorn of elaborations and complications. From it the reader should be able to get that general view of history which is so necessary a frame work for the study of a particular period or the history of a particular country". It must not be imagined that this is a summary or condensation of the *Outline of History*; "this is a much more generalised History, planned and written afresh." The excellence of this volume of about 300 pages (price one shilling and six pence) can be indicated by the fact that the first edition of twenty-thousand copies was exhausted immediately and within the month a second edition had to be brought out. We hope all educated men and women will carefully study this remarkable book.

HINDOO PHILOSOPHY.

A History of Indian Logic. By Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana (Calcutta University Press) 1925.

At the time of its appearance we reviewed at great length the late Dr. Vidyabhusana's brilliant work on Medieval School of Indian Logic. The present volume is fuller and more exhaustive and deals with the ancient, medieval and modern schools. Dr. Vidyabhusana's premature death prevented his seeing the book through, but Dr. Taraporewalla's competent assistance has made it almost what the author himself might have desired. It is obviously not possible to do justice to this volume of six hundred and fifty pages in a brief notice; we shall content ourselves by saying that it is a big task adequately performed. The subject had not been dealt with anywhere at such length and the thoroughness and knowledge with which Dr. Vidyabhusana discusses it are alike worthy of admiration. Among all the systems of Indian thought, the subtlest as well as the most fully developed is that of the Nyaya, which for the sake of convenience, not of accuracy, has here been translated into Logic. Nyaya has been divided into several parts—Anvikshiki or the science of Inquiry, Nyaya proper, or the Science of True Reasoning, Nyaya as a Branch of Orthodox Learning, Tarka, the Science of

Dialectics. Dr. Vidyabhusana is specially great in the sections dealing with Buddhist Naiyayikas. No student of Indian philosophy can henceforth afford to neglect this remarkably able book.

Studies in Vedanta. By V. J. Kirtikar (D. B. Taraporewalla Sons & Co., Bombay) 1925.

The late Rao Bahadur V. J. Kirtikar was a profound student of Vedanta which has not unjustly been described by Western thinkers as marking the highest reach of the human mind. He used frequently to contribute articles on the subject to various periodicals. His chief object was to expound the Vedanta in language familiar to Modern European thought, in order to remove certain misconceptions regarding some of its essential doctrines. We are assured by his grandson, Mr. Jayakar (who has dutifully edited the volume) that Mr. Kirtikar profoundly believed that the Vedanta was a system not of thought alone but also of life, and that in his own life he earnestly sought to fulfil the duties which the Vedanta enjoins with reference to man's relations to himself, to his kith and kin, to his community, to his country, to the whole of mankind, nay, to the entire animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms as part of one organism. Of Vedanta itself, an unbelieving world may be reminded of the words of the great thinker Schopenhauer: "In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Vedanta. It has been the solace of my life—it will be the solace of my death. They are the products of the highest wisdom. It is destined sooner or later to become the faith of the people." We commend this thoughtful book to all lovers of the Indian wisdom and desire to congratulate the publishers on the excellence of the printing and general get-up.

The System of Vedantic Thought and Culture. By Mahendranath Sircar (Calcutta University) 1925.

Dr. Mahendranath Sircar's book presents the system of Advaita Vedanta both in its theoretical conception and practical bearing. His book is different from Rao Bahadur Kirtikar's in so far as it is more connected and is not by any means a comparative study. It is divided into five well-defined parts devoted to Being, Appearance, Cosmology and Psychology, Culture, Realisation and Freedom. While we have nothing but praise for Professor Sircar's exposition, we must point out the

numerous mistakes of spelling which are inexcusable in a work of this character, e.g. Muktabali (P. 215); Pravakar (P. 204); Brahmaasidhi (P. 261); Avidga (P. 168). We trust these and many others that could be culled will not be allowed to disfigure subsequent editions of a book of such excellence.

An Introduction to Advaita Philosophy. By Kokileswar Sastri (University of Calcutta) 1925.

The great Sankaracharya's eminence as a thinker is generously recognised even by those who do not follow his doctrines; it is a truism to say that his philosophy intimately touches both the practical and the metaphysical needs of mankind. It is the aim of the learned author of the book before us to consider all the new forms in which this system has been sought to be presented and to form an estimate of these with a view to finding out if they really come into line with the form in which Sankaracharya originally presented it. Pandit Kokileswar Sastri further attempts, briefly but intelligibly, to bring forward all the main issues which are generally discussed in the Advaita system, and which have sometimes been adversely criticised. He has succeeded in making the book a suitable introduction to a proper study of the originals; it presents, too, an opportunity of knowing antagonistic views on several points; and the teachings of Sankara are expounded in a simple yet accurate style. This is one more addition to the many first-rate books which the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University has been producing.

The Yoga Philosophy. By V. R. Gandhi (Shree Agamodaya Samiti, Badekha Chaklo, Gopipura, Surat) 1925.

The late Mr. V. R. Gandhi was a well-known Jain writer and speaker. The present volume is a selection of his writings on Yoga Philosophy. He writes with considerable power on such cognate subjects as mysticism, soul-culture, occult powers, hypnotism, science of breathing, magnetism, pranayam, tantras. The book will be found to be of use to those who are interested in the subject of Yoga.

The Jain Philosophy. By V. R. Gandhi (Shree Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay) 1925.

The Philosophy of the Jains has recently been satisfactorily described in several books, Mr.

Warren's, Mr. J. L. Jain's and Mr. Stevenson's among others, though the last is in several respects defective. Mr. Gandhi was a keen follower of Jainism, and in America and in England he did a great deal to make its principles widely understood and appreciated. It was a sound idea of the members of the Bombay Samiti to collect in one volume all his writings and speeches on the subject of Jainism. These amply repay perusal, and we hope at least all educated Jains will try to read it and intelligently follow all the teachings of this very interesting system of philosophy.

A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy. By Benimadhab Barua (Calcutta University) 1925.

Dr. Barua in this remarkable book seeks to interpret the ancient Indian texts in their own light and inter-connection as well as to trace up the development of early Indian philosophy on divergent lines, out of a common background and substratum. The book is divided into twenty seven chapters of greater or less importance, and it is no disparagement of the book to say that not every chapter is of general interest. In fact, the general reader will hardly care to read the book through, though the references and quotations are wisely relegated to the foot-notes. The scholar will find much useful information, however, and for him it is mainly intended. The book meets a long-felt want and we are confident that it will be warmly welcomed.

Rambles in Vedanta. By B. R. Rajam Aiyar (S. Ganesan, Madras) 1925.

This book is a collection of articles contributed by the author many years ago to the "Prabuddha Bharata". He lived only for six and twenty years, but the contributions bear evidence of a mind remarkably rich and of knowledge far beyond his youthful years. The contributions are of varied interest; the aim which runs through all is the realisation of the self, the knowledge of the Atman, the elaboration and impression of the sublime truth taught by all religions, and expressed so nobly by Jesus: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

The Karma Philosophy. By V. R. Gandhi (Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay) 1924.

This also belongs to the same series to which the author's *Yoga Philosophy* and *Jain Philosophy*

belong. It is written with great earnestness and enthusiasm and will repay perusal. Of Jain philosophy a special feature is its elaborate treatment of the law of Karma; and Jains particularly will find it of special interest and profit.

RECENT BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

Lotuses of the Mahayana. Edited by Kenneth Saunders (John Murray, London) 1925.

We have noticed in the pages of the *Hindustan Review* the earlier volumes of that excellent series of books entitled "The Wisdom of the East". The aim of this series is, by means of the best Oriental literature—its wisdom, philosophy, poetry, and ideals—to bring together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill, and understanding. From India, China, Japan, Persia, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt these words of wisdom have been culled. In the present volume, Mr. Saunders (who needs no introduction to those interested in Buddhism) has brought together an anthology which seeks to cover a vast ground and illuminate great epochs. It should encourage students to seek more intimate acquaintance with Buddhism. Mahayana, it need hardly be added, is the doctrine of liberal Buddhism, according to which not only the few but the many can be led to salvation. The cardinal truth is that man's thoughts make his destiny, and the call is "to cleanse the mirror of the mind". All those who are attracted by the sublime teachings of this great seer—and their number far exceeds that of his followers—will warmly welcome this extremely readable version of many of his utterances and doctrines.

Buddhism and Buddhists in China. By Lewis Hodous (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1925.

The Board of Missionary Preparation of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America projected in 1920 a series on "The World's Living Religions". The volume before us is the third of that series. The aim of the series is to introduce Western readers to the real religious life of each great national area of the non-Christian world. Buddhism was bound to figure prominently in any such series, and we are glad to note that there are three volumes on it. The present book deals with the Buddhism of China and gives a true, impressive

and friendly picture of it. Professor Hodous has succeeded in reproducing the actual thinking of a trained Buddhist mind in regard to the fundamentals of religion; at the same time he has exhibited and interpreted the religious life of the peasant as affected by Buddhism. We congratulate the author on this excellent piece of work.

Buddhist Stories. Translated by F. L. Woodward (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1925

The Dhammapada is a recognised Buddhist classic and the author has translated some of the stories from it. He has also included in this pleasant little book some fables ascribed to Buddhaghosha; a few are taken from the Jataka Tale. The selections are very judicious; they are all short and interesting; every tale points a moral. They give a fair idea of Buddhist ethics. We warmly welcome them and commend their perusal to lovers of good literature.

A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy. By W. M. McGovern (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. London) 1924.

Dr. McGovern needs no introduction to students of Buddhism. His earlier volumes have already attained the dignity of being regarded as authorities. He is fully aware of the difficulties in the treatment of this subject. The large mass of material obtainable from Chinese sources is as yet untouched. His present book makes a laudable attempt to deal with this material, and his well-known scholarship admirably fits him to be a pioneer. This is the first volume; in it he deals with one aspect of Buddhist Philosophy, which he calls "Cosmology." It is the relative, as opposed to the transcendental sphere; for he believes that the latter cannot be investigated without a knowledge of the former. Cosmology is divided into three parts, Synthesis, Analysis, Dynamics. They correspond roughly to Astronomy and Geology; Chemistry and the Atomic Theory; Doctrines of Change and Causation. The book is one of surpassing interest and we are grateful to the publishers of the ever-popular *Trubner's Oriental Series* for adding this excellent manual to it. Students of Buddhist philosophy will find Dr. McGovern's treatise a most suitable textbook for understanding and appreciating the great system associated with the glorious name of Gautama, the Buddha.

System of Buddhist Thought. By Yawakama Sogen (Calcutta University) 1925.

Till a few years back, before the publication of the popular works of Professor Rhys Davids, Buddhism was not at all understood in the West; numerous misconceptions prevailed, and the real teachings of Buddha rarely known. Mr. Sogen, who was Reader to the Calcutta University, in the volume before us, attempts to present in a short and comprehensive form a complete view of Buddhist philosophy, both of the Mahayana and Hinayana schools. His command over the English language is not perfect, but the meaning is never in doubt, and that, after all, is the main virtue of style! The book is written in a thoroughly reasonable spirit and may fairly be considered to be authoritative.

RECENT WORKS ON EDUCATION.

Wider Aspects of Education. By J. H. Whitehouse and G. P. Gooch (Cambridge University Press) 1925.

Mr. H. W. Nevinnson, who introduces this volume, truly remarks that international education is far more sure of success in bringing peace to the world than even a League of Nations. The book contains the thoughtful address delivered before the Conference of Educational Associations by the well-known educationist, Mr. Howard Whitehouse, followed by two scholarly addresses by the renowned historian, Dr. G. P. Gooch. The authors set forth herein the importance of education in the proportion of World Citizenship and, in particular of the League of Nations; they review some American methods and experiments; and, finally, make some valuable suggestions for the advancement of International Education. We commend these valuable addresses to the notice of Indian Educationists, many of whom, we are afraid, have not progressed beyond the stage of Roger Ascham.

History and Its Place in Education. By J. J. Pindlay (University of London Press, Ltd., Warwick Square, London) 1925.

Mr. Pindlay is professor of Education in the University of Manchester, and among his earlier works, the one entitled *"The School"* has already been very favourably received. All historians are teachers of history; and all teachers are, or should be, historians. The author discusses, briefly but comprehensively, most of the issues raised by the claims of history to a place in education when

philosophy and child-psychology are taken into account. The book is frankly intended for specialist teachers to whom the case of history is definitely entrusted, and also for the wider public which is concerned to maintain a high standard of culture in schools and colleges.

A System of National Education. By Aurobindo Ghose (The Arya Publishing House, College Market Street, Calcutta) 1925.

Among living Indians hardly any one rivals Mr. Aurobindo Ghose as a thinker. He has also a rare charm of style and he clothes his ideas in beautiful language. From his voluntary exile in Pondicherry, he now and again makes his voice uttered to a generation woefully lost in words, hunting for shadows, finding not even shadows, and groping in vain for the substance. From the forgotten pages of the *"Karmayogin"* some essays by that powerful pen are now reprinted; these consist of a number of introductory essays insisting on certain general principles of a sound system of teaching applicable for the most part to national education in any country. Where every page is full of valuable suggestions, it is not easy to select any one passage for special notice; but we cannot resist the temptation of commending the following thoughtful observation: 'Whether distinct teaching in any form of religion is imparted or not, the essence of religion, to live for God, for humanity, for country, for others and for oneself in these, must be made the ideal in every school which calls itself national'.

Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities. By Phanindranath Bose (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar) 1925.

Mr. Phanindranath Bose seeks in these pages to bring together the accounts of the Indian pandits of the Buddhist Universities of Nalanda, Vikramasila, Odantapura, and Jagaddala. It is interesting to find that most of them were associated with Tibet, and that they influenced Tibetan literature and religion. It is a book of an unusual nature and must have involved considerable research and industry. It is full of interest even to the general reader, while the professed scholar will be fascinated by it.

Japan and Its Educational System. By Syed Ross Masood (Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan) 1924.

Mr. Ross Masood is a distinguished scholar and educationist, well-known in North India as the worthy

son of a worthy father. His remarkable career in the Deccan is being watched with sympathetic interest by his numerous admirers in Upper India. He went to Japan at the instance of the Hyderabad Durbar, and he studied there the latest educational methods that were being tried with greater or less success. He has utilised the results of his personal investigation and observation in writing this brilliant book which to some extent explains the phenomenal progress achieved by Japan in recent years in almost every sphere of activity. Mr. Ross Masood's view is—and this is shared by most educationists now—that the present intellectual degradation of the Indians is mainly due to our pathetic dependence on a foreign language. We hope the book will be widely read.

Principles of Education. By Chandra Chakrabarty (Ramchandra Chakrabarty, 58, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta).

Mr. Chandra Chakrabarty is a prolific writer and some of his other works have already been noticed in these pages. But we are disappointed with the book before us; it contains practically nothing but platitudes and a few impracticable suggestions. He has plenty of information, but it has not been attractively presented; he has read a great deal on the theories of education, but for ideas of his own we cannot profess much admiration. The printing too is very defective.

RECENT WORKS OF REFERENCE.

India in 1924-25. By Dr. Rushbrook Williams, C. B. E. (Superintendent Government Printing, India, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1925.

Dr. Rushbrook Williams—who is soon going to be Foreign Minister of Patiala—has achieved in his capacity as Director-General of Information another triumph as a faithful and critical chronicler of current Indian affairs. The latest number of his well-known annual, which has been found indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of current developments in India, is fully equal to its predecessors in point of general interest. It deals in brief yet clear fashion with the outstanding problems of the Indian situation, combining complicated tendencies and important events into a readable narrative. The volume contains appreciations of India's international position, with special

reference to the problems of Indians overseas and of Indian defence. It contains a survey of the financial and economic conditions of the year, together with an account of important developments in every branch of Governmental activities. Considerable space is devoted to constitutional problems and to the course of political events. The book will appeal to members of the general public as much as to students and men of affairs. It also contains a map of India, three coloured charts, and descriptive diagrams, which materially enhance the usefulness of Dr. Williams's *India in 1924-5*. We strongly recommend a careful study of this book to all interested in Indian progress, as the best and most informative compendium of general knowledge about the current conditions of India.

Words and Idioms. By L. P. Smith (Constable & Co., Ltd., London) 1925.

Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith is well-known as a scholar and philologist. In his latest work on his favourite subject called *Words and Idioms* he gives much new information about English words. He writes of the sea-terms which have come from Dutch and Mediterranean sailors; of the words which depict the English character; and of the terms which foreign nations have borrowed from English vocabulary to designate the ways of thought and feeling of English origin which have been imitated abroad. Attention is also drawn to the enrichment of standard English and above all by those figurative idioms which are woven into the texture of English. These are collected and traced to their sources, and classified according to the popular occupations and rustic sports from which they are derived. It would thus be seen that Mr. Smith's book is not only instructive but also interesting. It should appeal to a large circle of readers interested in the study of English.

A Grammar of Spoken English. By H. E. Palmer (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge) 1925.

Mr. Harold Palmer is a specialist in the study of English linguistics. His latest text-book dealing with the grammar of spoken English, on a strictly phonetic basis, is a unique piece of scholarship. Foreign students and all teachers of spoken English will find the book of the utmost value. A glance at the contents will give the reader some idea of its wide scope. By laying emphasis on the term "Spoken English" the author means that variety of English which is

generally used by educated people in the course of ordinary conversation, or when writing letters to intimate friends. A selection is given of what the author considers to be the most useful grammatical categories and actual word-lists are frequently provided. Copious examples illustrate each rule, and make the book more useful. Students familiar with Mr. Palmer's intonation marks used in his "English Intonation" will notice that the same symbols are employed in this *Grammar of Spoken English*.

Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases. New Edition, revised and enlarged (1925). By S. R. Roget, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4).

In these days of journalistic activities in this country—to say nothing of even greater ones in cross word puzzles—the new authorized, revised and materially enlarged edition of Roget's classical work—*Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*—is doubly welcome to us in India. This classical reference book, though it appeared so far back as 1852, has never been superseded or even imitated, and stood the test of generations as a unique work for purposes of reference. In design and plan it is a dictionary reversed—giving a collection of words and phrases expressing a certain sense, instead of meanings for them. Much enlarged in 1879 by the author's son, it was brought further up-to-date by his grandson in 1911. The present edition is fully abreast of the latest additions to English vocabulary, as it contains some two thousand new words, phrases and expressions, which did not appear in the pre-war text, besides many additional entries in categories already included, all of which are now incorporated in the new consolidated index. The book in its present form deserves to be on the book-shelf of all writers in the press, it being the publicist's *vade mecum*.

The Negro Year-Book 1925-6. (Negro Year-Book Publishing Company, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, U.S.A.) 1925.

At last the Negro has come into his own—or at any rate come into a line with other civilized races possessing annuals and year-books, and the *Negro Year-Book* for 1925-6 is now in its seventh edition. As its name implies, it is an annual cyclopedia dealing with the Negro and his problems, and is a standard work on the subject. Being the only work of its kind in the English reference literature, it is widely used

as a compendium of useful information on all matters relating to the Negro and enjoys a large circulation in America in particular and other parts of the world in general. It provides in a succinct form a comprehensive and impartial survey of Negro affairs and a review of the events and incidents affecting the interests and progress of Negroes. Facts and data about all spheres of Negro activities are brought together and systematically arranged and presented, while the value of the text is appreciably increased by the inclusion of an extensive bibliography which is topically classified for the benefit of those who may desire to follow up their study. Altogether the *Negro Year-Book* is a unique and very creditable addition to annual reference literature.

Labour-saving Office Appliances. Compiled by V. R. Jackson. (Macdonald and Evans, 8, John Street, Bedford Row, London, W. C. 1.) 1925.

A work dealing with the latest labour-saving appliances in offices—such as is now made available in Mr. Jackson's compilation put together for the Appliance Trade's Association—was long a desideratum. In the book under consideration are described some of the principal labour-saving devices which are rapidly coming into extended use in scientifically equipped offices. No one of them, perhaps, would be necessary in every office; no single office, perhaps, could profitably use all of them. But it is certain that there is no office, whatever type of business it controls, that could not find in these pages something that would assist materially in improving its efficiency, increasing its output of work, and reducing the proportion its cost bears to the "overhead" expenses as a whole. With the extension of business and business methods in India, Mr. Jackson's *Labour-saving Office Appliances* should find a large circulation.

The Japan Year-Book 1924-5. Earthquake Edition (Haramachi Sanchoime, Ushigome, Tokyo, Japan) 1925.

The Japan Year-Book—which is now in its eighteenth annual edition—is justly acknowledged as a standard work of reference and it is all the more creditable that it is so, since it is a non-official publication. Put shortly, it is an up-to-date and comprehensive cyclopedia of general information and gazetteer of Japan and gives the fullest particulars—statistical, economic, political and educational—about that country and the Japanese territories. Thus it is an indispensable work of reference

for all interested in the study of current Japanese problems. The current edition omits some of the usual features—like "Who's Who"—but supplements the text with an exhaustive sketch of the cataclysm of 1st September, 1923; hence the name "Earthquake Edition". The *Japan Year-Book* should be kept handy on the shelf of all publicists.

Sentences and Thinking. By N. Foerster and J. M. Stedman, Jr. (Constable & Co., Ltd., London), 1925.

Sentences and Thinking is a handbook of composition and revision. But though a student's manual, it ought to interest even grown-up persons by reason of the scientific treatment of the subject, which raises it above the level of text-books. The book should be found useful by teachers and helpful to students, as it is thorough and systematic.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

Pleadings in India. By Mr. Justice Walsh, K. C., M.A. and J. C. Wier, B.A., LL.D. (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad) 1926.

The Civil Court Practice and Procedure. (Third edition, revised and enlarged). By Atul Chandra Ganguli, M.A., B.L. (Weekly Notes Printing Works, 3 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1925.

The Soviet Criminal Code. (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London) 1925.

The Muslim Law of Marriage. By Mahomed Ullah, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law (Law College Allahabad) 1926.

The New Indian Succession Act (XXXIX of 1925). (Eastern Law House, 15, College Square, Calcutta) 1925.

The Penal Law of India. By Sir Hari Singh Gour, Bar-at-Law, Third Edition, 2 vols. (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1925.

The want of a comprehensive work on Indian pleadings is at last removed. Mr. Justice Walsh and Dr. Wier's *Pleadings in India* is a practical work of great usefulness to practitioners in the civil courts. Sir Greenwood Mears, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, contributes a notable Introduction,

which materially enhances the value of the work under consideration. The book covers the whole subject in all its details and will be found of great utility by Civil Court practitioners. It is clear, systematic and well adapted to the requirements of lawyers.

A work traversing much larger ground—namely that of Civil Court practice and procedure, including pleadings—is the third edition of Mr. A. C. Ganguli's well-known work on the subject. Its value and popularity are evidenced by its having passed through two editions already. The third edition before us has been thoroughly overhauled and judiciously recast and enlarged. It has two new parts one on "the laws of every day reference," such as Benami fraud, documents by pardanashin ladies, and also leading cases. Another portion that is new deals with "practical hints for the cross-examination by witnesses in civil cases" which will be of interest and benefit to the juniors in profession. A useful feature is that devoted to chronological tables containing dates for fifteen years. The book is handy and will be found highly useful.

We commend to students of comparative jurisprudence the very instruction and also interesting work the full title of which is *The Criminal Code of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic*. It is a translation from Russian into English by Mr. O. T. Rayner, M.A., Bar-at-law, of the British Foreign Office, of Article 153 of the Collection of Russian Laws 1922, supplemented by amendments issued up to 31st December, 1924. For a comparative study of criminal jurisprudence and appreciating the mentality of the powers that be in the Russia of to-day, the work is invaluable. It ought to interest criminal law specialists throughout the world.

Mr. Mahomed Ullah's *Dissertation on the Muslim Law of Marriage* is an achievement on which we can heartily congratulate him. It shows a commendable spirit of research and the author is possessed of critical acumen. Being based on the original sources in Arabic, the exposition of the subject is sound and accurate, while the comparisons instituted with other systems of law on the same subject, make the work particularly useful for a study of comparative jurisprudence. For these reasons the book is a notable addition to the literature of Anglo-Muslim Law as administered in the courts of British India.

The Parallel and Case-Noted New Indian Succession Act, will, indeed, be found of much utility by civil court practitioners, as besides the text of the consolidating measure (which the new Act is) and notes and commentaries on its clauses, the book

gives the statement of objects and reasons, the report of the select committee, comparative tables of sections in the old Act and the new, select case-law, model forms of petition and also a copious index. It would thus be seen that the work under notice forms a highly useful survey of the subject it deals with and the publishers deserve commendation on their enterprise.

The appearance of a new revised and enlarged edition—after an interval of nearly nine years—of Dr. Gour's legal classic, *The Penal Law of India*, is a notable event in the history of the growth and development of literature relating to law in India. In the interval the author—who has been knighted and is now Sir Hari Singh Gour—has enriched his text with the aid and in the light of the reported cases and also embodied in it the results of his studies and researches in the criminal jurisprudence of other civilized countries. The result is that his work, which is truly monumental, is likely to continue for another decade as the standard treatise on the substantive criminal law of India.

epilogue, the author well remarks: "The revered decisions of the schoolmen and of the antique sages, were overthrown by the revelation of seas and continents and peoples of which they never knew. It was seen that the world was vaster and more wonderful, and that its secrets and wonders were to be discovered, not by the venerable deductions from imperfect knowledge and precocious theory, but by the acquisition of new knowledge and by induction from new-found facts." These sentences indicate also the keen literary sense of the author. We trust that the book will meet with an encouraging reception, it fully merits it.

"The Library of Literary History" published by Messrs. T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., (of Adelphi Terrace, London,) has issued so far nine highly meritorious works dealing with the literatures of India, Ireland, America, Persia, Scotland, France, Arabia (in the large sense of being co-extensive with the Arab race) Russia and Rome. The authors are not only scholars but specialists and experts in the literature they have dealt with. Without meaning to be invidious, we may say that we like best Professor R. G. Brown's *Literary History of Persia* (in two volumes) and Mr. J. Wight Duff's *Literary History of Rome*. The latter has just appeared in a new impression (the sixth) and is the occasion of reference to the series of which it is so far the last volume, but not the least. Mr. Duff's wide acquaintance with modern literature is not the least of his qualifications for the task of the literary historian of Latin literature. The parallels he cites are many and felicitous, and his treatise, full and crude yet everywhere human and interesting, cannot fail to deepen in its readers the sense of the continuity of literature, and its relation to life, and the debt of the modern European world to Rome. The book deserves wide appreciation.

Professors Brander Mathews and Paul Leider have issued (through Messrs. G. Harrap & Co. of London). *The Chief British Dramatists*. It brings together twenty-five plays which illustrate adequately and even brilliantly the development of the dramatic literature from the Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century. These pieces, strikingly unequal as they may be in merit, are sufficient to reveal the evolution of the art of playmaking in Great Britain. For obvious reasons, the collection does not contain any of the histories, comedies, and tragedies of Shakespeare, who is too various to be represented by any single example of his work. Great care has been taken in the preparation of the texts for this volume. In the case of the *Restoration*

RECENT REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Outlines of Medieval History. By C. W. Previte Orton (Cambridge University Press, London) 1923.

When this book first appeared in 1916, it was said that it was not easy to recall any compendium, equally comprehensive, in which the selection, the emphasis, and the depth of working had been more happily hit off. The second edition which is before us has been judiciously revised and in parts carefully altered. Some genealogies have been added, as also tables of important dates, of dynastic lists, and of books recommended for further detailed study. There are a number of very carefully drawn maps, which must have involved considerable research and study. We are particularly impressed by Mr. Orton's capacity of giving within reasonable limits a full and detailed account of the Middle Ages and by the lucidity and sureness of his exposition. He deals with great mastery with various aspects of medieval history, such as the Barbarian migrations, the Eastern Empire and the Saracens, the fusion of races in Western Empire, the development of feudalism, the Papal monarchy, the East and the Crusades, the fall of the Western Empire and of the Papal theocracy, France and England, the Councils and the Italian Renaissance, the East and the Turks, the Despotism Monarchies. Concluding the political

tion plays, this collection is the most accurate textually, that has so far been made. One of the special features of the volume is an introduction, "The Theatre in England," with eight cuts, illustrating theatrical conditions from the earliest days of the drama to the present time. The collection contains biographical sketches of each of the authors, notes on the plays; a selected reading list; and a complete index of all the *dramatis personae*. Altogether a notable anthology.

We welcome the third edition of Dr. C. F. Pay's **Co-operation at Home and Abroad** (P. S. King & Sons, Orchard House, Westminster, London), which was first issued in 1908 and passed into a second edition in 1920. It carefully surveys the whole range of co-operative activity. The author has included every branch of co-operation in the ordinary interpretation of the word. But there are many countries in Europe; and in practically all of them co-operation flourishes to a greater or less extent. Having therefore to make choice of countries, he selected those seven which so far as he could see were the most important, namely, the United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Italy. Each of these presents some peculiar phase, the exclusion of which would have left the picture incomplete. The book is thus comprehensive in its scope, while its statements of fact and statistical data are sound and accurate. In its present form, it is about the best introductory study of the co-operative movement in Europe.

The latest additions to that most useful series of reprints of classics—"The Every man's Library" (Messrs. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London)—are *Wanderings in South America* by Charles Waterton, Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets* (in two volumes) and *Memoirs of Sir William Buxton*. These are all notable additions to a notable series of reprints of standard works, and should be possessed by all lovers of good literature.

The latest batch of books added to the famous "World's Classics," (issued by the Oxford University Press, Bombay and Calcutta) comprise Mr. F. L. Woodward's *Some Sayings of the Buddha* translated from the Pali canon, *Selected Czech Tales* and Tolstoy's *What Then Must We Do?* The first is a useful addition to Buddhist literature in English, the second to that of short story and the third to that of Tolstoy—describing his experiences and pangs of conscience, an economic treatise re-stating the problem of Dives and Lazarus, an impassioned appeal to every one to share in the manual labour

of the world—all presented as only a great literary artist could present it.

Sir William Marri's translation of *Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford University Press, Bombay and Calcutta) in blank verse, and C. Elissa Sharpiey's *Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poems* (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London), are excellent renderings of the classics into English. The *Egyptian Anthology* is a compilation from various previous translations and will be found useful and interesting. Sir William Marri's rendering of Homer makes very good reading and faithfully reflects the great merits of the original.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

In his *Indo-Iranian Religion* (British India Press, Bombay) Mr. S. K. Hodivala has brought together interesting parallelisms in the oldest scriptures of the Hindus and the Zoroastrians. The author has the advantage of knowing both Sanskrit and the ancient Persian and consequently has been able to collate interesting evidence from the Vedas and the Avestan scriptures which shows how close the relationship of the Aryo-Iranians and Aryo-Indians was even in matters of ritual and ceremonial detail. Mr. Hodivala is, however, on slippery ground when he says that owing to religious differences the parent-stock of Indo-Iranian people separated into divergent streams—Eastern and Western. The explanation is altogether too naïve to be sufficient or even probable. In reading through this scholarly book we have time and again felt that Mr. Hodivala would have done better if he had not overweighted himself with texts and authorities—the latter sometimes by no means unimpeachable—for the book is by no means easy to read and the method of presentation leaves much to be desired. We have often felt the tragedy of Indian scholarship, which is sometimes fatally choked off by the difficulty of writing in a foreign language. Literary presentation not infrequently becomes the principal object of care and anxiety with obvious consequences to clear thinking and accurate analysis. Here is a phrase which has jarred on our ears: "Zarathushtra wanted to *chuck up* this drink, etc". The book before us provides ample raw material for an adequate reconstruction of the Indo-Iranian phase of the common Aryan culture and civilization; but for a finished picture one has to

read, even by way of contrast, the brilliant article by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore which he published recently in his *Vishwa-bharati*. The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha has contributed an illuminating and critical foreword which enhances the value of Mr. Hodivala's work. Though we have felt bound to criticise the method of presentation in the book under notice, we have nothing but praise for the author's scholarship, which is sound and abreast of the latest researches on the subject of ancient Aryan culture.

The Circle of the Deserts. By Mr. Paule Henry-Bordeaux (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., Paternoster House, London, E. C.) is a biography of Lady Hester Stanhope, niece and secretary of William Pitt, who in 1810 went to the East, where she finally became a sort of Queen of the Druses, on Mount Lebanon. She acquired an immense influence among the peoples of Syria, and though somewhat scientific, was undoubtedly a woman of extraordinary character and commanding personality. This book is a very interesting study of an outstanding character, and just at present when the affairs of the Druses in Syria are attracting attention, it should appeal to a large circle of readers as an excellent sketch of a romantic career.

Mr. R. L. Spittel's **Wild Ceylon** (The Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon) is, from cover to cover, a graphic delineation of the forests and the inhabitants of that island and describes in particular the life of the present-day Veddas. It is embellished with many excellent photographic illustrations by the author. It is not a book of travels so much as the work of a naturalist and sportsman, who possesses a pleasing and agreeable style. The result is a fascinating study of the natural scenic beauties of the forests of Ceylon and the people who live in them.

Dr. J. K. Wright's **Geographical Lore of the Times of the Crusades**. (The American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.) is a study in the history of medieval science and tradition in Western Europe. Though dealing with an out-of-the-way subject, it should be serviceable to students of European history of the time of the Crusades. The book will appeal both to geographers and historians. To the geographer it reveals an important stage in the development of his science. To the historian it presents a cross section through the intellectual and practical life of the Middle Ages. In particular the student of the history of science

and the medievalist will welcome it as a serious contribution in their respective fields. Extensive notes and a bibliography provide those who wish to probe more deeply into the subject with numerous references to the original sources and to secondary works. Altogether it is a valuable and meritorious work which deserves appreciation.

Two recent publications of the Oxford University Press (Bombay and Calcutta) dealing with Building and Architecture deserve attention. These are Mr. Martin Brigg's **Short History of the Building Crafts** and Sir Reginald Bloomfield's **Touchstone of Architecture**. As, generally speaking, in writing the history of architecture, too little attention has been given to the materials and the craftsmanship which brought into being the great masterpieces of the past, Brigg's book is intended to link ancient architecture with modern building construction, and to show architect and craftsman alike how building work was done long ago. The various 'trades' or crafts of brickwork, masonry, concrete work, carpentry, joinery, ironwork, slating and tiling, plastering, plumbing and glazing, are historically treated in successive chapters. At the beginning is a brief general sketch of the position of architects and craftsmen in the past. More than two hundred and fifty sketches by the author illustrate the text, and the book is both instructive and interesting. In his **Touchstone of Architecture**, the author presents a luminous survey of the results of his experience in the practice of architecture and observations of contemporary art, which merits serious consideration.

Mr. E. R. G. Browne is a well-known humourist and is seen at his best in his **These London Nights** (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London). The book comprises twenty humorous sketches which aroused considerable interest when they first appeared serially in a weekly journal. They deal with the diverting experiences of a typically modern young couple in search of evening entertainment in London. Their adventures cover wide and sharply contrasted fields. Cabarets, classical concerts, boxing contests, billiard matches, the Motor Show, a Royal Academy *solécie*—these are a few of the diverse amusements which Mr. Browne so humorously describes. **These London Nights** is not only excellent entertainment from the reader's point of view, but forms also an interesting picture of the night life of the city at the present day. The book should interest all lovers of London.

Two interesting collections of biographies are **The Apostles and the Missionaries of the Navabidhan**.

(N. Niyogi, 3, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta) and Margaret Tabor's **Pioneer Women**. (The Sheldon Press, Northumberland Avenue, London, W. C.) The former gives short sketches of the leading workers of the new Brahmo Samaj, and the latter excellent studies of Elizabeth Fry, Elizabeth Blackwell, Florence Nightingale and Mary Slessor. Both are well illustrated.

Mr. R. H. Jebb's **Truth of Life after Death** (Aird and Coghill, Ltd., 24, Douglas Street, Glasgow) and Mr. Robert Blatchford's **More Things in Heaven and Earth** are both new additions to the literature of Spiritualism. The former comprises the experiences of a well-known business man of human survival of death; while Mr. Blatchford's book is a temperate answer to the usual arguments against spiritualism. The author, a life-long materialist, explains why, through personal experience and the careful study of the experiences of others, he came to abandon his materialist belief and to accept the theory of human survival of death. He analyses closely the evidence with which he was personally confronted, and leaves his readers to draw their own conclusions. Both are thought-provoking books.

The purpose of Dr. Ballard's latest book—**The New Examiner** (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London)—is to place in the hands of the teacher and the examiner a clear account of the new technique of examining—a technique which was originally applied to the testing of intelligence but is being more and more applied to the testing of attainments. It is thus a pioneer work on the subject it deals with. It is claimed that the new methods are more scientific than the old, and more agreeable. The numerous examples of the new examination presented here will enable the teacher to examine its claims, and at the same time examine his children. A useful book, on the whole, which should interest educationists in India.

Fritiot's Saga by Tegnir is a well-known Swedish classic. Mr. C. D. Locock's is the only English translation, in the last half-century, of this principal Swedish classical Poem, and may be regarded as a centenary translation, the original having first appeared complete in 1825. The translator is well qualified for the task he has undertaken. The Poem is an Epic, mainly in lyric form, and the translator has preserved throughout the twenty-six metres of the original, many of them new to the English language, including all the feminine or dissyllabic

rhymes. The book (which is published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. of 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. I.) should enjoy a large circulation.

Mr. W. J. Hughes's **Wales and Welsh in English Literature from Shakespeare to Scott** (Hughes & Son, Wrexham, England) is an interesting work. In this book an attempt is made to examine the attitude of English writers from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century towards Wales and the Welsh, and to give some reasons for the varying treatment which the Principality received at the hands of English men of letters between those dates. The subject is worked out in great detail, showing considerable research, and a very useful bibliography appended to the text, containing a list of English books about Wales, classified and arranged chronologically till 1830, adds materially to the utility of the volume.

A year or two ago the name of Mussolini was almost unknown out of Italy—to-day it is one of the most famous names in the world; and the appearance of the man himself, with his semi-Napoleonic countenance and powerful frame, is as familiar as Bismarck's. But the questions which every one is asking are, 'What sort of man is he?' 'What kind of life did he live before his dramatic seizure of the reins of Government?' In Margherita Sarfatti's **Life of Benito Mussolini** we have Mussolini's life story and his character vividly set forth by one of his most intimate women friends—a woman of both temperament and intellect, highly esteemed in Italy by reason of her gifts as a writer and as an editor. It is a wonderful record. No one can guess yet what Mussolini's place will be in the history of our epoch, but it is not too much to say that, even if he were to die now, or fall irrecoverably from his high estate, he would continue to be thought of as Italy's most wonderful son since the days of Mazzini and Cavour and Garibaldi. Mr. Frederic Whyte's condensed rendering of the Italian original is well executed. The book is published by Messrs. Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., of 15, Bedford Street, London.

In his recent book, **The English Comic Characters** Mr. J. B. Priestley gave us some admirable studies and portraits of the great comic figures of English literature, and now, in his most attractive of anthologies, called **Fools and Philosophers** he gives chapter and verse, as it were, for his previous work. Here are the great wits and fools of English literature—Falstaff, Bottom, Parson Adams, Sam Weller, Mr. Micawber, to name only a few of these immortals.

—caught in their most revealing moments, giving us the essence of their folly and their philosophy in their own inimitable phrases. *Fools and Philosophers* is thus a gallery of comic figures from English literature and the value of the book lies in the fact that it reveals them in their own words. The book which is issued by John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd. of London, should find wide appreciation.

Messrs. Ernest Benn Ltd. (8, Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4) deserve well of the reading public for their new series of selections from and anthologies of poems called "*The Augustan Books of English Poetry*." The first fourteen volumes comprise choice selections from classics like Marvell, Blake, Keats, Shelley and Bridges, as also from later poets like Freeman, Squire, Davidson, Chesterton, Belloc, Brooke, Blunden, and Tagore. The selections are judiciously made and the volumes include introductions and bibliographies. The series deserves wide circulation amongst lovers of good literature.

The same firm have also displayed commendable enterprise in inaugurating their "*Contemporary British Dramatists*" series, in which there are now about three dozen volumes issued. This series of modern British dramatists deserves great appreciation at the hands of play-wrights, and play-goers alike, as also students of contemporary drama. Almost all the dramatists of to-day are represented in the series by one or more of their plays being included in it. The books are handy in size and are neatly printed, prettily got-up and cheaply priced. The series should find a place in all libraries with pretensions to possessing contemporary English literature. We shall watch the progress of the series with a keen and sympathetic interest.

By his previous well-known studies of the great incidents and epochs of the law courts, Mr. Charles Kingston has earned a well-deserved reputation for popular characterisation. His latest book *The Bench and the Dock* (Stanley, Paul & Co., London, 1925, 12/6) deals with criminals and their sleuths, the detective. Perhaps the most intriguing chapter is on the weird activities of Ku Klux Klan. The K. K. K., like every other secret society in the world has developed into a terroristic body flouting law and order. But when crime becomes the chief propagandist weapon, the might of law and public opinion must step in and take severe measures for suppression. In *the Bench and the Dock* are given interesting studies of famous criminals and famous detectives. Many humorous interludes and incidents form a feature of this interesting work on criminology.

Perhaps anonymity was inevitable for the clever and mischievous author of *Romances of Mayfair* (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925, 12/6). Social gossip is at best harmless, but when scandal in regard to moral relations figures in the talk the conversation veers round either to prudishness—which is the sin of middle-class respectability—or to non-chalant bohemianism—which is the license of the upper social group. But when publicity is given to what has hitherto been the drawing-room affairs of the society fear is expressed of a degradation of the moral tone. The author was therefore well-advised to remain anonymous. The tales comprised in *Romances of Mayfair*, if true, are no credit to Society, but it is as well that light is thrown on such affairs. As a book *Romances* form an extremely fascinating reading.

Madame Vandervelde is the wife of a distinguished Belgian Statesman. Herself a cultured woman of taste and discrimination she did not, during her travels, omit to keep a close observational record of her experiences, both serious and gay. She has quaintly named her Journal *Monarchs and Millionaires* (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, 1925, 21/-). The title is characteristic in as much as her talk is of diplomats and politicians, of kings and Wall-street magnates. She paid a visit to America during the war and her crusading zeal in aid of her stricken land helped her not only in raising a substantial sum, but also getting to know most of the prominent people in the States. Mme. Vandervelde's piquant description of the Paris of Versailles Treaty, her minute and detailed narration of events in Greece at the time of the republican revolution, her shrewd observations on Czechoslovakia and Morocco offer a delightful reading. "A good book needs no bush" is her own introductory sentence and we can not do better than commend Lalla Vandervelde's work as extremely good of its kind.

The League of Nations by Mr. S. K. Das (author, Trihubana Chandra College, Nepal, Rs. 2/-) embodies the text of a lecture delivered in Calcutta two years ago. The author has summarised well the ideals of the League and has dealt with the various contentious clauses of the covenant in a generous and optimistic spirit. A forceful plea for world-peace is entered. The complete text of the covenant given in the appendix will be found useful.

Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers has been very prompt in bringing out a comprehensive biography of the late Queen Alexandra (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925,

5-7). The book is illustrated with many pictures of her life and in various roles. The incidents in her useful life are broadly outlined and an intimate glimpse given of the loving and lovely personality of the wife of King Edward VII—the first gentleman in Europe in his day.

Of the Christmas story books for young boys and girls, perhaps the most instructive and delightful that have reached us are Marion St. John Webb's *Mr. Papinjay's Ship* and the *'Normous Sunday Story Book'*—a collaboration between four lady writers (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925, 5s. each). *Mr. Papinjay's Ship* is an ideal book of adventures and thrills for boys who are sure to revel in its pages. All boys love to enjoy fancy joy rides; the home-made ship of Mr. Papinjay will give him delightful playmates. *The Sunday Story Book* furnishes just the right Sunday reading for the nursery and children. There are romances about animals and stories of Easter and merry Christmastide; there are delightful verses and tales of New Year resolves. Both books are profusely illustrated.

Mr. Eustace Miles, M.A., the well-known crusader in the cause of physical health and vegetarianism, was one time the amateur champion of the world in

Pacquets and Lawn Tennis. Out of his manifold experiences he has contrived to write a simple and delightful book *Lawn Tennis Lessons* (London and Norwich Press Ltd., Norwich, 1/6). It is a small useful primer of 84 pages, full of information and instructive hints for the beginners and the failures. It is indeed a model teacher on the A B C of the game and should be welcomed by the increasing number of devotees of this game in India.

Bhagvad-Gita is a perennial fountain of wisdom and consolation. Everytime you come to it you find something new—the reason being the strong appeal it makes to individual temperaments. It is therefore a good sign that Gita-literature is increasing—there can be no end of books on the subject. S. Ganesan of Madras have recently published two monographs: Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri's *The Bhagvad-Gita* is a subjective interpretation of the synthetic element in Gita's teaching. The viewpoint expressed therein is individual and therefore interesting in as much as attempt is made to formulate a co-ordinated philosophy of action. Mr. D. S. Sarma's *Introduction to Bhagvad-Gita* is humbler in its aims, for it is meant for students and as such is an ideal introduction. A reading should whet the appetite and make the student eager to go forward and learn more about and of this immortal book.

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The Hindustan Review

FOUNDED
1900

BY
Sachchidananda Sinha.

Vol. XLIX]

APRIL, 1926

[No. 288

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE AND CO-OPERATION.

By THE HON'BLE MR. V. RAMADAS PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

The announcement of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has been, as is well-known, received in this country with feelings of a mixed character. But after a public repudiation, by Lord Reading, of any suggestion of a dark political motive hidden behind the Commission, it does not serve any useful purpose to prolong the controversy over it and the most prudent course will be to concentrate our attention on how best to exploit the possibilities of turning the labours of the Commission to the best advantage of the country. In this effort we are, no doubt, confronted at the very outset with the difficulty caused by excluding from the direct scope of the enquiry, investigation of questions relating to land tenures and land revenue policy. It does not require much imagination or argumentation to be convinced that no substantial advancement can be made in the solution of our agricultural problems without a thorough re-examination of the *system* of land revenue settlements, with a view to place it on a statutory basis and to secure moderation, fairness and equity in the incidence of taxation. It is gratifying to note that the Advisory Committee of the Independent Labour Party has drawn pointed attention of the British public to the too restricted scope of the enquiry to which the Commission is committed. Nevertheless, the terms of reference do cover some useful ground, and it is well to see how far these terms afford opportunities to establish the claims of co-opera-

tion as a factor in agricultural advancement. I am satisfied, from the papers placed on the table of the Central Legislature, that proposals for the utilisation of co-operation and giving it its proper place in any scheme of agricultural reform will legitimately fall within the scope of the Commission's work. Almost all the Local Governments laid stress on the potentialities of the co-operative movement to aid agricultural progress, and there can be no doubt that if we present our case with knowledge and enthusiasm it will receive the consideration it deserves. My object, therefore, is to draw attention to some aspects of the Commission's activities in which 'co-operators' have an immediate and direct interest.

I believe there will be no disposition on the part of any one in this country to dispute the statement that agricultural development is the primary concern of the Government. The position which the State occupies in India is a unique one. It derives a large bulk of its revenue from land. The question whether the revenue so derived is in the nature of a tax or rent is now only of theoretical or academic interest for many purposes. In actual practice the State is the universal landlord in India, indeed the only landlord who commands the capital and knowledge required for the development of our national resources from land. The land tax—except in Eastern India—is not fixed but is systematically enhanced, at stated

intervals, usually once in thirty years, by means of a periodical revision of land revenue settlements. Apart from land being a constant quantity while the number of hungry mouths to be fed is evergrowing and variable, the problem of our agricultural resource is complicated by many more serious economic and other factors. Chronic poverty and daily increasing indebtedness of our cultivators are not the only disquieting features of our rural economy. In addition to these we have periodical famines, floods and other catastrophies—which plunge large masses of the already famished people into unemployment and privation with all their attendant horrors. With the displacement of indigenous crafts and cottage industries by foreign manufactures, artisans and non-agricultural labourers have abandoned their hereditary occupations and fallen back on agriculture and a study of our Census Reports discloses the uncomfortable fact that agriculturists are increasing a little faster than the total population in spite of the much-advertised industrial development of the country. The consequence is an abnormal increase of pressure on the soil, so much so that the "average unit of the agriculturist population hardly exceeds an acre and a quarter and shows a tendency to fall." This pressure, coupled with the resourcelessness of the ryot to make improvements to his holding so as to prevent its deterioration, accounts for the popular belief that mother earth has now become less productive and hospitable than in happy bygone times. Expressed in the language of an economist it comes to this: "The land in most parts of India has been under cultivation for centuries and persistent and peaceful cultivation during the last few generations has indubitably been subject to the law of uneconomic or diminishing returns. The operation of this law can be arrested only by improved methods of farming and the application of more capital to the land. To-day those who should devote their labours to the manipulation of raw materials join the army of cultivators engaged in producing those materials and food grains."

These internal complications which baffle solution are aggravated by external troubles in the shape of foreign competition with the Indian ryot even in the sphere of his ancient occupation and other world conditions. It is, therefore, self-evident that problems of this magnitude can only be solved by the State shouldering its responsibility and doing its duty. A claim for

increased revenue from land can only be legitimately made to rest on the successful development of the ryot's resources and his capacity to pay. Apart from this consideration there is the moral or humanitarian, if not also the legal, obligation and responsibility to look after the sustenance of the semi-starving millions of India whose sole occupation or means of livelihood is agriculture. Notwithstanding such powerful incentives to action it is a matter for regret that the Government had no real agricultural policy, as distinguished from a revenue policy, until, at any rate, Lord Curzon's Government claimed to have inaugurated one by the reorganisation of the Departments of Land-records and Agriculture.

It is perhaps well to recall, very briefly, the uninspiring story of our Agricultural Department to indicate what indifferent part it played in the activities of the State and how it failed to fulfill the expectations raised of it, so that we may benefit in the future by the lessons of the past. The first proposal to create the Department was made in 1866, on the termination of the labours of the Bihar and Orissa Famine Commission, but it was turned down by Lord Lawrence. The idea was revived in 1869 at the instance of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, which urged the Government of India to encourage the cultivation of cotton. The next year saw the birth of the "Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce" with Mr. A. O. Hume, of beloved memory, as its Secretary. But it functioned merely as a revenue department under instructions from Whitehall, for according to official admission, "it had neither the leisure nor the power to take up either directly or efficiently the many problems which affect the agriculture and rural economy of the Empire". In 1879 the department was re-absorbed into the Home Department. The question was, however, re-opened by the Famine Commission of 1880 and as a result of its specific recommendations the central department was resuscitated and provincial departments of "Land Records and Agriculture" were started. But the elaboration of a system of land records and compilation of agricultural statistics became the chief pre-occupation of the department and the real work of agricultural improvement occupied a secondary place. Even so late as 1898 Sir F. Nicholson, in his Budget Speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, told the Government that the depart-

ment was merely a "nomius umbra" and in order to give prominence to agricultural reform suggested the separation of land record work from agriculture. The Famine Commission of 1901 also stressed on the need for the separation and put up a strong plea for "the employment of a stronger expert staff and the steady application to agricultural matters of expert research." Lord Curzon's Government took up the suggestions and bifurcated the department accordingly. This reorganisation, says Mr. J. Mackenna, marks "the beginning of agricultural policy—if it can be called a policy," and optimistically adds, "but the foundations have been laid and the next few years were to witness a rapid development." Has this hope been realised?

Without in any way intending to discredit the labours of the reorganised department or minimising the value of its work, it may safely be asserted on the strength of the testimony of competent authorities, as well as the experience of laymen, that the net beneficial results of its activities have, on the whole, been disappointing and unsatisfactory. There is a widespread impression, that, notwithstanding his new-found enthusiasm, the agricultural reformer did not sufficiently imbibe the spirit of age-long habits of the cultivator's life and of the traditional methods of his hereditary occupation. Whether this is due to defects in his training and equipment, to unsuitability of his experiments in their practical application to Indian conditions or to other causes, the fact remains that official expert advice is, by common belief, not quite adapted to the needs of the cultivator and that the efforts of the department have flown, partly at all events, along unprofitable channels. Like commentators who shun obscure passages and display their learning in expounding the obvious, these agricultural pundits, it is feared, employ far too large a proportion of their time to imparting advice which is either not needed or cannot be followed and devote only an inadequate part of their energies to the solution of real difficulties. To illustrate this tendency, by reference to a single instance, the advice of the department on the efficacy of scientific manures has rarely evoked an adequate response from the ryot. Lord Mayo once wrote: "I do not know what is meant by ammoniac manure. If it means guano, superphosphate or any other artificial product of that kind, we might as well ask the people of India to manure their ground with champagne." But when it comes to actively

encouraging the use of indigenous fertilisers like oil cake, fish manure, and bone meal by preventing their exportation to Japan, Java, Ceylon, and other countries and cheapening them, we notice either want of earnestness or a desire to take shelter under comfortable economic gospels such as, for example, reduction of prices will diminish supply. Again, any scheme of reform based on the notion that the occupation of the husbandry in India is primitive or backward will be fruitless. Several observers like Dr. Voelcker, the consulting Chemist to the Royal Agricultural Society of England, who investigated the conditions in the eighties of the last century and Mr. James Mackenna, who examined them a generation later, refuted this idea of our agricultural system being backward or primitive. The latter said: "Real progress came only when it was realised that in India we have to deal with an agricultural practice which has been built on the traditional customs of years and in which reside, though unexpressed and unexplained, deep scientific principles the reasons for which can only gradually be elucidated." At the same time, notwithstanding the "perfect picture of careful cultivation combined with hard labour, perseverance and fertility of resource", which Dr. Voelcker and some others painted, it is indisputable that husbandry in India is economically weak and inefficient. So there must be something wrong somewhere, especially because the problem of agricultural depression is daily assuming serious proportions. The causes of this anomaly and the best methods of combating them have not received the attention they deserved.

The imperative necessity of investigating the whole question, in all its aspects, is, therefore, manifest and the announcement of a Royal Commission for the purpose has not come a day too soon, if the Commission is called to serve our true needs and real interests. Stripped of its details and technicalities the question to be tackled by the Commission is a perfectly plain one. Nature is not niggardly; the cultivator is skilled as well as industrious. Nevertheless the country is groaning under poverty and the ryot is leading a miserable existence of perpetual want and indebtedness. Wherein lies the solution of this problem? The Famine Commission of 1901 answered the question very aptly in these few words: "We are indeed far from thinking that the Indian cultivator is ignorant of agriculture; in the mere practice of cultivation

agricultural departments have much to learn from the cultivator. But in the utilisation of his hereditary skill, in economy of the means of production and in the practice of organised self-help the Indian cultivator is generally ignorant and backward. It is in correcting these deficiencies that agricultural departments will find their richest fields of labour." The truth of the matter is that the questions to be tackled by the Commission are not new; but new light should be brought to bear on the re-examination of the same old questions with which the people and the State in India have all along been confronted. If the Commission profits by the implications of the meagre success which attended the earlier experiments and approaches the problem solely from the Indian view-point, with a just determination to place Indian interests in the forefront, some real advance in agricultural development may be anticipated.

The Indian peasant being too ignorant to assimilate and utilise expert advice and too poor to command the capital needed to improve the efficiency and fertility of his holding, we cannot over-emphasise the necessity for placing him on the road to organised self-help, by mutual association and other modern co-operative methods. Since the Famine Commission of 1901 made their recommendations in this behalf, the Co-operative Societies Act of 1904 was passed, and was replaced by a more comprehensive enactment in 1912. But hitherto the co-operative movement in India is mainly restricted in its scope and operation, in its relation to agriculture, to attempt at providing the cultivator with cheap and productive credit, and no serious attempts have yet been made to co-ordinate the work of the new department with that of the departments of agriculture and industries, in spite of the obvious necessity to adopt that course. Until the resources of the financing agencies are vastly increased and the system of advancing loans to cultivators is radically changed, it is impossible to touch even the fringe of the problem of relieving rural indebtedness. Loans advanced to ryots, if they are to serve any useful purpose, should be of sufficient magnitude and duration to afford facilities for redemption of old debts, making permanent improvements and supplying working capital. Sir Muhammad Habibulla speaking in the Council of State assured us that the establishment of the land mortgage banks and

allied questions would engage the attention of the Commission. The determination of the most suitable type of land mortgage banks, with due regard to local conditions, is of vital importance to the success of the experiment. It is to be hoped that the Commission would realise the duties and responsibilities of the Government as the universal landlord in India, for as stated by Sir John Strachey duties devolved on that Government in its capacity as landlord "for the improvement of the land and for the advancement generally of agriculture, beyond the ordinary duties of Government and similar in kind to those duties which a good landlord had everywhere to perform."

The potentialities of the co-operative movement, however, seem to lie in the direction of organising the peasant for self-help in the task of production and distribution of agricultural products. The inability of the ryot to resort by unaided, individual enterprise and effort to secure the use of improved machinery or vitalising manures, the steady impoverishment of the soil due to the increasing pressure on it, the stress of foreign competition and other adverse conditions already alluded to, hold out a distinct warning that if the problem of improving our production is neglected any longer the ryot will be more and more seriously handicapped and his condition will soon become one beyond redemption. The effect of foreign competition on agriculture is by no means a negligible factor. Cotton grown in America, Egypt, Soudan and Mesopotamia, ground-nut grown in West Africa and castor from Java are powerful rivals to the Indian products. The Indian article is coming in for more and more condemnation for its inferior quality and is fetching a lower price than its foreign rivals in the world markets. Even in the matter of quantity we are receding into the background. For every 85 lbs. of ginned cotton which an Indian acre yields, a Nile-fed Egyptian acre yields 450 lbs. and an average acre in the United States yields 200 lbs. According to the Indian Sugar Committee, India's outturn per acre is less than *one-third* of Cuba's, *one-sixth* of Java's and *one-seventh* of Hawaii's. With one half of the world's acreage under sugarcane, India produces less than one quarter of world's cane sugar. Wheat and other food stuffs have the same tale to tell. Therefore, if we do not increase our out-put and offer our products in standardised and preserved forms, after improv-

ing their quality, they may be gradually driven out of the market. In the disposal of the produce raised by him the ryot is equally helpless. He is seriously handicapped by reason of the absence of organisations which help him to come into direct contact with the consumers and he is daily compelled to sell his products for much less than their real value, which the urban consumer pays to the middleman—the capitalist who intercepts the profits. The loss under this head is no inconsiderable item on the credit side of the poor peasants' budget. The large differences between the prices in the harvest season and in later months, the village prices and urban prices, forward prices and free prices, have a distressing tale to tell of the economic loss continually suffered by the agriculturist. We are told by Dr. Slater that in the case of some crops like jaggery, pepper, aricaunt and cotton, the differences sometime run up to 100% and even in the case of ordinary food stuffs they are disquietingly large. Thus the system of marketing pursued by the unfortunate Indian ryot is undoubtedly the most uneconomic that we can imagine.

State effort alone can help the cultivator to extricate himself from his present depressed and inefficient condition. The Royal Commission will fail to achieve its purpose if it does not fully realise the extent to which the Indian peasant is entirely dependant on the State, for agricultural development. Mr. F. Noyce, an experienced member of the Indian Civil Service rightly says: "It must be remembered that the cultivating classes have been accustomed, in the past, to look almost entirely to the State for the initiation of new schemes for their benefit. Even in the changed conditions which may be anticipated in the near future, any alteration in their attitude can only come about gradually and the State cannot yet divest itself of the duty of laying secure foundations. One of the most striking features of the War has been the way in which vigorous State initiative has taken agriculture out of its old rut in England and the lesson is not without application to India". But will the Government of India learn the lessons or will the Royal Commission teach it? That is the question.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES—I.

By "AN EX-MINISTER."

During recent years Indian States have been greatly in evidence, not always in a favourable light. They have been incessantly pressing their claims for further recognition and for the strict execution of their real or imaginary legal rights. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has spent large amounts in trying to recover Berar from the hands of the British* but it appears that the question has been decided against him, as his advocates have been sent away and nothing more has been heard of

the matter during the last few months in the public press. His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda has very recently reopened the question of his overlordship of some of the States in Kathiawar. In Bombay the rights of the Maharaja of Kolhapur over his feudatories are continually being arbitrated upon by the British Government. One has no means of knowing how many other such cases are coming up. On the other hand the sensational case of "Mr. A" who has now been installed on the throne of Kashmir provided ample food for scandalous gossip to the public for many months and made people wonder at the vicious extravagance of the Indian princes. The Bawla murder case which culminated in the abdication of the Maharajah

*This article was written before the publication of the correspondence between Lord Reading and H. R. H. the Nizam on the subject of the rendition of Berar, which appeared in the *Gazette of India, Extraordinary* of the 5th April, 1926—(Hd. H. R.).

Holkar of Indore and incidentally cost the State anything up to fifty lakhs† turned the thoughts of the country to the doings or misdoings of the rulers of these States. The forced abdication of the ruler of Nabha, with the long tale of the sufferings of the Sikhs, raised the gorge of Sikh religious fanaticism which is only now being laid to rest as the result of the recent Gurudwara Act. The happenings in Hyderabad (Deccan) do not often find a place in the columns of newspapers but are widely whispered about. The forced offerings exacted from his subjects are a continual source of suppressed complaint by the hapless subjects of the Nizam; and the judicial—or the super-judicial methods common in Hyderabad—have formed the subject of severe strictures in a recent pronouncement by the Chief Justice of Madras, who refused to enforce in British India, the so-called justice of Hyderabad. A few years ago a publicist of Bombay characterised the administration of a State in the following sentence: "In.....no man's property is safe, no person's life is safe, and no woman's honour is safe" and the State does not appear to have taken any action against the speaker. In a State in the Madras Presidency the ruler with his foreign wife did not care to visit his State for several years, and now that State is being administered by a Council with practically full powers. A ruler who went to Europe as a representative of India on the League of Nations dazzled the eyes of the British people by his extravagance in motor cars and by the number of rooms he hired for his suite in London. Examples of this kind can be quoted almost *ad infinitum* but these will suffice to show that our Indian States and their rulers do not necessarily add to the prestige of our country abroad and are hardly likely to conduce to the happiness and prosperity of their subjects.

On the one hand, the Government of India has adopted the new policy of non-intervention and has allowed these States to do practically as they like, except when as in the case of Nabha or Indore it suddenly swoops down with a heavy hand and takes the last final step of enforcing abdication. The Government has three or four years ago made these princes practically free from the force of public opinion in British India by passing the Princes' Protection Act in

teeth of the opposition of the representatives of the people in a Council which was by no means generally hostile to Government. The people in British India are also by no means blameless in the matter. The Indian National Congress followed from its inception the policy of silence with regard to these States, and only recently do we occasionally hear of mild agitation on the question of Indian States. The States and their rulers have, however, many opportunities of interfering with or influencing affairs in British India. Since the formation of the League of Nations one of India's representatives has always been a ruler of one of these States and he is entitled to speak on behalf of the whole of India. Several chiefs by their position and wealth are able to influence directly or indirectly the affairs of people in British India. The case of Nabha has been mentioned before. In Bombay the bitterness of the non-Brahman movement is said to be due to the activities of a Maharajah secretly encouraged by a reactionary and imperialistic Governor. The deliberations of the Chamber of Princes are a sealed book to the people, in general, but they are popularly supposed to lead to the aggrandisement of these princes and to the consolidation of their irresponsible power. Under these circumstances it is impossible for Indian publicists to shut their eyes to this problem, delicate though it may be.

When India is struggling for political advance the question of the future of the States is perhaps the most vital problem of the next century. Lord Sinha recently spoke of its supreme importance. What position will they occupy when British India attains to responsible Government? Not only would it be a problem for the future but these States form a great obstacle in the attainment of this advance itself. They will always form a bulwark of extreme reactionary forces in India and England. They and their inefficient administration can always be sneeringly pointed out as an object-lesson in India's capacity for Self-Government. An undesirable practice in these States is quoted in support of continuing it also in British India. The huge personal expenditure of these princes is held to justify a top-heavy administration in British India. Very heavy land assessment in an Indian State is cited in justification of an equally heavy one in an adjoining British district. The unnecessary trips of the chiefs to Europe with their heavy cost will be used to

†The expenses are estimated to have exceeded a crore and a half.—(Ed. H. R.).

justify the granting of passage concessions to members of the Imperial Services. As a matter of fact, the States and British India are continually acting and reacting on each other and they cannot be separated in any consideration of the larger Indian problem.

The difficulty of dealing with this problem is inherent in its very nature. While everything in the world is subject to the law of continual change, the States have begun to claim eternity for themselves. Most "Royal Houses" have disappeared in the course of the last hundred years; some have changed in character. But this natural process of gradual evolution has been apparently suspended in this case. Early in the nineteenth century the States gave up their independent existence and accepted their present dependent position with more or less complete independence within and with complete dependence outside. While British rule was being consolidated, the Company's Government of those days entered into treaties with these States which guaranteed the rulers and their descendants a permanent status. A foreign Government has to be specially careful before it alienates anybody needlessly and therefore as these States did not give much trouble in the process of consolidation and expansion of the British rule in India the States were allowed to go on in their own way with only indirect interference on the part of the political officers in some cases. For some time it appeared that owing to the lack of lineal heirs to the *gadi* the States would gradually merge in British India by "lapse" and this process was rapidly going in the time of Dalhousie. But the great cataclysm of the Mutiny of 1857 suddenly arrested this all too gradual process and by the new guarantee about free adoptions the States must now remain permanently as they are, unless after some other cataclysm—which need not necessarily be of a violent nature—the States once more become subject to the universal, human law of change.

It is needless to speculate at any length on what would have happened to these States if the British had not come upon the scene in the eighteenth century. But any student of history both in India and outside will agree that they would not all have survived up to the present day. The existence of so many semi-independent organisations of very varying sizes is not a state of political equilibrium. They would

assuredly have rearranged themselves, many of them disappearing altogether, others increasing in size and importance. Perhaps the natural linguistic and ethnological divisions of the country might have been formed into homogeneous nations bound together into a kind of loose Indian federation. Certain it is that the hundreds of little States in Kathiawar would have disappeared and formed either a part of the Gaekwad's kingdom or some venturesome leader might have carried out a new big State of Kathiawar by annexing all the rest. The unstable State of Hyderabad would have been partly absorbed into the Maratha Empire, a part would have gone to an all-Karnatak Kingdom of Mysore and part to a new Andhra Kingdom—unless perhaps the Nizam had shed its Marathi and Kannada speaking parts and concentrated his attention on the larger Telugu portion of his present territories and perhaps absorbed the remaining Andhara-desa now forming part of the Madras Presidency. The Panjab would have formed a homogeneous Sikh kingdom, the Hindus and the Sikhs becoming united and in the present U. P. the Moslems might have established a powerful state unless some unexpected Hindu leader had arisen to form a new Hindu Kingdom of Ajudhia. But such speculations are vain. The process was suddenly stopped as if a liquid solution with large number of bacteria of different sizes floating or moving about in it had suddenly been congested and the position existing at one moment preserved for ever. Only in this case there is no likely source of heat to melt the liquid and allow new animalcules to make their home in it. The cold required for this freezing was supplied by the treaties made a century ago.

It is a commonplace in the science of politics that treaties get very soon out of date and that if they cannot be altered to suit new conditions, they are broken by force, sometimes with impunity as when Russia repudiated the undertaking not to have warships in the Black Sea and sometimes after a great war as when Germany invaded Belgium in spite of a solemn undertaking. The newly-started League of Nations may in time provide the necessary machinery for modifying treaties that have got out of date. But in the cases just mentioned as examples, the treaties were between parties which were equal before the Law of Nations. In the case of treaties with Indian States the

parties are not on an even footing. The British Government can, it is true, repudiate these treaties without any fear of war; but such repudiation of solemn pledges will greatly reduce the already diminished faith in Britain for observing solemn undertakings even when they become inconvenient. A modification of such treaties, however desirable, requires some new force to bring it about. We can only think of the public opinion of the people of British India and Feudatory India as the agency which may be able in time to bring about the changes rendered necessary by new conditions. One way to set this force in action is to discuss the question fully and frankly in public and to give up once for all the hush-hush policy so long current among Indian politicians.

When the British rule was being established and consolidated in India, the new ideas about ruling with the consent of the subjects or about government being of the people, by the people and for the people, were not as current as now even in Europe and not at all known in India in those days. The British Government had only the rulers to deal with and they were guaranteed the safe enjoyment of their States on condition that they gave up all claim to any relations with Foreign States. The interests of the subjects of these rulers were hardly considered and in general the rulers were regarded as being owners of these States just as a big landholder is supposed to own his land. In return for the reduction of his military forces to a minimum both in numbers and efficiency the ruler was guaranteed the protection of British bayonets against any rising on the part of his subjects. The acceptance of this responsibility for protection against his subjects must, however, impose on the British Government the correlated responsibility of ensuring that the rule of the chief was at least not extraordinarily tyrannical. Occasionally Government has interfered in case of outrageous misrule but its line of least resistance was always to let things alone, as far as it was at all possible to do so. Things are said of many of these rulers which, if true, should really justify interference on the part of Government; but political considerations, occasionally backed by judicious influence on high-placed political officers, have generally been in favour of a policy of non-intervention. The recent policy of Government has distinctly tended to confirm this let-alone attitude towards these rulers who

can now within bounds oppress their subjects, repress all their legitimate aspirations, impose heavy taxation and waste their resources in a career of wanton extravagance. The last resort open to an oppressed or discontented people, viz., rebellion, is denied to them by the strong though imperceptible hand of British Government, and the subjects of the States are thus in a peculiarly unfortunate position where there is no hope of redress in case of oppression or misrule.

It cannot be said that the subjects of the States have no grievances. The alleged liking of the Indians for a personal rule is a beautiful picture which is hardly ever fully true and is not a gross distortion only in a few exceptional cases. The subjects of these States have such a vivid experience of personal rule that over ninety per cent. of them prefer in their heart of hearts the organised impersonal system of British Government in spite of its wooden and inelastic nature. For one British Indian subject who would willingly transfer himself permanently to an Indian State, there are ten of these State subjects who would gladly transplant themselves to British territory. This is not gratifying to our *amour propre* as Indians but it is nevertheless true; it is certainly to the discredit of the average rulers of these States. The grievances of these subjects are many and various; some are real and felt by everybody from day to day, others are more impersonal and are appreciated only by the better educated among them.

Perhaps the most common cause of complaint is the extreme extravagance of the rulers in their personal expenses. While in a presidency like Bombay or Bengal the total actual expense of the head of the administration is about one per cent. of the revenues of the province, the direct civil list of the chief in many a State ranges from five to fifty per cent. of the revenues of the State. The burden of taxation is, therefore, generally high and the efficiency of the administration very low. The money that should be spent on objects directly benefiting the people, like public works, education, sanitation and agriculture, is spent on hordes of liveried servants, presents to favourites and hangers-on of both sexes, costly trips to Europe, magnificent palaces, luxurious entertainments especially to European guests, horse racing and other costly amusements, etc. Over and above the moneys directly spent on

the Khangi department according to the budget—when there is a regular budget—a good part of the expenditure professedly spent for the benefit of the subjects is really spent on the chief and his *entourage*. Thus a large part of the police is on duty at the palace; a major of the public works staff is engaged on making or repairing roads leading to the palace, building in the palace compound, electrical lighting of the palace, preparing a race course or other sports grounds, or arranging shikar parties to big British officials; a big slice of the education expenditure goes towards maintaining an expensive staff for a so-called Princes College for the benefit of a few boys in the family of the chief. The result is that the subjects do not get the amenities they naturally expect from the taxes they pay except perhaps the vicarious pride in the splendour and magnificence of their ruler. The ruler, on the other hand, however careless he may be of the other matters in his administration, never misses extracting the last penny of the taxes, revising the land assessment at regular intervals to a pitch higher than in the adjacent British territory, imposing new cesses and other burdens on various occasions and on all sorts of property. The different public services are starved or even non-existent. The subjects have to go for higher education to British institutions, roads are generally very bad; hospitals and dispensaries, if any, have no adequate staff and appliances and the State medical officer is generally hanging about the palace in attendance on the chief or his family; industries do not grow up owing to uncertainty of property in the States, in fact, the administration is of the type prevalent centuries ago.

The proper administration of justice is perhaps the most important function of the State. In this respect many States in India leave much to be desired. Owing to the small size of many of them, they are unable to engage competent judicial officers on adequate salary and judges getting a salary of three or five hundred are invested with power to try cases involving capital punishment. With such low-paid judges the chances of corruption in civil suits are naturally greater. Law is not codified; the States have some laws of their own and adopt bodily other laws from British India and the usual incognoscibility of the law in all countries is very much accentuated. The final Court of Appeal is the chief himself

and he is generally not well-versed in law. Over and above all these difficulties inherent in the very nature of things, judicial administration is often coloured by the prejudices and prepossessions of the chief, as everything in his State is continually revolving round his personality. It would require a strong judge indeed who would be prepared to give a decision against the known wishes of his master from whose hands he receives his bread.

The instances of oppression, illegal exactions, imprisonment without trial, occasional attacks on the property, life and honour of the people by the chief or his favourites are too well-known to need detailed discussion. These things also occur in British India occasionally; but the regular channels of public opinion, an independent judiciary, a watchful legislature are all wanting in the States and the oppressed has to bear his hardship in silence. Occasionally he can get the ear of the chief himself, and then he gets redress quickly if the chief is not interested in the matter or if the offending party has not got at him earlier but the people would much rather have the regular channels of redress open in British India. In cases where it is whispered that some political officer has formed an opinion against the complainant it is almost impossible to get any redress even from the chief himself. The British Government of India do not interfere except in the most glaring cases of oppression in which case the matter becomes one of first-class political importance.

The prevalence of Court intrigues is one of the most demoralising features of an Indian State. Go where you will in an Indian State, the conversation is sure to turn upon the Huzur and the persons supposed to be in power at the court. Scandal is often rampant, though it must be admitted that in several cases the personal life of the chief himself is a model of purity. Secret reports about the most inoffensive person are enough to damn him for ever. There is no road open for talent and the best energies of the subjects are not utilised for the public good. Popularity with the public is likely to lead to unpopularity with the Court, though this popularity can also be acquired without real merit. The chief has no equal near him who will speak the honest truth and often does not, until too late, realise his mistakes. He comes to think that he is above all ordinary rules of conduct. Another form that these intrigues

take is the incessant tale-bearing to the political officials that is going on. There are always two foci of this intrigue viz. the court and the residency and the whole moral atmosphere is vitiated. If, as often happens, there are several *ranis* or some favourite mistress, the whole atmosphere is positively stinking. Intrigues about succession are the one occupation of them all; secret murders or attempts at murder are not unknown; surreptitious introduction of outside infants have been known to occur in order to provide a so-called legitimate heir or to outwit the presumptive heir. The numerous little States in India are often so many centres of demoralisation to the subjects of those States, as also to others who come in the range of their influence.

The want of any form of popular responsibility in Government is another grave feature of the Indian States in general. While political agitation is going on in British India with the object of obtaining for the people responsible Government, and when some beginnings in this direction have been already made, the autocratic rule in the States continues as before. In a few States some popular assemblies have been recently constituted but the rights given to them have been very meagre, indeed, and they are far more deserving of the appellation of

debating societies than the Councils in British India. The natural craving for political thought or action of the subjects of these States has to be satisfied on the political happenings in British India as there is no politics properly so-called in their own administrations. The chiefs are in fact mortally afraid of giving any political rights to their people, even though we occasionally hear of them making fine speeches with true democratic fervour in distant England. An illustration of the complete political somnolence of these Indian States is the absence of even a single independently-conducted newspaper in Indian India, which covers one-third of the whole country. Not only this, but these States have recently got the British Government to pass the Princes Protection Act in teeth of public opposition. This would be an effectual bar to any criticism of their actions even in newspapers in British India. With such an absence of avenues for the expression of public opinion it is no wonder that they present a state of things which is at least centuries old and that their subjects are some of the least enterprising, least public-spirited people in the world, and if any of them wish to make their mark the first thing they have to do is to bid good-bye to the land of their birth.

ITALY'S SUPERMAN.

By Lt.-Col. H. A. NEWELL.

(Author of *Topee and Turban*, *Footprints in Spain*, etc.).

Night had fallen. Far from being the ideal Italian night of poets and lovers, it entirely lacked such romantic accessories as moonlight, stars, fireflies, the fragrance of flowers and the music of guitars. On the contrary it was prosaically cold, dark and dismal. Masses of black cloud lent the sombre sky a threatening appearance. Everything pointed to a storm. The majority of passers-by resisted the lure of the brightly lit cafés, and bent their steps home-

wards. Suddenly the deep booming tones of a bell were heard. At the sound every voice was hushed; every ear strained to listen. It was the Vergine Assunta, the great campana only rung upon occasions of the gravest national import. Faces blanched. What had happened? The chill damp atmosphere was instantly charged with a hundred sinister apprehensions. Then, seemingly, born of the night and the shadows, a confused report spread abroad that

an attempt had been made upon the life of Mussolini.

Consternation, like panic, is contagious. With one accord men, women and children hastened to the large stone paved piazza in front of the Cathedral, which enshrines the Madonna del Voto, potent queen protectress of Siena, to whom her people have always turned in sorrow as in joy. When the crowd had assumed imposing proportions, the venerable Bishop appeared at a window of his palace. In a voice charged with emotion he urged the throng to remain quiet and return peaceably to their homes. An attempt had been made upon the life of Mussolini, but the police had discovered the plot in time and no harm had been done.

As though to confirm the good news the church bells far and near burst forth into joyous chime. Louder they pealed and more triumphant until it seemed as though all the bells in the world must be ringing at once. Meantime clergy and people filled the vast marble Cathedral, whence a jubilant *Te Deum* of prayer and praise rose upon the incense-laden air to where the golden stars trembled upon the lofty azure vault, high above, upheld by Gothic arches. A thousand flickering tapers cast a yellow glamour over pale human faces, pictured saints, bronze angels and sculptured prelates, while ten centuries of Popes gazed down from the frieze encircling nave and chancel.

Such was the scene that I witnessed on a stormy night in November last. It was repeated with equal fervour in every town and village and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of the Italian peninsula. On the morrow all public buildings, and most private houses, were beflagged as though for a great victory. What manner of man is he, who has thus won the passionate love of an entire people, and how has he won it?

Fate has never been a respecter of the conventions, hence it has come about that the world's great men have rarely been born in the purple, with the traditional silver spoon waiting for their mouths, but have been of humble origin. Benito Mussolini is no exception to this almost universal rule. His father, Alexander Mussolini, was a smith. Now the father of an illustrious son is invariably accorded a niche in the vast Valhalla of history, whence he shines down with a reflected glory.

Alexander Mussolini entered the world in

1854. His family were small agriculturists in that part of north-eastern Italy known as Romagnola. They owned the farm of Collina, which he eventually inherited, in the parish of Monte Maggiore, Predappio. After he had served his apprenticeship to a local smith, the lad was sent to the town of Meldola for wider experience of his craft. When not working with fire at his forge, Alexander played with it by devoting his leisure to politics. Beginning as a Socialist at twenty, he soon developed into an Internationalist. Thenceforward politics furnished him with his chief interest in life. Eventually he started a foundry at Dovia, where he met and married Rosa Maltoni, the local school-mistress. Two sons were born to them; Benito, on July 29th, 1883, and Alexander, in January, 1885.

It is said that Mussolini named his first born after the hero and martyr of a lurid Spanish romance of the Inquisition; its pages illustrated with devils, scenes from the torture chamber and flaming pyres. If Fate is influenced by the choice of a name, which Shakespeare denies, this may account for the high destiny to which the smith's son has been called.

Alexander Mussolini was not only an enthusiastic politician, he was a sincere one. Furthermore he was an ardent patriot. The memory of Garibaldi's march on Rome was still fresh in men's minds. The smith was his fervid admirer. In accordance with the tenets of Socialism the Mussolini home, poor though it was, opened wide its doors to all in need of assistance. None was ever turned empty away. Despite his reputation for charity, and the respect in which he was universally held, his political activities brought the smith into frequent collision with established authority. In 1902 he was arrested upon a political charge, but was released after a hundred and sixty days' detention.

The times were troubled. Italy had but recently driven out the Austrians and set up housekeeping on her own account. The Pope had been deprived of Rome and his position as a temporal Prince. In place of innumerable small kingdoms, duchies and republics, the peninsula had united under a single monarch of the House of Savoy. Despite this tremendous amelioration, Italy was not yet Utopia. The Government felt none too secure. Socialists, and more especially Internationalists were regarded with serious suspicion. These, for

their part, distrusted all established authority, which they condemned as reactionary. They had hoped for so much from the New Order of things founded at the cost of such heroic endeavour. The theories of Marx were on all lips. Time and experience had not yet demonstrated their impracticability. Generous souls were fired with the desire to right old wrongs and set the world in order. It was in an atmosphere such as this that young Benito Mussolini grew up. During working hours he had seen his father moulding that most intractable of all metals, iron itself, into shape. When the smith rested from his strenuous labours at the forge, he and his friends had devoted their leisure to devising plans wherewith to remodel the entire social system. Unfortunately for their dreams they had found man less malleable than iron. Little wonder that, as soon as the occasion offered, young Benito took to politics as a duck to water.

The opportunity was not long in coming. When he was twenty Benito applied for the post of schoolmaster at Forlì, a town not far from Ravenna. Failing to secure it, he was made Secretary of the local Socialist Section, and Editor of their paper, "*La Lotta di Classe*" (Class Warfare) through the influence of his father's old friend, Fr. Bonavita.

The party had recruited a giant unawares. By the time Benito assumed office the old struggle between Republicans and Socialists had become less acrimonious, but the traditional hostility, if less bitterly expressed, was as strong as ever. The new Socialist Secretary immediately infused fresh life and vigour into party propaganda. He introduced new methods and ideas and set himself to crush and disarm the Republican party. With the clear perception of genius he saw that the aims of Socialism could not be furthered by individual acts of violence against a few persons in authority. What was needed was a strong collective effort towards the amelioration of existing conditions among the working classes if the elevation of the masses was to be accomplished. He did not believe in dragging down but in uplifting. To this end he set about educating the people in theories of self-sacrifice and duty. He did not promise them Paradise as reward, or even an earthly Eden. His doctrine was that of abnegation as opposed to egotism, indolence, vice and apathy. He urged his readers not to idolise a popular hero and follow him blindly,

but bade each develop a mind and conscience of his own by thinking and planning for himself.

His pen lashed friend and foe impartially. On March 26th, 1910, he wrote:—"Frankly speaking the Italian Parliament does not function. Italy is misgoverned by two hundred and fifty illiterate and corrupt deputies". He was an inveterate enemy of hypocrisy and bureaucratic incompetence. He distrusted the secret activities of the Freemasons and adopted a hostile attitude towards them early in his career. The cherished theories of Marx fared no better at his hands. He denied that the economical factor was of supreme importance, and insisted upon setting it below that ideal of justice towards which mankind is laboriously striving. He was impatient of catchwords, prejudice and dogma. His active mind rejected everything that was not practical. He swept aside political fetishes and scorned party tradition. Such was young Mussolini, a veritable Don Quixotte in the troubled realm of politics. Alone, poor, proud and resolute he set to himself the task of tilting at, and overthrowing most of the windmills of prejudice which men regarded as too firmly founded upon the rock of custom ever to fall.

His tremendous activity and fearless propaganda, made him both foes and friends, for it is the fate of a strong man to be either hated or loved. Seemingly he heeded one as little as the other. They were merely incidents on his journey towards the ideal. It shone before him, a bright guiding star, and he pressed relentlessly forward. He was a tireless worker retiring at 3 a.m. and rising at 8. He was also an omnivorous reader. This was his only diversion. He took no alcohol in a country where wine is universally drunk, and even the beggar has his glass of *vino rosso*. When offered an increase of pay, he retorted curtly that the paper could not afford it, and continued to work upon what was barely a living wage. Every act of his daily existence was known, criticised and spied upon in a small town. Even so it afforded a shining example of sobriety, labour and faith. Even his enemies, the Republicans, described him as "a mad man but honest."

Benito Mussolini's sphere of activities widened when he was appointed Editor of the *Avanti*, or *Forwards*, but his policy remained as uncompromising as before Work, Sacrifice, Study.

These were his guiding principles as, seven hundred years ago, those of S. Francis of Assisi, that great reformer of the thirteenth century, had been Poverty, Chastity, Obedience. The idealist of the twentieth century regarded his political propaganda as a mission. He took life seriously, while holding his own lightly as merely the means to an end.

He regarded violence as a surgeon's scalpel, only to be used for the removal of some vital evil. Speaking upon the subject he said:—"There is a force that frees and a force that enslaves; a force that is stupid and immoral and a force that is noble and sacred."

The great war was to make this strange man, who was destined to rise where so many fell.

The Italian Government decided to remain neutral. The Socialist party favoured non-intervention. At first Mussolini restricted himself to writing articles in which he urged Italy not to adhere to the Terms of the Triple Alliance. To him the war was the natural outcome of Bismark's policy with its *Drang nach Osten*. In pursuance of this grandiose dream Austria was to take Serbia and Bulgaria as a preliminary to being absorbed in the German Empire. Soon, however, the Editor of the "Avanti" perceived the impossibility of his country remaining neutral. He immediately resigned the Editorship of the paper and his post as Secretary. Thereafter he faced the world with a clear conscience and five lire in his pockets. This was in October, 1914.

It was as a free lance that Mussolini founded *Il Popolo d'Italia* (The Italian People). He immediately inaugurated a propaganda in favour of entering the war upon the side of France, Belgium and Great Britain. To the objections of the Socialists he replied:—"The German Socialists, who should have set an example, rallied to the Kaiser's standard as one man."

Mussolini had his way. Italy entered the war. After three and a half terrible years she emerged garlanded with the laurels of victory, but badly shattered and weakened. Then followed a period of anarchy. Mischief-makers, of the type that fish best in troubled waters, were everywhere at work. Strike succeeded strike. A veritable reign of terror ensued. It seemed as though the peninsula was doomed to suffer the same fate as Russia. So it would have but for Mussolini.

This intrepid patriot gathered a small, but faithful band of brave men about him. These were the first Fascists. They numbered a hundred and forty five and date their organisation from March 23, 1919. Their uniform consists of a black shirt and cap, and they take their name from the *Fasces*, a bundle of rods bound about an axe, carried before the Roman Emperors of old as emblems of imperial authority.

Mussolini and his Fascists vowed to redeem Italy; to save her from enemies internal and external, and make her people happy and great. To accomplish this it was necessary to fight and crush the Bolshevik rabble by engineering a revolution, which should break their revolution. This was Mussolini's primary object. He would deal with the Liberals later on.

The first clash came in April, 1919, in the Piazza del Duomo, Milan. The Red Forces had broken through the police and royal guard and were proceeding to wreck and loot the shops, when the Fascists intervened and restored order.

Speaking at Udine on September 20th, 1922, Mussolini announced his plans. "Our programme is simple," he said. "We intend to govern Italy." He has always hated speeches and speechifying. With him words have ever been the prelude to immediate action. At Naples, on October 24th, 1922, he said:—"We intend to become the State." He followed up this declaration by marching on Rome. He entered the capital at the head of thirty thousand black shirts, strong in the strength of youth, and bound to their leader by the most solemn vows of allegiance. Weak and inept, the Government dared offer no resistance to this formidable force. It would merely have plunged the country into the horrors of civil war. There remained but one power. That of the King. While all the world wondered, Victor Emmanuel III acted. He summoned Mussolini and his Fascists and confided the Government of Italy to them. The programme was executed; the dream realised.

Mussolini showed himself magnanimous in the hour of triumph. He took no vengeance upon his enemies, not even upon those who, during the brief Bolshevik triumph at Turin, caused him to be condemned to death by a regularly constituted revolutionary tribunal. Since his accession to power he has consistently proved himself a statesman of the first order.

His ideal is still the same. A happy and united Italy and a prosperous and enlightened people. His interest in, and sympathy with the working classes is real, and not assumed for platform purposes. The bond between him and them is that of a common origin, and "blood is thicker than water." Enemies he has, and deadly ones, but the majority of the nation idolise him, and there is not a Fascist but would give his life a hundred times over for his Duce.

So much for Mussolini in his public capacity. What of the private life of Italy's Superman? To this the answer is a blank. With truly royal reserve he has never permitted the outer world to pass the threshold of his home. A

wife he has, but she lives in Milan in as complete seclusion as any purdah lady in her harem. She never appears at any state function nor at Court where, by the way, Mussolini has ordained that ladies shall appear in long trains such as British etiquette requires of those attending a drawing room at Buckingham Palace.

In Rome, as in Forlì, Mussolini leads a lonely life. He is still a prodigious worker. His chief pleasure is to drive his motor car at top speed. He is also passionately fond of music, and plays his violin whenever time permits. If any man has ever paid the price of greatness it is surely Benito Mussolini.

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

By MR. C. GOPAL MENON, M.L.C.

In his inimitable work, the *Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, Oliver Wendell Holmes gives us a side-light into the Currency question: "To trifle with the vocabulary which is the vehicle of social intercourse is to tamper with the currency of human intelligence. He who would violate the sanctities of his mother-tongue would invade the recesses of the paternal till without remorse and repeat the banquet of Saturn without an indigestion." The currency problem has been met by the so-called *savants*, by murdering the vocabulary and pillaging the till. Confusion in the vocabulary has been the greatest sin committed by the Political Economist. It is yet to be decided whether on the currency question one should speak of the depreciation of silver or the appreciation of gold; may, it has yet to be proved whether the paternal till, the National Bank, should have a reserve in Bullion, Coin or Paper Currency and whether it should be housed in the locality for which it is needed or whether it should be placed beyond their reach. "Vocabulary which is the vehicle of social intercourse", has evidently been tampered with,

and a nation's reserve, the paternal till, is swallowed up by the saturnine revellers in the shape of *pseudo*-economists and speculative stock-jobbers. Half-hearted measures prompted by sudden panic, no less than by clever manipulations, have contributed towards leaving the main issues in the back-ground, and bringing into prominence only subsidiary ones on which a mass of literature has been written. The result has been that India does not possess a sound monetary system.

Indian Currency: Its Bearing on Indian Commerce and Finance.

The Indian currency is a complicated problem, it is entwined with many other problems. An investigation, therefore, into the various causes that have contributed to the present state of Indian currency and exchange have to be made, to diagnose the disease and suggest remedies. The *Times* Financial Correspondent makes a sweeping remark that the Indian witnesses gave the Commission, of which Mr. Hilton Young is the Chairman, more conclusions than reasons. What we really wish

to see is that some measure, which will have for its object the removal of the difficulties, uncertainty and losses, which have for so long a time embarrassed the operations of Indian commerce, and disorganised the Indian finances, is adopted. If means are found to get rid of these evils, then the present Royal Commission will be conferring a boon and a blessing to the vast millions of the people of this country, but it is difficult to understand clearly the nature of the evidence given by the 39 witnesses in India before the Commission, as they were more or less examined *in camera*. From the résumé that has appeared in the Press, it may well be presumed that the majority of witnesses favour a gold standard for India and with the exception of a few witnesses a rate of *rs. 4d.* exchange.

India and Currency Commissions.

Let us in the first place, consider the contributory causes which have led up to the present state of Indian Currency and then state the remedy, and, lastly, offer some suggestions to meet the difficulties. The inadequacy of a silver currency to the requirements of such a vast country as India attracted the attention of men of light and leading both in England and India in consequence of the expansion of the internal and external trade of the country. So long ago as 1866, the Commission of Enquiry presided over by Sir William Mansfield (afterwards Lord Sandhurst) came to the following decision: "The Commission cannot hesitate to express a hope that the Government of India will persevere in the policy which was recommended for the approval by the Secretary of State two years ago, *viz.*, 'to make a legal tender of gold to be part of the Currency arrangements of India.' Then the external trade of India amounted to only 100 million pounds sterling per annum, but to-day in the last official year, India sold surplus supplies for over £288,000,000 and the imports were valued at £255,000,000; of this £70,000,000 represented gold and silver. India's economic position is, therefore, stronger to-day than some of the other parts of the Empire. From 1868 to 1890 constant representations were made to the Secretary of State for India in favour of a gold currency, but without any effect. In 1893 Lord Herschell's Commission, seeing that currency conditions in India

had become intolerable, sanctioned the closing of the Mints to the free coinage of silver, and the conversion of India from a silver to a gold monetary standard. It is necessary to mention that in adopting this new currency policy, India was merely following the example of the whole civilised world in the adoption of plans for the unification and internationalisation of the systems of coinage which all the great commercial nations have introduced. In 1898, the currency position of India was again exhaustively reviewed by the Fowler Committee. The promised goal of 1893 was confirmed, and recommendations were made for carrying out the gold for India policy in every respect, *viz.*, a gold standard based on a gold currency accompanied by a free-in-flow and out-flow of gold according as the balance of trade demanded. After this, Government encouraged the circulation of a certain amount of gold in the country in order to allow the system to attain both a gold standard system and gold currency.

But the Chamberlain Commission in 1913 recommended a change in policy with its new ideas and proposals for India. "The time has arrived for a reconsideration of the ultimate goal of the Indian currency system. Gold in circulation is.....neither desired nor needed in India. An open Gold Mint is an unnecessary luxury." And therefore it kept faith in the token currency pure and simple, supported by a great reserve of gold and securities the whole of which should be retained in London. One of the Commissioners, Sir James Begbie, dissociated himself from this view of an Indian Currency *viz.*, in a token currency backed up by a reserve out of India. Thereafter our currency system worked both as sterling-exchange system and as a silver standard.

The next step taken in 1919 by the Babington-Smith Committee was to fix the value in relation to gold at the rate of 25/- gold to one rupee. This rate only remained on the Statute Book, and was an instrument for the Government to offer to the public only Rs. 10 to a sovereign. In view of the difficulties and evils resulting from a managed currency which has now become matters of history, a Royal Commission on Indian Currency Exchange was appointed in accordance with the resolution passed in the Assembly in Delhi in the session of January-March, 1925, and the Commission was required "to examine and report on the Indian Exchange and Currency system and

"practice, to consider any modifications as are desirable in the interests of India, and to make recommendations."

The above is the summary which survived this important subject and the criticism levelled against the Government is that the policy inaugurated by the Herschell's Commission and Fowler Committee has not been given full effect to. What is the true remedy? We want to find out a clue to the difficulty which besets this problem and a solution is to be seriously attempted. The chief difficulty seems to be the existence of a large mass of silver "tokens" in the country; out of the total world production of silver from 1873 to 1923 of 7,509 million ounces, India alone absorbed 2,135 million ounces, i.e., 35 per cent. of the total production. Mr. Findlay Shirras estimates the stock of silver including rupees in India at 3,729 million ounces in 1920, worth to-day roughly Rs. 745 crores. The total number of rupees coined since 1825 is 647 crores and the quantity in actual circulation less the quantity estimated per re-coining and melting is Rs. 557 crores. Those who have perused the minute of dissent of Sir James Bepko to the Chamberlain Commission can realise the evils that have been wrought on India by the existence of such a large quantity of token currency in the country.

India's Needs: Gold Currency and Gold Standard.

The gold exchange standard has not been much of a success since its introduction and what the people want is a gold standard backed up by a gold currency and an open gold mint. This demand does not find favour in certain quarters on the sole ground of its being merely sentimental or a glamour for gold or by political prejudice. We do want a standard of value which can be freely exchanged for internal and external trade and under which paper currency will be freely exchanged into gold if and when necessary. We also want that our exchange should be stabilised in relation to the world's standard of value. The evils of hoarding and melting of gold has often been exaggerated. When gold money will be required in ordinary daily transactions either as metal or paper, there would be few cases of people who would hoard the standard of value for its own sake. As regards melting gold coins for ornamental purposes, it will depend on the ordinary laws

of supply and demand to bring about an adjustment between the values of the standard coin and of the metal in the arts. Both the Herschell and Fowler Committees did not attach much importance to this aspect of the question and the remedy proposed by them was to turn out enough coins out of the mint to satisfy the demand for currency and the demand for jewellery.

The next question is rather a difficult one to decide; the stability level of exchange i.e. whether a 1s. 6d. or 1s. 4d. rupee would be favourable to India. The stability of Indian exchange entirely depends on the ebb and flow of the trade of the country and any artificial manipulation of exchange can be of no avail. The general opinion is that as India possesses a large export trade, Government must encourage exports as much as possible. The opinion of most competent Indian merchants is, that there must be a low rate of exchange to make exports as cheap as possible, because by increasing exports a much larger demand for import is created, for when the ryots of India are prosperous they would buy more European goods. A low rate of exchange, therefore, favours exportation directly and importation indirectly. There is also the other aspect of the question to be considered. It is evident that when exchange falls by 1d. in the rupee, a tax of £1,000,000 is levied on the people of India to meet Home Charges in London taking India's yearly remittance at about £25,000,000. So when the rupee falls from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 4d. the people have to sustain a loss of £2,000,000 to meet these charges. Such is the penalty India is now paying for not being endowed with a sound monetary system. Whether the enhanced value imparted to the rupee would or would not be a taxation on the productive power of India is a point to be decided,—a most contested point,—on which the Currency Commission will have to come to a decided opinion.

What the people of India now look for is that the country should be endowed with an effective gold standard with a gold currency. This will obviate any dislocation of industrial conditions in the country and will also further agriculture and commerce. The very large benefits it offers justify this demand of the present Royal Commission and till this is granted there can be no freedom to India from the present harassing uncertainties to a state

to enjoy an unstinted automatic currency. We await the recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission with patience and hope that they will be such as will give India a stabilised currency, making it possible for her to go on in an even course of commerce and finance.

THE TWO PROBLEMS OF INDIA :

(Cow-Killing and Tomtom-Playing).

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

It is reported that a serious situation has arisen at Proddatur in Cuddapah District as a result of Moharrum celebrations. There was a long-standing dispute between the Mahomedans and Vaishyas (Hindus) of the locality relating to the latter's privileges to conduct processions in front of the mosque with ceremonial music. The Mahomedans and Vaishyas had their respective processions last Friday and long before the Vaishya procession had started, a large crowd of Mahomedans collected near the Vaishya temple, armed with weapons and brickbats. The District Magistrate and the police arrived at the place but the mob was so excited that it could not be controlled. There was a regular shower of stones and brickbats and the Thasildar, the Sub-Magistrate, a head constable and two constables were seriously hurt. Additional police were wired for from the adjoining districts by the District Magistrate and a number of people were arrested.—Associated Press.

It has been generally admitted that taking all in all the finest and keenest intellect we have at present in India is Mahatma Gandhi's. And yet, incredible though it may seem, it was the Mahatma himself who wrote the following in his newspaper, called *Young India* :—

"By justice why should not a Musalman kill a cow every day in front of me? But his love for me restrains him from so doing and he goes out of his way sometimes even to refrain from eating beef for his love of me, and yet thinks that he has done only just what is right. Justice permits me to shout my music in the ear of Maulana Mahomed Ali when he is at prayer but I go out of my way to anticipate his feelings and make my talks whispers whilst he is praying and still consider that I have conferred no

favour on the Maulana. On the other hand, I should become a loathsome creature if I exercised my just right of playing tomtom precisely at the time of his prayer."

Now this piece of mahatmic writing is so unusual in sentiment, so contradictory in argument and so crude in language that reading it one is reminded of what Horace says in his *De arte Poetica* that "even good Homer sometimes nods." It may be, therefore, that our good Mahatma, like good Homer, was nodding when giving expression in his paper to these extraordinary ideas of his, and so one would be justified in passing by this fantastic bit of mahatmic wisdom, as a mere particular instance of Horatian dictum, were it not that the problems he discusses therein, though in themselves scarcely worth noticing, are nevertheless matters of life and death to those living in India: for, to them may be ultimately traced all her ever-recurring communal trouble and the one permanent hitch in the nation-building programme of her advanced politicians.

Plainly and unambiguously put, the issues that arise are simply these :—

1. Have the Hindus the right of playing their "ceremonial music" on a public road while passing a mosque?
2. Have, on the other hand, the Mahomedans the right of leading sacrificial cows on a public road and killing them as sacrificial offerings on their great Id-festival?

Before we attempt to solve these two problems of momentous import to the peace and welfare of the teeming millions of India, we

shall have to answer three preliminary questions:—

1. What is the true nature of the Hindu ceremonial music as ordinarily played in their processions?

2. What part does the cow play in the Hindu religious system and the Islamic sacrificial ritual?

3. What are the conditions necessary in the precincts of a mosque for the proper carrying out of religious functions therein?

* Taking up the first question, let us at once admit that the old classical Hindu music of *tol* and *rag*, ordinarily known as *ustadi gyan*, has a quaint beauty and a sweetness all its own which none can question or gainsay, though it may possibly fail to appeal to a foreign ear not attuned to it from childhood. Of this *ustadi gyan*, strange as it may appear, the most devoted votaries and constant patrons are the Mahomedans themselves. But the Hindu "ceremonial music" against which the Mahomedans complain is wholly and radically a different thing. In fact, it is no music at all in the ordinary acceptance of the term. For it is not a concord of sweet sounds which fall melodiously on the ear and take captive the soul and lift it to a realm beyond the limits of time and space. No, it is nothing approaching this. But, it is one wild, unending cacophany of braying trumpets, clashing cymbals, and rattling drums, which falls harsh and rasping on the ear and drives a true music-loving soul to despair of human sanity. In a word, the ordinary Hindu ceremonial music as played in their processions, secular and religious, is a high revel of organised noise.

It is this kind of "music" which, according to the great Mahatma, "justice permits him to shout in the ear of Maulana Mahomed Ali precisely at the time of his prayer." The Mahatma as usual is honest and accurate in the expression of his ideas. For he speaks of "shouting my music", and that word—"shouting"—faithfully expresses the true nature of the Hindu ceremonial music. And the reader can now judge for himself what kind of music could that be which is capable of being *shouted* in the ear of a listener?

2. The cow plays a unique part in the Hindu religious system. With the Hindus the cow is not, as with the rest of the world, a more domestic animal whose chief use is to provide milk for men, but to them it is

infinitely more. According to Hindu Scriptures she is *gai mata*, the foster-mother of the whole human race and the noblest representative of the entire species of the sub-human world. Thus, the cow in the eye of a Hindu is at once a symbol of divine motherhood and a bond between rational creatures and the brute creation. To put in the Mahatma's own word: "This principle (of cow veneration) carries the human being above the limitations of his own race. It brings about the identity of man with every living being."

The true cult of the cow, be it remembered, has nothing of the idolatrous in it, and nobody has condemned more strongly than the Mahatma the ignorant fetish of his fellow-religionists who follow only the letter of their Scriptures, forgetting to practise the spirit of compassion embodied in it for all sentient creatures whatever. Once this cult is understood, one is not astonished at the Mahatma calling it "the great gift of Hinduism to the world," nor at the importance which the Hindus as a race attach to the protection of the cow.

On the other hand, in no authorised scripture of the Mahomedans is the sacrifice of the cow enjoined or even suggested. That this is so is incontestably proved by the fact that outside of India,—even in the great land of the birth and rise of Islam—such a thing as cow-sacrifice is wholly unknown and, consequently, has never been practised. It, therefore, stands to reason that the cow-sacrifice of the Indian Mahomedans is purely a morbid local outgrowth which is sanctioned by no authoritative canon-law of theirs and its practice in modern India is even condemned by the most enlightened of their maulanas as subversive of not only the true spirit of Islam but also of the national interests of India as whole.

3. Coming finally to the conditions necessary in the precincts of a mosque for the proper carrying out of the religious service held therein, let us in the first place make it clear that, except on Fridays and festive days, the Mahomedan service is non-congregational and each follower of Islam is consequently expected to invoke his Creator by himself five times a day at the call of the Muezzin. There are no graven images nor painted pictures in the mosque to detract the attention of the worshipper, but the whole surrounding is kept rigorously plain and simple to make it possible for him

in the pervading peace and quite to concentrate his whole mind and soul on his Creator while saying his prayers.

Summarising the above discussion on the three subsidiary questions we come to the following conclusions:—

1. The old Hindu music has a charm and value of its own; as such it deserves to be closely guarded and nationally supported, but the ordinary "ceremonial music" of the streets is a hideous travesty of the old musical heritage of the land: consequently, it merits to be systematically checked and ultimately suppressed.

2. The Hindu cult of the cow is a beautiful creed as far as it goes and if kept within proper bounds is worthy of every encouragement and public support, while the cow-sacrifice of the Mahomedans is canonically unsound and not warranted by any known usage or precedent of Islamic lands outside of India. Consequently, it must be discountenanced and repressed with a strong hand.

3. The precincts of the mosque must be kept in such a state of peace and quite as to allow the worshipper to hold free and undisturbed communion with his Creator as far as possible at all times of the day.

Taking up now the two main questions with which we started the article, they can be answered as follows:—

With whatever justification the Hindus may have claimed in the past their prescriptive right to play their ceremonial music before a mosque, that right—considering the true nature of their "music" and the vital national interests involved in the question—they must forthwith renounce in a truly patriotic spirit. By such a renunciation the Hindus themselves, strange to say,

stand most to gain. For with gradual disappearance of their present decadent ceremonial "music," their old classical music stands a better chance of coming into its own and of eventually evolving ceremonial or processional marches more in consonance with its own hoary traditions and the musical ideas of the world at large.

Similarly, with whatever justification the Mahomedans may have advanced in the past their prescriptive right to parade sacrificial cows on public roads and to slaughter them on their Id-festival, that right—considering the peculiar veneration which the Hindus possess for the cow and the fact that its sacrifice is not enjoined by any authoritative Islamic Scripture—the Mahomedans must be made to relinquish in the interests of the nation as a whole. And, as in the other case, the Mahomedans themselves will be the chief gainers by such a relinquishment, for not only will they have demonstrated thereby their patriotic consideration for the scruples and susceptibilities of their great sister community, but, what is more, they will have advanced the cause which is above all others nearest and dearest to their hearts—namely, the preservation of the pristine purity and fair name of Islam from being sullied by unwarranted innovations and debasing accretions.

Be that as it may, if we are serious about the Hindu-Muslim unity, we all—whether Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsis, Jews, Sikhs or Anglo-Indians,—all will have to organise the public opinion of the entire nation for the systematic denunciation and have appropriate legislation passed for the ultimate suppression of—sacrificial cow-killing and ceremonial tomtom-playing.

ENGLISH INFLUENCES ON URDU : A REJOINDER.

By DR. SAYYID ABDUL LATIF.

Pandit Manoharlal Zutshi's contribution to the last issue of the *Hindustan Review*, entitled "The Development of the Hindustani Literature" is interesting reading. It is a review of my work, "The Influences of English Literature on Urdu Literature," and for that reason I have read it with particular interest, and may I add, with profit to me. I have not had the privilege of coming into personal contact with the writer, and I have nothing besides his contribution under reference to guide me as to his qualification to enter upon a critical examination of the subject of my book. The subject of my work suggests that its critic should be conversant with the scope and character of the English Literature on the one hand, and the scope and character of the Urdu Literature on the other. He should at the same time be fully informed in the methods of literary criticism. My subject falls within the purview of comparative literature. It is a study in the influence of one literature on another literature, or, to express it in other words, in the impact of one culture on another as manifested in literature. A well-informed critic will in the first instance, examine whether what I call the English influence in Urdu is really English in character, and whether I have traced that influence and analysed it in a scientific manner. That primary task done, it is up to the critic to let subsidiary aspects attract him.

Does the Pandit Sahib fulfil these conditions?

II

He divides his contribution into five sections. In the first he accuses me of political and communal prejudices, and believes that I have said "hard things about the much-maligned Hindus," and on that account he does not feel happy until he calls me a "typical well-seasoned bureaucrat." He would go further but for obvious want of space probably he would "forbear". Well, all this is not literary criticism, and if I may offer a suggestion, not a discreet beginning either. A critic desirous of responding to the true interests of his art would, how-

ever, relegate this to the subsidiary aspects of discussion.

And, after all, what is it I have said? Have I really shown any racial or religious bias? The Pandit Sahib refers to page 41 where I am told I have called the Hindu community the "erstwhile subjects of Mussalmans." I ask the Pandit Sahib to read that paragraph over again, particularly the sentence which follows the one he has quoted from. The passage is in simple English and offers no ambiguity; and he will find that I have there examined the attitude of those Muslims who at the end of the last century desired to dissociate themselves from the Congress activity. An analysis of the mental attitude of a people or of a section of it by a student of history can hardly be regarded as the expression of his own attitude. Let the Pandit Sahib read also Chapter II, Sections (i) and (ii) wherein I have discussed the social and religious background of the early Urdu Literature, and drawn attention to the several social and religious evils which had crept into the life of the Indian Muslims of the 18th century and necessarily found expression in their literature and vitiated its character. Does all that show any pro-Muslim or anti-Hindu bias? Could another Muslim say anything harder against his own people? Should a student of literary criticism necessarily profess any particular political creed?

In the same section the Pandit Sahib cites another illustration, the only other illustration of what he believes is my communal prejudice. I quote him—"When the claims of Urdu for recognition as the most important modern Indian language are in question, we are told again and again that it is the common language of the Hindus and Mahomedans. And yet Dr. Latif tells us on page 106 that "Urdu literature is essentially a Muslim contribution."

I should be the last person to suggest that Urdu is the common language of all the Hindus and all the Muslims of India, and I am sure I have said it nowhere. I refer him to the footnote on page 3 to correct his impression. But

I must insist that he should distinguish between the spoken language and the written literature in that language. Urdu since its birth has come to be the spoken tongue of a good many Muslims and Hindus together; but the Urdu literature as I have stated in my book, and which I still maintain is *essentially* a Muslim contribution. I have advisedly used the word "essentially." But its import and connotation seem to have been lost on the Pandit Sahib. There have, no doubt, been a few Urdu writers from among the Hindu community, but what is there in their output as against the whole quantity of Muslim contribution—the whole field of Urdu literature taken into consideration—to question the accuracy of my statement?

III

When a literary critic begins to examine a piece of composition in chagrin or in a spirit of religious indignation at the writer, you may be certain that he will invariably lose his sense of perspective. It is none of my fault that the Pandit Sahib read unwarranted meanings into my words as I have shown above. But once he did that and was roused by what he honestly felt a gratuitous insult to his communal and religious feeling, it followed as an inevitable sequence that I was not safe in his hands. He praises whom I condemn and condemns whom I praise. He devotes one full section to poor Hali and damns him because I have styled him as the "leader of the new school of poetry." The Pandit Sahib thinks that none "who possesses either critical acumen or ripe literary judgment", will call him a poet. Hali in the opinion of the Pandit Sahib has, "uncouthness of diction," indulges in, "very unpoetic sentiments suggestive of the washerwoman." His "is not poetry for the simple reason that the thing could have been said very much better in prose and the man who could write such stuff can never be regarded as a poet worth the name." These are Pandit Manoharlal Zutshi's words, but I do not think he means all that he says. Hali will live in spite of all detraction.

IV

The Pandit Sahib in his zeal to run me down in the name of the "much-maligned Hindu community" would not even allow me the privilege of calling Urdu, Urdu. He prefers to call it "Hindustani." Well, no student of

philology will recognise that there is any language which goes under that name. "Hindustani" is a term that should be applied not to one language or dialect, but to a group of languages which are spoken in Hindustan. I refer the Pandit Sahib to the extract which I have quoted from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as a footnote on page 3. Urdu, as the Pandit Sahib should know, is a development of the Braj-Bhasha effected primarily under the influence of the Persian language and through Persian or Arabic, and because this development has certain outstanding qualities of its own it is called by the special name of Urdu. It may be the misfortune of that dialect that its literature was nursed in its infancy on Persian ideals and in centres of Islamic culture, such as Delhi and Lucknow. Since, however, it is christened "Urdu" by those who fostered it, let us in all common decency call it by its proper name.

In the same unscientific manner the Pandit Sahib strives to correct my statement that there was no prose in Urdu before Insha apart from a few passages written in the Indo-Persian style. He thinks that the story *Kuar-I'dai-Bhan* written by Insha gives the lie direct to my statement. But the Pandit Sahib, instead of attributing my statement to ignorance, should have examined the language of the story before asking me why I failed to notice it in my survey of the early Urdu literature. As he himself says, the writer of the story claims to have "studiously refrained from using a single Persian or Arabic word in the course of the whole narrative." Well, that is just the reason for me to discard it as a piece of Urdu literature, as I have discarded the writings of the Pandit Sahib's friends who have been trying to Sanskritise the language.

V.

I have characterised the early Urdu Poetry as in the main "artificial, conventional, and uninspiring." Because I have taken up this standpoint the Pandit Sahib feels it his bounden duty to stare me in the face. He must know that I have nowhere condemned his early masters, Mir, Dard, Atish, Ghalib and Anis wholesale. I have tried to recognise all that was good and wholesome in them, however little that might be, but the Pandit Sahib will make his readers believe that I have not offered

one good word for these early writers. Look at his words: "Have not these *cunning artificers* in words, so gratuitously condemned by Dr. Latif, forged out of them phrases and expression that *linger in our ears and haunt our memories*? Has Dr. Latif been never moved by the *deep pathos* of the poetry of Mir, *ringing with the anguish and agony of real passion*, and has the almost *tragic wistfulness*, which is the dominant note of the Sufi poets never haunted his memory? Has he never felt the *charm of the felicity of the inevitable phrase*, and, even more, the cadence which gives to certain lines of Ghalib their *mysterious potency*? If Dr. Latif has not had his emotions touched by the best poetry of the old masters, and if all that they wrote is to him merely, 'imitative, artificial and uninspiring,' then I can only say I am sorry for him."

The italics are mine. The italicised words form some of the stock-in-trade of hack literary critics and are freely employed for the sake of impression, without the slightest regard to the subject they discuss. What is "tragic wistfulness", may I ask, as applied to Urdu Poetry? What again is "mysterious potency"? Could the Pandit Sahib give me illustrations from any of his early masters? Why do people use words which have no meaning for us behind them. Expressions such as those used by the Pandit Sahib have a special meaning when applied to certain sections of European poetry. But what do they convey to us when applied to an Atish or a Mir?

The Pandit Sahib has unnecessarily excited himself on behalf of the early Urdu poets. That the early Urdu poetry is in essentials, "artificial conventional and uninspiring" may, for my sake, be not admitted by him. But I assure him, as I have shown in the pages of my book, that my estimate is endorsed by men of approved standing in the realm of Urdu literature, by men like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Hafiz Nazir Ahmad, and the poet Hali, not to speak of some of the writers of the present day. The early Urdu poetry may have a charm and fascination for the Pandit: some of their phrases and expressions may still be "lingering" in his ears and "haunt" his memory and throw him into a mood of "tragic wistfulness". I am prepared to believe all that. In my book I have recognised the existence of men like him, still

living in a Paradise of their own, untouched by influences which characterise high æsthetic life.

The Pandit Sahib takes me to task for not having included in the list of the present day writers some of his own favourites. In his excessive love for them, and to point out how poor was my acquaintance with Urdu literature, or "second-hand" to use his expression, he forgot the character and scope of the work I had undertaken. He surely should have known that I was not writing a history of Urdu literature. Were I doing that, I should certainly have endeavoured to examine the writings of his friends, and decided if they deserved to be recognised. But the purpose on hand was of a different nature. I was called upon to trace the influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature. There might be, and there are, other influences working side by side, but my task was only to rivet my attention upon one of them, *viz.*, the influence of English. Wheresoever I found a recognisable reaction to this influence in the works of the leading writers, I put my finger on and recorded my impressions. Any critic of my book who would command respect from me must show that he has borne this in mind.

VI

I think I have done with all the observations the Pandit Sahib has made in his contribution. Since the publication of my book various critics have reviewed it variously, according to their light and equipment. Every one has offered some word of encouragement. Only two have chosen paths of their own. One is Mawlwi Abdul Haq, Editor of the *Urdu* of Aurangabad, the other is the Pandit Zutshi who in many respects has repeated what Mawlwi Abdul Haq has said before. None of them has entered into the spirit of my composition; none approached the subject on scientific lines. Mawlwi Abdul Haq is a representative of the school of Urdu literary criticism who in one guise or another have persisted during the decadent phase of Islamic poetry, and about whom I have made some very pertinent observations in the course of my dissertation. If one like him has sought corners only and has not stood up before the structure of my composition and examined its harmony, I am

not surprised. He is a true child of his traditions: his tastes are not laid on the humanistic foundations of modern culture. His school will live until the dawn of light—the dawn that is coming slowly, yet with certain steps. But the Pandit Sahib talking of his Byronic "Baedekar in rhyme," his "Vanity Fair," his "Becky Sharp" and his "Falstaff", should have known better as to what it is that constitutes living and creative literature.

I shall not be perturbed at what these two critics, such as they are, have had to say about my work. As against their estimate I can quote that of every other critic; but shall rest content by saying, though I say it for the sake of those who may not have had the opportunity or the time to read my book that Nawwab Immad-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami, whom everyone will recognise as an authority on the subject calls my book "a masterly work", and that Mawlwi Inayatullah, the Curator of the Urdu Translation Bureau of the Oosmania University, an Urdu scholar of approved position, expresses himself thus:

"Certainly it is not a subject that was touched upon by an able pen before. I found the work extremely interesting to read, and I believe it will be of immense service and a good guide to those who are interested in the Urdu language and its literature and earnestly desire to improve them. The comprehensive way in which you have arranged and treated the subject is simply wonderful and it is perhaps for the first time that we actually realise how little we have done and how in a deplorably primary stage are all our efforts to develop our literature on western lines. With all honour to those who worked and departed there is a lot of work before us who live and much to hope for the better if we are now and then awakened to our duties by a voice of real encouragement and honest criticism such as yours."

All criticism should serve the cause of truth and knowledge, and I am, therefore, personally neither elated nor dismayed at what others have said in favour of or against me. My conclusions must stand or fall by what they are worth. They are not the final word and are bound to be displaced or modified as further light is thrown on the subject. For my part I shall be satisfied if with all its limitations, my humble effort succeeds in stimulating thought and contributing, in ever so small a measure, to the promotion of the right taste for literature

amongst the Urdu speaking population of this country of ours.

I do not ask to see the distant scene,
One step enough for me.

There are three "minor slips" to which the Pandit Sahib and one or two other critics have drawn my attention to. Such slips are inevitable in every literary work especially printed in the absence of the writer. You will find them in the writings of even such scholars of international fame as Morgoliouth, Brockman, and the late Prof. Browne. If my book ever sees the light of another edition, it will be my pleasant duty to acknowledge the several suggestions made to me.

THE REVIEWER'S "LAST WORDS."

By PANDIT MANOHARLAL ZUTSHI, M.A.

By the courtesy of the Editor of the *Hindustan Review* I have been able to see in proof the rejoinder which Dr. Sayyed Abdul Latif has written to my review of his book, *The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature*. I do not propose to write at any length on this new venture of Dr. Latif's, but I may be permitted to make a few observations on certain mis-statements made in his *apologia*.

Dr. Latif is angry with me because I disagreed with his over-valuation of Hali as a poet and he exclaims: "Hali will live in spite of all detraction." Yes, Hali will live in spite of his blind admirers, but he will live as a critic and as the author of that fine biography, *Yadgar-i-Ghalib*, but not as a poet.

He is even more angry with me for using the word "Hindustani." He thinks that "in all common decency" it should be called Urdu and that it is "unscientific" to call it Hindustani. Later on in his article Dr. Latif informs all those whom it may concern that "Nawwab Imadulmulk Sayyed Husain Bilgrami, whom every one will recognise as an authority on the subject, calls my book "a masterly work." As he has quoted this testimonial of Nawwab Sahib and recognises him as an authority, may I respectfully inform him that this "authority" uses the term "Hindustani" without any compunction. I give below three extracts from the *Addresses, Poems and Other Writings of Sayyed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I.*

edited by none other than Dr. Sayyed Abdul Latif himself (Hyderabad, Deccan, 1925):—(1) "We can easily imagine our future Pandits not only writing a Latinised Hindustani but mouthing an Indianised Latin." (on page 6, from the essay on "Scientific Nomenclature for the Vernaculars"), (2) "In order to explain it to the reader not learned in Hindustani" (on page 19, from the same essay as above); and (3) "Are you aware what influence Aligarh movement has already had on Mussalman thought and Hindustani Literature." (on page 104, from the Presidential Address at the Rampur session of the Mohomedan Educational Conference). So if the use of the term "Hindustani" is indecent and unscientific, I am in good company. Did Dr. Latif in his editorial capacity find fault with the Nawwab Sahib? If he did not, why has he poured the vials of his wrath on me? It reminds one of the Persian proverb which says that there is a certain class of people whose memories are very short.

II.

One paragraph of Dr. Latif's *apologia* I must quote in full:

"In the same unscientific manner the Pandit Sahib strives to correct my statement that there was no prose in Urdu before Insha apart from a few passages written in the Indo-Persian style. He thinks that the story *Kumar-Udai-Bhan* written by Insha gives the lie direct to my statement. But the Pandit Sahib instead of attributing my statement to ignorance, should have examined the language of the story before asking me why I failed to notice it in my survey of the early Urdu literature. As he himself says, the writer of the story claims to have "studiously refrained from using a single Persian or Arabic word in the course of the whole narrative." Well, that is just the reason for me to discard it as a piece of Urdu literature, as I have discarded the writings of the Pandit Sahib's friends who have been trying to Sanskritise the language."

I did not find fault with Dr. Latif for saying that "there was no prose in Urdu before Insha apart from a few passages written in the Indo-Persian style," or for discarding Insha's *Kumar Udai Bhan* as a piece of Urdu literature.

I found fault with him for making the following statements on page 77 of his book:

"A few sentences are also attributed to the poet Sayyed Insha and Mirza Jan-i-Jahan..... From the nature of the compositions, one will at once notice that they are but amateurish attempts expressed in a heavy and cumbersome style and written in a language hardly distinguishable from the Indo-Persian in vogue in the later days of the Moghal Empire."

Here he distinctly says that only a few sentences of prose were written by *Insha*, not before *Insha*, and that *Insha*'s prose was written in "a heavy cumbersome style" and "in a language hardly distinguishable from the Indo-Persian in vogue in the later days of the Moghal Empire." My contention was and is that *Insha* wrote not merely a few sentences but a complete story, and he wrote in very simple Hindustani, not in "Indo-Persian." I criticised what Dr. Latif wrote in his book, not what Dr. Latif writes now in his *apologia*, which is utterly different from what he wrote previously. He is welcome to correct himself and change his opinion, but he cannot be allowed to distort facts to escape from an indefensible position.

I said in my review that the dictum of Dr. Latif that "until the advent of English influence, all that went under the name of Urdu literature, which is entirely in verse, was all imitative, artificial and uninspiring" was too sweeping and that every student of Urdu poetry will protest against it. Now Dr. Latif says that he nowhere condemned *Mir*, *Dard*, *Atish*, *Ghalib* and *Anis*, wholesale. But he did say that all they wrote, (for they wrote before the advent of English influence), was imitative, artificial and uninspiring. If this is not wholesale condemnation, what then is it? Dr. Latif cannot be allowed to wriggle out of his uncomfortable position so easily. Further on, he very kindly remarks that certain expressions used by me in praise of the old masters are "the stock-in-trade of hack literary critics," expresses his inability to understand the meaning of "tragic wistfulness" when applied to Sufi poets, and of "mysterious potency," when applied to *Ghalib*'s verse, and asks me to give illustrations. I am sorry I cannot oblige him, for I am not prepared to cast pearls. He has either read the old masters or he has not. If he has not, he should read them carefully now.

If he has read them already, and has failed to understand them and to appreciate their charm, nothing that I may write or quote will enlighten him. I can only repeat that I am sorry for him, but it is beyond my humble powers to supply the defects of nature. He may revel amidst "the influences which characterise high aesthetic life"—whatever that they mean,—and which evidently render an Indian insensible to the poetic worth of *Mir*, *Ghalib* and *Anis*: I for my part would not touch such "influences" even with a pair of tongs.

Dr. Latif says that I took him to task "for not having included in the list of the present-day writers some of his own favourites" and states that he did not do so because he was not

writing a history of Urdu Literature but was only tracing the influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature. This is exactly my point. I say that no writer who sets out to trace the history of English influence on Hindustani,—I beg Dr. Latif's pardon—I mean, Urdu literature—and who has any pretensions to the knowledge of his subject, can afford to ignore the *Oudh Punch*, the poetry of the late Pandit Braj Narayan Chakbast and in the *Zamana*, for they represent some of the important agencies through which English influence has worked and is working. Dr. Latif failed to recognise them, because he does not know enough about them and this ignorance sadly mars his effort.

THE CLASH OF CREEDS.

By LALA LAJPAT RAI, M.L.A.

The problem of India is a part of the world problem. India is the heart of the Orient. I deliberately say the "Orient" therein including Africa and Asia both. As long as India is under the political and economic domination of the white people, Asia must remain so, and as Asia is not free, Africa must, perforce, be exploited by Europe. India's political subordination is the key to the political bondage of all the coloured races of the world. This "clash of colour" is, in the opinion of some of the most thoughtful Americans and Europeans, the greatest problem of the world as it is constituted to-day. But in India, we have even more complicated situation. To the "clash of colour" has been added "the clash of creeds". The clash of different religions is the principal cause of India's political bondage and economic dependence. If we could remove this obstacle, we could solve India's problem without much difficulty, and thereby help substantially towards the solution of the world problem. Can we solve it; and if so, how?

In order to understand the situation, we must undertake a rapid and brief survey of the

manner in which the white people's domination of the East began. The author of "The Clash of Colour" has done this for us in a few striking sentences and I make no apology for reproducing them.

"Whether or not it is true that, the white man's mission is 'to farm the world', he is, in fact, doing so on a scale unprecedented in history and with revolutionary effects on the life of the races whose lands he farms and whose life he directs.

"A swift moving picture of the last four centuries of history, and of the world to-day, will throw into relief this astonishing situation.

"If we stand back rather less than five hundred years and look out on the world of, say, 1450, we discover the white man besieged in the relatively small mass of land that we call Western and Central Europe; with the group of British Islands lying off the shores of that continent. If he turned his head over his shoulder East, he found hanging on to his flank the Mongol of the Russian and Central Asian Steppes. If, desiring, as he did, the trade of India, he looked south-east or south he found (from the Danube across nearer Asia to the Nile, across North Africa to the Gibraltar) the hostile scimitar of the

world of Islam barring his way. Westward lay the Atlantic ocean, that wild waste of endless waters which he had never crossed, which were indeed to him the end of the world.

"Literally then the white man saw himself in that narrow continent encircled by an unbroken siege of human enemies and by the impassable ocean.

"Suddenly two dramatic adventures not only changed the history of the world, but revolutionized the roll of the white man in human affairs.

"In 1492 Columbus seeking a new route to India across the Atlantic, stumbled on the colossal break-water of a new continent. In 1498 Vasco de Gama also in search of a new route to India, found his way round the southernmost promontory of Africa into the Indian Ocean and landed at Calicut. The white man had broken the barrier of the Atlantic and had outflanked the forces of Islam by the tremendous detour of the Cape of Good Hope—two stupendous achievements that were to alter the destiny of man. He at once discovered a "New World" and had made the oceans

'A pathway to the ends of Earth.'

"The siege was broken.

"From that hour for more than four centuries an incessant tide of expansion of the white man's dominance has flowed across the world from Britain and West Central Europe."

This is rather a long extract, but I could not put it better and so I have taken the liberty of reproducing it at length. It is true that the New World was the first to be discovered, but that discovery need not have affected the Orient at all, but for the almost simultaneous discovery of the route of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama. The discovery of the new world was purely accidental. The discovery of the route to the Orient was deliberately planned and designed. The Orient was already known to Europe. It was from the former that the latter had originally learnt everything worth learning, about the arts of peace and war, agriculture and handicraft, music and mathematics, medicine and astronomy, painting and sculpture, religion and theology and even ship-building and ship-making. History had already recorded several struggles between the East and the West for Political and Economic supremacy. So far the balance of power had generally been in favour of the East. Against one temporary raid of Persia and India by the Macedonian, there had been several successful invasions followed by conquests and occupation of the best parts of Europe by the Asiatics. The

Mongols were in possession of large tracts of European Russia, the Turks occupied all the Balkans with almost the whole littoral of Eastern Mediterranean, both in Asia and Europe. The Arabs had for several centuries ruled over Spain and other well-known parts of the Latin country. They were actually in possession of and were ruling over the whole of Northern Africa. Against this history knew only of two conquests of Westernmost Asia and Egypt by the Europeans. The first was by the Greeks whose rule over Egypt lasted for some time, but whose sway in Western Asia itself was that of culture rather than of conquest. The second was by the Romans, who took over the Greek possessions in Africa and Asia and ruled over them for some centuries, but they never crossed the Euphrates. No European army except that of the Macedonian ever reached Persia, Central Asia and India. On the political side it was Islam and the Islamic peoples that penetrated Europe and held it in their grip. On the economic side it was India that held sway over the markets of Europe through its cotton, silk and woollen fabrics and its gold. After the Persian domination of the Mediterranean had crumbled to pieces before the Greeks, that part of the Orient was occupied, as we have seen, by the Greeks and the Romans until Islam rose sphinx-like, and by one swift and dramatic movement not only recovered all the Asiatic and African dominions of the Romans but actually carried war into the heart of Western Europe and took possession of some of the most valuable and fertile parts of that continent. Slowly the tide of conquest advanced until in 1453 Constantinople was taken and Europe was invaded from the East by the Ottoman Turks who reached the walls of Vienna.

The discovery of Vasco de Gama, however, changed the whole situation. The first victim was India. It was from India, with Indian money and Indian men, that European domination in Asia and Africa mainly spread East, West and South. It is thus that to-day nearly the whole of Asia and Africa lies prostrate at the feet of the European. What it comes to, may again be stated in the words of Mr. Basil Mathews in his *Chash of Colour*:—

"With the exception of the Far East—China and the Japanese Empire—and parts of South America the white man in these centuries has with the irresistible drive of his energetic expansion, discovered for himself, opened up and then taken under his control

all the continents of the world. By the technical miracles of the modern science, of transport of goods and of ideas, the cable and wireless, the giant liner and the trans-continental railways, and these children of internal combustion, engine and the aeroplane and the motor plough, the white man has carried his control into the secret recesses of every continent. He has farmed the world by employing the labour of men of every race under the Sun. The hands of Africans, Asiatics and Islamics produce the rubber and the gold, the cotton and the oil, the foods and fabrics of every kind, and pour this gathered wealth into the lap of the West.

"This is a history of these four astounding centuries.

"There are on earth some fifty million square miles of habitable land surface. Of these miles forty-seven are under white dominance or nearly the whole habitable area of the world. Of the remaining six million square miles over four million square miles are ruled by yellow races—the Chinese and the Japanese, the latter now having sway over Korea, Formosa and the Pacific Islands that Germany used to govern north of the Equator.

"Of all this vast area of forty-seven million square miles, controlled by the white races, by far the greater part is under the hand of the English-speaking peoples. Of every seven people in the British Empire, six are coloured."

How these amazing results have been obtained and how they affect us in India and in Asia are questions which we examine below.

II.

The readiest answer to the question raised by me would be, that Europe's success in taking possession of the whole world is due to power placed in the hands of its peoples by the growth of knowledge, and the progress that has taken place in science during the last two centuries.

"The very facts," says Mr. Basil Mathews, "that the siege of Islam forced the white man to take to the ocean, drove him also to begin inventing new instruments for navigation, and so led on to new sciences of mathematics, astronomy, engineering construction, medicine and so on; and created that intellectual inquisitiveness and inventiveness which are (when you get down to the roots) the central creative forces of the new world."

The inventions of James Watt and George Stephenson created the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution brought in its train

wealth and an increase in population. Then followed the fairy-like development of transport and of farming and of mining until distance was destroyed and space shrank into smallness.

But this is at best, only a half truth. There was not much of science in the 16th and the 17th centuries when the real disintegration of India began. This disintegration was started and helped by internal causes rather than by external pressure, which in fact did not come into full force until long after Aurangzeb's death. Till then the Europeans in India had only been petty traders who relied much on the support of the native rulers, for the safety of their trade and effects. The causes that brought about the dissolution, first of the Moghul and then of the Mahratta Empires, stand quite apart from the growth of science and knowledge in Europe. The flame which consumed the Moghul Empire and later burnt and reduced to ashes the Mahratta Federation, was ignited by the clash of faiths, and the consequent lack of co-operation between the people and their rulers. Individual ambition and treachery also played their part, but the main underlying cause was the clash of religions. On occasions people of different faiths joined hands against the British, but the latter could always successfully play one against the other, so much so that the followers of different faiths vied one with another in serving the British and extending their Empire all over Asia.

Then came the growth of science which accelerated the movement thus set in motion by the clash of faiths, until step by step nearly the whole world came under the domination of the white race. Mr. Basil Mathews excludes China and Japan from this description, but China is, perhaps, as good as a European farm.

According to Mr. Mathews, "the white man has indeed found it to be his destiny to 'farm the world'; but 'in the process he has stirred the races of the world into new life. He still controls the governing machinery and most of the productive industry of the world; but his rule is challenged. Some men of the other races would fight him. Others would work with him. Few, however, would be ready to carry on indefinitely under his unqualified authority."

"Permanently to resist the claim of the other races for new power would lead to world-war. To accept it swiftly without qualification would

lead to chaos. Is there a way out of this impasse? What basis, if any, is possible, for a world-order in which all the just rights and needs of every race would be met?"

This is the 'vital world-wide issue' which not only Mr. Mathews but several other Europeans and Americans have of late been discussing and trying, each in his own way, to solve. To the race-arrogant the answer is simple. The white race, they say, is the only race fit to govern; others must occupy a subordinate position for all time to come. The story of the domination of the coloured races by the white is a story of blood and torture, of cruelty and infamy, of cunning and deceit, not unmingled with energy and daring enterprise, and also with industry of the most extraordinary kind. This is no place to recount all this. For the present we are concerned, only with the situation as it is.

"The clash of colour, the resistance of the other races to white domination has", says Mr. Mathews, "led many men, some of them of great brilliance of mind to say; first, that the root-facts of the physical and mental differences of the races cause this conflict; secondly, that you cannot change those great fundamental facts of race; therefore, thirdly, you must have race-war; and fourthly, you had better face the fact and prepare to resist the demand of the other races by the united armed force of all the white man's numbers and wealth and capacity."

Mr. Mathews' examination of the race problem leads him, as it has led many other thinkers of note, to the conclusion that 'race antagonism is not rooted in primitive instinct, it is not present in the natural child; it is put there through suggestion and education by the adult. It is not fundamental; it need not exist. This discovery breaks the terrible tyranny of race-antagonism over man. He can conquer and destroy race-war. We can 'wipe out our enemies' by 'wiping out our enemies.' The third thing is, that the highest authority—as well as from our own outlook on history—the world domination of the white man is a recent growth and is not likely to persist indefinitely.

"What then is needed to achieve the ideal of the world-team on the plane of our life here and now? We need in the affairs of man, some real and powerful force that will fuse the separate national and racial spirits into a unity. We need a King Arthur idea and ideal to gather the warring knights into a Round-Table of world-chivalry to co-operate

in defending the distressed and the weak and in fighting for world-peace."

How far this is likely to happen and what is going to be the offshoot is known only to gods.

III.

The problem of India is, however, a double problem. It is a race problem (or a clash of colour) so far as the antagonistic interests of the white people and the people of the country are concerned. As between the latter *inter-se*, there is no race rivalry now, whatever might have been the case in ancient times. Yet the problem which actually faces them is even more difficult and complicated. It is the problem of conflicting creeds. Ours is a land of many faiths. Some call them all "warring faiths", but the actual struggle for supremacy is confined to three—Hinduism, Islam and Christianity.

Just as present, the number of Christians is not sufficiently large to cast a shadow on the political future of the country. Moreover the younger generations of the Indian Christians are coming to realise that on the ground of religion they should advance no claims for special treatment in the domain of politics. They are content to take their stand on merit and merit alone. But with the increase of numbers, which Dr. S. K. Dutta, at a meeting of the Unity Conference at Delhi put at 1000 a day, one does not know what changes might come in the mentality of the community in the future. There are, however, several elements in the situation which reduce the fear of a change for the worse to almost a negligible quantity. What actually troubles us at the present moment is the antagonism (which is growing, both in volume and intensity) between the two principal religious communities of the country—the Hindu and the Muslim. Both are suspicious and mistrustful of each other. One has always been militant; the other is developing that characteristic very fast. One is anxious to increase its numbers; the other, at least, to maintain the *status quo*. This, the latter thinks, it can only achieve by becoming as aggressive as the other is *i.e.*, by adding active conversion of people of other faiths to its programme. Shuddhi and Tabligh are the craze of the day. I say this in no deprecating spirit as I am myself an advocate of the first, as Muslims are of the second. Anxiety to

increase numbers for eventual political gain is at the bottom of both. Religion is thus being made a handmaid of politics, as it has always been in the history of the human race.

I do not mean to say that no conversions have ever been made out of purely religious motives. But the latter can only be said of comparatively a few individual cases. Mass conversions of the past and present have always had politics at their bottom, and it is these latter on which both the Hindus and Muslims are at present engaged. Islam, Christianity and Buddhism have from their very birth, been proselytizing religions. Hinduism, they say, was not so. Many people used to say that a Hindu was born and not made. The proposition is now being contested both on principle and historically. The ancient history of Hinduism is cited in proof of the fact that conversion to Hinduism is possible. But whether this was so in the past or not, it is evident that in future Hinduism is going to be a missionary religion. The exigencies of the situation are being relied upon for this alleged change of front.

The clash of Hinduism and Islam, however, is not the only clash that troubles us. Within Hinduism itself there is a clash between the reformers and the orthodox—the Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharma Sabha,—also in the south of India there is a rivalry between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. In Islam equally there is a clash between Sunnis and Shias, Ahmadis and Non-Ahmadis. Where this is going to end, nobody knows.

Anyway, if the present is any basis for the future, India bids fair to be a vast battle-field for the clash of faiths and creeds. No one can have any objection to freedom of propaganda, but this kind of rivalry or competition, which is almost unique in the modern world, is bound to affect most injuriously India's prospects of political freedom. Our masters, the most astute, the most wide-awake and the most accomplished Imperialists of all history, are too human and too clever not to take advantage of the opening thus made by ourselves. We do not need a prophet to tell us, that until in some way or other, this clash of faiths is so regulated as to be made inoffensive for political purposes, politically we are a doomed nation. However much we may foam and fret, till then no substantial political advance is possible. And unless we get our

freedom, neither the rest of Asia nor Africa will get theirs. We will, thus, by a conflict of religions in our own country, be a direct cause of the coloured world's continued bondage, as we have been in the past the principal cause of their fall in the whiteman's march towards world-dominion.

IV.

Let us glance over the map of the world and examine the situation a little carefully. Egypt's advance towards independence has been substantially checked. She is sandwiched between the Suez and the Sudan, both of which are indispensable for the maintenance of British supremacy in Asia and Africa. Turkey is free, but her frontiers on the East and the West, the North and the South, are so arranged as to keep her constantly at war with some one or other of her neighbours including some Muslim tribes. The bravery and strategy of Kamal Pasha have forced a Lausanne treaty, but Europe has not forgotten that the Turk is an Asiatic and a Muslim to boot. As for the homelands of the Arabs—Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia—any one who has eyes can read the writing on the wall. China in the East, and the homelands of the Arabs in the West will never be allowed to have peace. They are nominally free, but we know what their freedom means. In the heart of these Arab lands British Imperialism has implanted an Ulster which has sealed the fate of all of them. The clash of doctrine and theology aided by the ambition of individual adventurers will do the rest. The "indomitable courage" of the Riffs has raised a slight hope, in the hearts of some, of the coming freedom in North Africa; but European interests in Africa, East, West, North and South are too extensive and valuable to let that hope be realised even to a modest degree. France and Spain are already joining hands to crush the Riffs. Britain will play a watching game until she finds that the situation is beyond the means of two. Then she may step in to give the final blow.

Let us now look at Central Asia. Afghanistan is no doubt progressing, but the recent Khost trouble ending in the drastic measures which His Majesty the Amir took against the Ahamdiyas, is a warning finger for those who are in the habit of generalising and building on very slender foundations.

Some are inclined to build heavily on the rivalry between Imperialistic Europe and Bolshevik Russia. But they are counting without their hosts. There is, I am afraid, nothing to choose between the two. The Bolsheviks has, for the present, only one aim and that is to compel Britain and France and the United States to make up with them. As soon as this is achieved, their activities are likely to take a different turn. Some are hoping and praying for a European war. It may or may not come. Even if it does come, it may or may not be of any substantial help to the warring faiths of Asia. It may thus be fairly concluded that while India's bondage is a source of great humiliation and an intolerable loss to all her people, nay even to the rest of the coloured world, it is also most damaging to the Islamic world. Hindus have no interests outside India. Muslims have. Anybody who knows the A.B.C. of world politics must thus clearly see through the game of the Anglo-Indian press and Anglo-Indian statesmen in taking the side of the Muslims in their quarrels with the Hindus. It is a part of a world-game. Those who have eyes can see it. British Imperialists would be extremely stupid (which they are not) if they acted otherwise. Let not Indian Muslim leaders, then, be deluded by the friendship of Anglo-Indian scribes who are goading them on to a bitter and never-ending quarrel with the Hindus, and always backing them against the latter. I may be a "fire-brand extremist," but I have not spent years in Europe and America without knowing a bit of western mentality. The westerner is no saint. His alleged benevolence and philanthropy is not even skindeep. His professions are only a part of a political game. In actual life he is as cruel and as merciless as any other Imperialist in the history of the human race has been or can be. At present his one aim is exploitation. He can feed his economic serfs well, he can allow them a morsel of civilised life too, if and as much as, it suits his purpose. But the moment he finds that his "benevolence" or

"philanthropy" or "love of justice" is likely to interfere with his gains, he stoops to such low tactics and such destructive processes as befit only those who are eaten up with their own self-interest. Let the victims of the Punjab Martial Law régime speak. Let the Egyptians give evidence. Let the Africans tell their tale of woe and afflictions. Imperialism is a monster which knows no law and no bounds. Self-aggrandisement at any cost is the only law it knows and recognises.

In the circumstances, it is for the Muslims to decide whether the game they are playing is worth the price they shall have to pay for it. They can have communal representation all along the line, in the Councils, the Local Bodies, the Services and the Universities, but at what price? Are they not bartering away the liberties of the Islamic world for a mere mess of pottage? Are they not reducing the chances of an Islamic revival by prolonging the period of India's bondage and reducing the chances of its gaining Swaraj, because that is what communal representation, if carried to its logical length, means and involves. Is it not worth their while to acquire the friendship and goodwill of the Hindus by giving up their demand for communal representation or by coming to a reasonable understanding with them as to how far this principle should go. Communal representation in the hands of resourceful people like the British, is a weapon which will effectively bar India's march to freedom. Communal representation is only another name for the continuance of this clash of creeds in its full fury. Must this clash continue to poison our political life? Is it impossible to eliminate it? Let us pause and ponder. We are taking a very grave responsibility, too great and grave to be lightly underrated by making ourselves responsible for the continued political slavery of more than three-fourths of the human race who have their home in Asia and Africa. The only way to get rid of this responsibility is to banish religion from the field of politics and take our stand all along the line on pure Indianism.

THE VULGARITY OF COLOUR PREJUDICE.

By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

Quite a library of books has recently been compiled in the West dealing with the race and colour question. Modern America seems to have gone almost mad in its advocacy of the cult of the Nordic Race. This cult is regarded as the essential feature of white supremacy, the final fact, that is to dominate the world, the actual Superman. All this is vulgar to an extraordinary degree. Indeed, the ignorance underlying such self-assertion is only equalled by its amazing impudence. For the so-called evidence on which it is based, are those of measurement of intelligence by arbitrary methods, which would give highest marks to quick-witted sharpness and lowest to profound meditative thought. The height of absurdity is reached, when such agile mental standards are regarded as the only ones worth preserving on this planet. The eugenic breeding of men is supposed to be necessary for this purpose. All the quiet meditative souls in the world would be eliminated by such a test in favour of a 'Nordic' brain. The men and women, who would most probably survive, would be those who could solve cross-word puzzles and answer promptly useless and impossible questions.

One of the most interesting lists of books in this new library on race and colour is that of the modern novels on this subject. The snobbery of these books in dealing with this topic, is almost inconceivable, as also is their contempt for any race except the writer's own.

One such book is "The Dominant Race" a novel about West Africa. The book appears to have run through many editions and its author is a District Commissioner of the Gold Coast Colony. It has been republished in a cheaper form in Bell's 'Indian and Colonial Library' and its sale is said to have been large. The whole novel is occupied with working out the essential difference between the white man and every other man under the Sun.

II.

Let me try to sketch in outline this utterly impossible story. A white man, named James,

comes out to the Gold Coast, in the Civil Service. He is a superman by birth because he is fortunate enough to be a member of the Dominant Race. (It is necessary always in such novels to spell the two words 'Dominant Race' with capital letters). His father, who is rich, wishes him to uphold the imperial dominion of the White Race in Africa. Before he goes, he falls in love with Marion, a Christian Scientist, who does not believe in drugs. She makes him promise never to take quinine, even if he gets malarial fever. He is fool enough to make the promise.

James has her portrait on his writing table; and the Civilian with whom he is staying on the Gold Coast, falls in love with Marion's portrait. This man's leave is immediately due, and he is determined to find out Marion and to woo her, while her betrothed is away, and marry her. These Supermen seem on such occasions to be 'beyond good and evil'.

James goes down with fever, and the Doctor and the Civilian hold his hands tight and pour quinine down his throat. Just when the Civilian, whose name is Hilary, is starting for England, an order comes from the Governor of the Gold Coast, that either Hilary or James must go into the interior. Hilary knows that James is a perfect fool, who does not in the least know the country and cannot speak a word of the language and will probably get killed. He, therefore, allows him to go, and himself sails home to win the love of Marion. He tells Marion an abominable falsehood about the quinine, saying that James took it willingly. Marion thereupon breaks off her betrothal to James, and very soon is devoted to Hilary. James gets her letter breaking off the betrothal, while he is in the interior. He does not know Hilary's baseness.

But as luck would have it, Marion finds out just in time that Hilary has lied. For the Doctor accidentally meets Marion and Hilary at a London restaurant, and tells the story how James kicked and struggled and broke a

thermometer, before he could be forced to take the quinine. Marion cuts Hilary on the spot and writes a passionate love-letter to James, in order to restore her betrothal with him which had been broken off.

Meanwhile things become complicated for James. He finds in the hut of the cannibal chief, a girl who is 'white', held as a captive. She is not quite white, and evidently does not belong to the Dominant Race; but she is very pretty and James at once begins to make love to her, regarding himself as free from Marion who had written out to him, as we have seen, telling him the betrothal is broken off.

James asks this 'white' girl to marry him. But fortunately for the story she refuses. Then follow some extraordinary adventures in which James rescues this girl, whose name is Ambah, from being made a part of a cannibal sacrifice. Just at the moment when James himself is going to be killed and sacrificed, Hilary comes back from England to the Gold Coast, in a fit of repentance. He saves the life of James and of the 'white' girl, but is himself killed while doing so. They mourn over Hilary and call him a noble fellow. He is a true scion of the Dominant Race.

James brings back the 'white' girl to the Coast. The Governor of the Gold Coast is much pleased with him and calls him a worthy member of the Gold Coast Civil Service. Ambah, the 'white' girl, whom he has rescued, but whose blood is not quite pure, conveniently goes into a convent, and James is welcomed back, like a prodigal son, by his father, who is proud of him as a noble scion of the Dominant Race. So in the end, James marries Marion, the English girl, who is a pure-blooded white, without a taint of colour like Ambah, and lives happily ever afterwards.

The whole story is obviously absurd; the plot is altogether second-rate. The most poisonous part of the book is the contempt and patronage combined, which are shown towards all the other races. The Negro race especially is made fun of on every possible occasion. Either the Negro is servile, in his attachment to white man, or else he is treacherous and cunning and wicked. Everything is judged by the standard of servility to the white man. Furthermore, the white man himself may be a perfect fool, like James, nevertheless he is bound to take the lead and domineer and rule

over everybody else; and stranger still he is bound in the long run to succeed.

I should like to add one word about the mentality behind this novel. What is as evident as possible from the story is that according to the writer the whole world belongs by right of birth to the White Man. But the white man must be superlatively white. There are grades even of whiteness and then an impassable gulf. The Muhammadan soldier, the pagan Gold Coast Negro, nay, even the Christian Negro clerk or foreman, all, all are 'black'. And between 'black' and 'white' there is a great gulf fixed by birth itself. Now the extraordinary thing is this, that the very people in Europe who have built up so meticulously this new caste system are themselves the loudest in proclaiming the inhumanity of the caste system in India. Yet I seriously doubt whether India even in her darkest moods of internal depression and decay, ever built up such fanciful barriers as these modern Europeans are doing in the hey-day of their success.

III.

Another novel, which has run through many editions is called "A Rajah's Honour." It is a travesty of Indian life. The 'natives' (for no other word is used throughout the book) are all of them utterly despicable creatures. The Rajah himself is so grotesquely fantastic, as to be scarcely a human character at all. The leading English character, Major Garfield, ends the book as follows:—

"It was ever the same, he thought, he would be always up against caste prejudices, the inflexibility of which is like the law of the Medes and Persians. And India would be ever thus, he mused, as the tonga jogged on its return journey. East is East and West is West and there is no getting away from it.

"His years of self-abnegation and toil for both East and West, what had they brought him? Gratitude? No! Even the man in whose service he had risked his life would not raise a finger in the interests of humanity.....Fame?Yes, but what was fame to him now!

"The love which men toil for, and which should have been his, had passed him by. The fruits of labour had turned acid in his mouth."

This then is the conclusion of the matter, according to this English writer.

Let me give an outline of the story. Major

Garfield is the Civil Surgeon, at a cantonment station in Northern India. He is barred at the Club, because his skin is darker than the usual 'white' skin. The word goes round the Club, that he is 'of the country'; that he has a 'touch of the tar brush'; that he is a Eurasian! In reality, one of his ancestors was a Spanish Duke and this was the real reason for his tanned complexion. But the word goes round, all the same, as a kind of coarse jest, to be uttered behind his back, that this grandmother was an ayah. A man named Oldham, at the Club, rejoices in making side remarks to that effect, and the Major winces under these allusions, but he keeps his own temper. He nurses his wrath in silence.

Major Garfield goes on leave and comes back at the end of the hot weather, just before the monsoon, with a very beautiful wife, who is ultra-modern, and smokes with the men and sits up late at dances and has what is called a 'good time.' Her name is Vivienne.

Major Garfield takes her to the Club. A play is about to be acted, in which there is the part of an 'ayah'. Major Garfield is jeeringly asked by Oldham to take the ayah's part. Instead of refusing, he strangely accepts it, and all kinds of sneers go round. This is how it is all described:

"The fact that Garfield had married a woman so obviously thoroughbred, and as fair as he was dark, outraged Oldham's feelings, and it was on this account that he determined to belittle, in front of her, the man she had married. He wanted the woman to suffer (just as every Englishman and woman wants every white woman to suffer who marries black blood) and he was determined that she should."

The irrepressible Cosgrave, who always acted as a foil to Oldham played his usual role.

"Why d'you think it's a splendid idea, Oldham?"

"He'd make a perfect ayah. Got the face and colour, and all that sort of things, and can speak the 'bat' just like a native."

"What a brain you have got! I never thought of that."

Vivienne hears all this and gets the suspicion that her husband has 'a touch of the tar.' A little later on, she is taken to visit a Eurasian woman, named Mrs. Bell, who has just had a little baby. She is distressed by the suffocating atmosphere of the Eurasian home; but, worst of all, when the shawl is taken off the baby at

the mother's breast, she sees that though the mother is white, the baby is dark brown. The following conversation which takes place at this point, is so typical of the mentality of the whole book, that it must be quoted in full:

"Vivienne could hardly believe her eyes. Mrs. Bell was almost as fair as an Englishwoman. Her child, Winifred, was even more fair, but the baby at her breast was black, and to Vivienne's unaccustomed eyes the contrast was revolting.

"The baby was going to be called Hugh after her husband! The idea, for every concrete reason, sickened her. The squalor and the lackadaisical household had eaten into her vitals. The baby, a black baby, which lived in that atmosphere was going to be called Hugh after the doctor! After her husband! The thought was so nauseating that Vivienne was not cognisant of the passing of time, and the conversation between Mrs. Sinclair and Mrs. Bell became nothing but unintelligible murmurs to her.

"Not until she was seated in the tonga on the return journey was she able to think clearly.

"And this was India! The India which her husband had told her she would come to see, with a liking which would unsettle her for any other part of the world.

"She's very ill, isn't she?"

"Yes" was Vivienne's monosyllable reply.

"I'm afraid it has upset you? I shouldn't have taken you with me so soon. The squalor's apt to upset a newcomer. I should have thought of that."

"Well, it was rather a shock."

"But you'll get used to them in time. Eurasians are like that. My husband says they've all the vices of the English and the natives, and none of their virtues."

"Well, they evidently don't like fresh air."

"I know. Did you hear Mrs. Bell telling the ayah to lower the chick as we left? Oh, of course you didn't, I forgot you don't understand Hindustani."

"I can't understand a woman like that having such a black baby, I suppose her husband's a native?"

"No, he's not he's as English as we are. He was a sergeant in the Dorsetshire regiment, before he was a guard on the Railway; they were married about five years ago.

"Five years ago?" The words suggested

something incredible. Could it be possible that Winifred was their child?

'You see that's the worst of marrying a Eurasian. You never know what the offspring will be like. My husband says there's always a throwback sooner or later. Mrs. Bell's a Eurasian, you see.'

'A throwback! What's a throwback?'

'I don't understand,' said Vivienne falteringly.

'Well, you see, if an Englishman marries a woman 'of the country' the children are often as fair as Europeans, but sooner or later there comes a black child, and Hugh is a typical throwback.'

'It was well for Hugh Garfield's wife that at that moment her tonga drew up under the porch of the Sinclair's bungalow. The words 'of the country' re-fired themselves on her brain. She had not forgotten Oldham's remark: 'his grandmother was an ayah, if his mother wasn't! Like a stunned woman she stepped out of the tonga and sought her room.'

'Was her husband a Eurasian? And was there the possibility of her having a black baby? She felt like swooning at the thought, and sat on the side of her bed in a listless attitude. Hugh would be returning soon! How could she face him with such horrible thoughts in her mind? His return to which she had been looking forward, gave her no feeling of pleasure now, 'Of the country! Why hadn't he told her?'

'And then like one drowning and clutching at a straw she seized on Mrs. Sinclair's exact words. 'If an Englishman marries a woman of the country the children are often as fair as Europeans, but sooner or later there comes a black child.'

'Perhaps it wasn't the same, if a man 'of the country' married an Englishwoman? Oh, perhaps it wasn't the same, it couldn't be! How could she have a black baby at her breast?'

'There was the sound of horses' hoofs on the drive. They drew nearer and stopped under the porch.

'Syce!' It was her husband's voice. But instead of rushing out to meet him, she retired into the bathroom and shut the door. The conclusion of Mrs. Sinclair's sentence was hammering in her brain..... 'Hugh is a typical throwback!' and Hugh was to be the name of their child if he were a son.

'Oh God, can these things be?'

After this incident, things go from bad to worse. Major Garfield acts in the play the ayah's part and does it to perfection. At the end of the play, one of the Club-men says to Oldham:—

'I thought you didn't like Garfield?'

'I don't. Can't stand tar at any price! But one must give him credit for being able to act, and having the courage to do it. I'll offer him a job, when I am married.'

Although Vivienne was no more capable of seeing behind her than anyone else, she could imagine the nudge which followed Oldham's remark, and knew that Cosgrave was drawing his companion's attention to her presence; and the red cheeks of Mrs. Sinclair told a similar tale.

'There was a titter of laughter behind and Vivienne turned round suddenly to see Cosgrave stuffing a handkerchief into his mouth while tears of laughter rolled down his cheeks, and Oldham looking preternaturally grave. The clouds were gathering again.'

Vivienne overhears all this and is determined to find out the truth. She was determined that the insinuations of Oldham should cease. She would invite him to dinner and thrash the matter out. She would have to know first whether her husband had a touch of the tar. Her future action depended on her knowing the truth. Meanwhile, Garfield calls Oldham a 'young cub' and forces him to cry out in an agony as he squeezes his hand with brute strength. Oldham is humiliated. At this moment Mrs. Garfield comes up to him and says:—

'Mr. Oldham, I am going to have this out with you. If we are to be friends you mustn't sneer at Hugh, for....'

'I don't sneer.'

'Isn't saying he has a touch of the tar sneering?'

Up to this point Oldham had treated her remarks as somewhat frivolous. He was not sufficiently under her thrall as yet to sacrifice his self-conceit, and in a voice which showed a certain amount of disregard for this issue, he blurted out the challenge:

'The truth isn't sneering!'

'And you think I don't know my husband's people, and all about him?'

It somehow struck Oldham that a woman who could mention the word 'tar' and her husband in the same breath could have no very

deep-rooted affection for him, and still suffering from the sting of the word 'cub' which Garfield had hurled at him, his quick temper got the better of him.

"I'm damned sure you don't!"

After this Mrs. Garfield's suspicions are confirmed. She does not 'have it out' with her husband, but becomes more and more deeply involved in a quarrel with him.

IV.

The rest of this amazing story about India remains to be told. We have had, a glimpse of the Club life. Now the scene changes, and we are brought face to face with the Rajah in a neighbouring Indian State. He is represented as an English-educated person, with the veneer of culture from the West, but at heart still clinging to savage rites and superstitious ceremonies. With regard to these, horror is piled on horror by this lady author. The first scene, in the Rajah's palace, begins at the time when his favourite wife is about to give birth to a child who may be heir to the throne. But she is suddenly seized by an almost fatal illness. Major Garfield, the Civil Surgeon, is called in, but he is only allowed to feel her pulse through the purdah. He is not allowed even to see her tongue or examine her throat, although he suspects diphtheria.

He suddenly remembers, however, his great success as an ayah in the play, and decided to go in this disguise, into the Rajah's zenana and examine the royal patient. The high-priest of the Goddess Kali conveniently declares, that a certain moment at midnight will be propitious and that a stranger will appear. Major Garfield announces himself at that very time, as an ayah, who can cure the Rani. He is admitted with his bag, containing a hypodermic syringe and antitoxin, and then orders every one out of the room. He examines the Rani's throat and finds it a clear case of diphtheria. Thereupon he injects quickly the anti-toxin with his hypodermic syringe; and the Rani shrieks out with pain. The Rajah rushes in and sees through the disguise. He forced the Civil Surgeon before him, in a white heat of indignation at the violation of the sanctity of his zenana, into a prison cell, where all kinds of hideous tortures are perpetrated for slowly grinding and torturing and starving this new prisoner to death. The fact that he is the

Civil Surgeon of the Cantonment, does not seem to strike the Rajah at all.

But the Rani miraculously recovers and also gives birth to a son and heir to the throne. In his ecstasy of joy at the double good news, the Rajah interviews his tortured prisoner, Major Garfield, and listens to his story and believes him. Major Garfield points out, that as no one has discovered the disguise except the Rajah himself, it can remain concealed and, therefore, he may be released without anyone being the wiser. The Rajah is deeply touched and releases him secretly. As they separate one from the other, he says that Major Garfield's honour shall be as sacred to him as his own. It is at this point that the meaning of the title of the book 'A Rajah's Honour' is made evident to the reader.

Soon after this, Major Garfield is called away on plague duty. While he is away, he discovers a certain vaccine which will make his name famous all over the world. He also discovers that he is the sole descendant of a Spanish Duke. Before his departure he had warned Vivienne, his wife, against Oldham, and his wife had resented it. She has now become indifferent to her husband and has taken every precaution that no child shall be born of their marriage, because she is afraid of giving birth to a 'black baby'. But she never tells her husband about her fear. Just at the last, she begins to understand how baseless her fears are. But it is too late. She has become involved in an intrigue with Oldham, who dances perfectly and can make her do anything to please him when she is in the intoxication of a dance. He makes her kiss him passionately in a verandah, while servants are looking on, and the whole thing is reported to the Rajah, who takes upon himself the protection of Major Garfield's honour, in these domestic matters, and has his spies and secret detectives in every household in the Cantonment.

Oldham goes even further in his infatuation and enters Vivienne's bedroom. But the worst act of all at this time is prevented by the ayah, who is in the secret service of the Rajah. The ayah comes suddenly into the room. Nevertheless, Vivienne is now reckless, and wishes at once to go away with Oldham, and live with him as his wife. Oldham's passion has cooled down; but Vivienne's passion will have no refusal. Arrangements are made for

both of them to leave the Cantonment that very night in different tongas and meet at the railway station.

But here again the Rajah's secret-service police come into evidence. The tongawala of Mrs. Garfield's tonga (who is of course in the pay of the Rajah) takes her away to the Rajah's palace instead of to the railway station. She is confronted by the Rajah with all her misdeeds. Oldham goes off without her and dies in a drunken quarrel in Bombay, which is engineered by the Rajah from a distance.

V.

Then comes the horrible climax of the book, full of absurdities and impossibilities, but literally creeping with horrors. The Rajah holds a kind of court-trial, and Vivienne is faced by the different ayahs, who have been in her service. All of them condemn her of immorality with Oldham. At last, under the hypnotic spell of the Rajah's eye, she confesses it herself, though actually she had not gone beyond the stage of kissing Oldham and trying to elope with him—bad enough as that was.

When the trial is over, she is condemned as a wicked woman to be trodden to death by elephants. This is the punishment of unfaithfulness to a husband in the Rajah's State. She can hardly at first believe it; but when the truth of the horror in front of her comes home to her, she fights like a mad woman. But it is all in vain. First her two hands are amputated by whirling blades, and she holds up her mutilated stumps. At this very time, Major Garfield calls at the palace, and at first the reader supposes that there is going to be a rescue. But Major Garfield knows nothing of what is going on behind the palace walls. Indeed, at the very time that he is waiting for an interview with the Rajah, his own wife, Vivienne, is being barbarously crushed to death by the Rajah's elephants, till her body had become a mass of pulp, lifeless and horrible and covered all over with blood.

The Rajah then sits down to table with the Major but says nothing about what has just been happening in his back-yard. The Major asks for the Rajah's help in spreading his new vaccine; but the Rajah steadily refuses. He will not make terms with the West. He sticks

fast to his Kali-Puja. Herein, says the authoress, there is the final distinction between East and West, which can never be bridged over by any possible compromise. 'East is East and West is West for ever'.

The Major is now quite tired of the Rajah; and when the latter had refused him any help in his medical work, the doctor will not even accept a ride home in the Rajah's motorcar. He goes in a tonga.

When he has gone about a mile and a half from the city, he comes across a flock of vultures quarrelling over a dead woman who has been sacrificed to the terrible Goddess Kali. But he cannot recognise the face and does not know that it is his own wife. The novel ends at this place.

The moral of the book, if there is any moral at all, is that the Rajah has upheld the honour of the Major by executing the Major's wife, just as he would have executed one of his own wives if he had found her immoral. The last scene of the slaughter of Vivienne by the elephants is told with every ghastly detail to make the English reader revolt against such awful barbarism. This is the final impression which the Western public will get from such abominable writing, an impression of utter horror. Throughout the whole book, the race and colour question is made the essential motive. Everything possible is done to make the West disgusted with the East. No less could anyone from the East, who reads such a book, become disgusted with the West. The book is therefore poisonous from beginning to end. Yet we find that it has had a very wide sale and has run already through many editions.

At the end of this survey, I naturally pause to consider what is happening in the world, when novels like these, and cinema shows, and theatres, are spreading every day such vile race poison as this among the masses and are thus stirring up deliberately in the end a world-war of racial hate. How puny our own efforts must seem to counteract such a propaganda! Yet we must never despair or give up hope, but seek, every day, while facing quite clearly and honestly all the facts of his propaganda which is going on, to keep our own hearts free from the race evil and purge them from every taint of caste or colour prejudice that may still remain.

THE OLD CRITICISM AND THE NEW.*

By MR. S. C. DEB, M.A.

It is a pity that Mr. Willcocks should have chosen the indeterminate name, *Between the Old World and the New*, for his very fascinating volume. His book sets out to explain to us how the French Revolution which ushered in the nineteenth century created such conditions as favoured the growth of that special mentality which is summed up in the Victorian attitude of mind—best exhibited in men like Carlyle and Tennyson; how even before this period (the Victorian) there had been artists who had foreseen the subsequent revolt against this mentality—men like Goethe and Balzac; how the seventh and eighth decades of the 19th century brought to the fore that band of iconoclasts who succeeded in wrenching men's minds away from the Victorian attitude of the 'Survival of the Fittest'—men like Ibsen, Tolstoi, Anatole France and others; how the literature of the last decades of the nineteenth century is a literature of synthesis following this period of revolt and anarchy best exemplified in the work of Dostoevsky, Whitman, Thomas Hardy and others; and how finally even this literature is but a vague foreshadowing of the mighty change, bound shortly to come over all our views of life as a result of the ideas promulgated by the builders. And this wide sweep on the history of human thought Mr. Willcocks wishes to take from the point of view, not of the pure philosophers and psychologists, but of those literary artists who have at various times during this age tried to portray Life—the poets, the dramatists, the novelists. Mr. Willcocks has rigidly excluded all those who are not 'creative' in the narrower sense, and though this method might seem an error to some, it is a method that keeps one on the safe side. To understand and appreciate the work of these writers, Mr. Willcocks desires that not only their personality should be clear to us, but that the

idea they had of human personality when they portrayed human beings should be clearly perceptible to us also. This second notion leads him to discuss over a score of the most important writers of the period subsequent to the French Revolution, always from the point of view of the Will—that fétich of modern thought; always taking up as text, "The man: his age, and his views." The book, therefore, becomes more than a mere series of 'studies in literary personality'; it is as much a study of the idea of 'Personality' as exhibited in nineteenth century literature and after; the expansion of its content and its new significance. The writer it seems could not make himself quite clear on this point, and left it undecided.

The book is divided intentionally into six parts:—(1) Personality, (2) Three Prophets of the Will, (3) The Victorian Mind; the 'Survival of the Fittest, (4) Those who escaped, (5) The Wreckers, (6) The Builders. It is ushered in by a very short but very important preface where the writer strongly emphasises his belief in progress, and ends with a 'conclusion,' a very lucid one—where the writer sums up his theories.

A fine passage (pp. 79–81) gives in brief outline the author's view of human activities after let us say, the year 1780. "In [yet another] age men became possessed by the notion that given only a slight change in the structure of society, human nature would also become transformed and man would find it easy to enter the Earthly Paradise. Such was the belief that inspired the French Revolution, and lasted into the succeeding decades....."

"The Golden Age came, in the form of mass-production, of child-labour and slum cities on the one hand, and on the other, of prodigious wealth in the hands of a few. The Golden Age failed to bless either the poor or the rich. The nineteenth century was spent in making the discovery that it was a dead failure, as far as Paradise was concerned. But it was evident that

**Between the Old World and the New: Being Studies in Literary Personality from Goethe and Balzac to Anatole France and Thomas Hardy.* By M. P. Willcocks: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd: Ruskin House: 40, Museum Street, W. C. 1: London: 1925.

man had not yet returned to a state of Nature, that therefore, remained to be tried.....

"Before long, however, mankind had lost all confidence in that panacea, had done so indeed, even before the end of the century. The new idea then was, that if one mended up the old order of society, using various political expedients, such as the vote and popular education, men would enter upon a far better life than any they had known. The idea of pastoral joy was deserted for a vision of orderly streets, well-drained cities, and obedient and contented toilers.....

"This short way to the Millenium engaged the attention of politicians and preachers throughout the century, but underneath this activity an unseen solvent was at work, a solvent which was to destroy the very stuff out of which all divisions of society are constructed. The forms in which life was to flow were being settled; to flow for ever on so it seemed. Yet, while the forms were being arranged a new spirit was coming on the scene, a spirit that would ultimately render all the forms quite futile. *The human mind was then starting on an exploration tour of its own world within, of its consciousness. This tour led men, and is still leading him, into very strange regions..... Under this new perception entirely different values presented themselves to the mind, new values in politics and practical life as well as in religion and thought.....*

"It took a century for this great volte face in man's reaction to life and being to accomplish itself; and indeed the process is still continuing. *We are only now beginning to realise what a tremendous revolution it is to turn from form to consciousness as a mode of apprehending existence.....*

".....The deluge is now upon us, that deluge which sweeps away old dividing lines of every kind and carries us all out, man and animal, plant and atom, living and passed over, noble and ignoble, into the uncharted ocean."

The author has given us here, in a manner full of wit and sympathy, what appear to him the main threads of human existence during the period he deals with. I have quoted it intentionally because the author states almost his whole theory of the change that took place here. It will be obvious to any reader now, that the most important point in our author's theory is his notion of the "Expansion of Human Personality," during the seventh, eighth

and ninth decades of the nineteenth century. It came after the worst results of the Industrial Revolution had already been seen, and it made away with the notion, hitherto prevalent, of "individualised and differentiated" personalities, and the belief in the 'law of the jungle' or the 'Survival of the Fittest' hitherto accepted as the Law of Life. "This change" says our author "from the cast iron theory of personality to the fluidic, has inevitably brought about with it great changes in the method of dealing with personality in literature.....Therefore, it is not vivid clear-cut characters who stand out in modern literature, but rather groups of personalities, each group the expression of a temperament held in common....."

II.

The author goes on to state more definitely the notion of 'human personality' as understood by the later nineteenth century masters. "Instead of the simple upright form," he says, "which was the Victorian idea of personality, we have now the perception of a being upright indeed, but borne on two great wings, one of which links it with the animal world, the other with the formless regions of the mind and spirit. A human being is thus a creature in whom no less than three planes intersect; the subliminal regions of the unconscious or only partially conscious where instinct reigns; the lighted stage of thought and action which was all the world to the Victorian Artist; and the creative plane of mind and spirit in which the saint, the artist, and the thinker are alike at home. We are beginning, that is, to realise the underworld, the world, and the overworld of personality."

This is the first point of our author's theory; a second—and a very important one—follows this notion inevitably. That is the idea of the unity of all life and being. This has commonly been called the mystic attitude—and almost always identified with the religious aspect of man's life. But, says our author, this is now manifesting itself in every direction: "The conception has been affirmed for thousands of years as a religious tenet; it is a commonplace of political idealism; it is the guiding principle of science, whether it appears in physics in the form of the matter which is seen ultimately as a whirl of the ether; or in psychology where telepathy begins to face the possibility of a common sea of feeling in which

everything can be known in common....." [pp. 355-56].

We have then come to definite conclusions on two subjects (1) the idea of the expansion of Human Personality, (2) the mystic idea of the unity of all life and being as commonly presented in modern literature. Long before the present, Hegel had in his 'Aesthetik' pointed out, though very casually, the fact that modern romantic literature tends to be more and more vague and mystic. It is impossible to disagree completely with Mr. Willcocks's theory that the presentation of human characters by the greatest moderns has the spirit of infinity in it. But there may be different opinions and I quote an eminent English critic on this subject—Andrew Lang—who offers us an opinion startlingly different: "It (the nineteenth century) has been a great century in letters," he says in an essay called "Literature in the nineteenth century" "but its earlier glories in letters are little studied (with a few exceptions), and the literature of the moment is only in one way encouraging. It cannot well be worse; it is the dark hour before the dawn." The same caustic critic goes on to speak of the men so enthusiastically praised by Mr. Willcocks. "The same applies to continental literature. 'Decadence,' and reaction from Decadence (as in M. Rostand); 'Realism,' and reaction from Realism; social philosophies, striving to take literary form (as in Tolstoy); theories and contending critical slogans meet us everywhere, but we find little spontaneous genius, little permanent excellence....." and sums up the matter by telling us that "great stores of 'realism,' 'naturalism,' 'Ibsenism,' decadence, art according to Maeterlinck have been unloaded on a public, which lectured out of its natural human tastes, is already revoting to them'..... And another eminent writer, the Spanish Novelist Valdes in his essay on 'the Decadence of Modern Literature' is equally scornful towards these 'moderns,' and can hardly find words to express his disgust at the Russian novelists for their 'delirious mysticism!' " If I were to offer a personal opinion, I should side with Mr. Willcocks. These people may have seemed 'delirious,' and 'disgusting' to contemporary critics (both Lang and Valdes write before the year 1900), but to us who stand away from them by almost the space of half-a-century their work takes a totally different appearance. The most rigid critic of modern times will agree with Mr.

Willcocks in the notion that these artists have, if nothing else, opened up new fields of consciousness, and brought into literature a quality of wider and more passionate humanity than was known before. That there may have been a corresponding falling-off in the 'externals' of literature may be true, but that is another matter.

III.

The keynotes to the book are, as I have said, (1) a belief in endless progress and consequently in human perfectability (2) the theory of the widening of human personality and (3) the consequent idea of the unity of all life and being. We may now turn though more briefly, to the particular 'studies' in the volume. The opening chapters are devoted to a discussion of the general theory of personality that has been sketched above. The first three studies are devoted to the "Three Prophets of the Will"—Goethe, Balzac and Shelley—the three 'most comprehensive souls' who by intuition felt what the future was to bring out. The chapters on Goethe our author says that he is a Proteus not are not so important as the one on Balzac. Of Goethe our author says that he is a Proteus not to be tied down to any one shape; he sees all life—from the lowest to the highest forms of it—as the expression of the will of God. Of Balzac, the writer is careful to point out, there are two aspects usually emphasised unequally—the realistic and the mystic. It is upon the latter aspect that Mr. Willcocks lays particular emphasis, so that by this strangely dual mentality Balzac can fling out his imagination into strange untrodden worlds (cf. *Scraphita* Louis Lambert, &c.); as well as create those terrible pictures of the Europe of the nineteenth century—the Europe of external decencies and internal plagues of commercialisation, of imperialism and jingoism. Shelley, on the other hand, takes a totally different way; his scheme is, the redemption of Life through Love. Hence he does not give us either the realistic pictures of Balzac, or the intangible perspective of Life offered by Goethe in 'Faust.' And hence says our author Shelley came more fully to his own than either Goethe or Balzac".....

We now turn to chapters devoted to the group of writers whom the author denominates the 'Victorians'—in spirit as in name—people like Carlyle, George Eliot, Thackeray, Trollope, Dickens and Tennyson. The outlook of these

writers on the world, is according to Mr. Willcocks, summed up in the formula "The Survival of the Fittest:" their law of life is the 'law of the jungle'—the weak shall go to the wall. Of these the writer says: "The nineteenth century creators of personality in England worked for the most part under the dictation of the old order of thought; *they saw each man, each class, each nation, as separate entities; they saw Nature here and Humanity there.* And therefore Colonel Newcome's idea of Heaven is of a place where he can reply Adsum to a divine master; and *neither the Colonel nor his creator has any notion of a region where the beings of the natural order and the beings of the spiritual order can be at one; no notion of an existence beyond Good and Evil as these words are understood on Earth.*.....Even Heaven was a matter of strictly graded compartments".....This is our writer's chief complaint against the Victorians; and this is a notion which the twentieth century thinkers, as a rule, are now holding them guilty of. I pass over the chapters without any further remarks, because they take up writers whom we all know, and Mr. Willcocks' main contention against them has already been stated by me. The only objection that I should make here, is that Mr. Willcocks tries to fit his theory to facts against it. His almost forcible inclusion of Dickens and Thackeray amongst the 'Victorians' is, I feel, unjustifiable. They may usually have perceived human character only in bold sharp outlines, but there are examples in their work, of the 'wider' types of character—those that Mr. Willcocks thinks belong exclusively to the art of the later masters—though not yet maturely portrayed—(e.g., the immortal Mr. Dick Twiteller, and the convict Magwitch in 'Great Expectations', Sir Barnes Now comes Now come and Perdennis).

Of the four writers put down by Mr. Willcocks as a class by themselves, the sisters Brontë, Meredith and Browning, I have hardly anything to say for myself except one thing and I say it later on.

IV.

We next come to 'The Wreckers'—Ibsen, Tolstói, Turgenev, Tchekov, Anatole France. The chapters on these writers of the period of change are the most important in the book. "The original impulse to this process of change," says the writer, "at least as far as formal thought

is concerned, was given of course, by the publication in 1871, of Darwin's 'Descent of Man.' What that book attempted to prove was that there has been continuing from the dawn of creation, one incessant process unfolding in the realm of consciousness, as well as in that of form, and that man's consciousness is a continuation of the simple consciousness of the animal, from which in fact, it has never been separated, in the sense of being cut off..... Each individual possesses not merely personal, but also racial memory and consciousness....." As I have suggested later the 'Wreckers' were also the 'Builders' in many directions: Ibsen's relentless exposition of the sex-problem and other social questions in our times such as the position of women, and his insistence on a higher morality and the higher politics—the Third Kingdom of Maximus the mystic; Tolstói's denunciations against the immorality, the luxury, and the cruelty of society and the narrowness and blindness of our politics; and his insistence on non-violence and the Christian spirit; Anatole France's stern repudiation of all cruelty and tyranny, of all dogma and soulless theory; and his continual insistence on pity and the principles of sympathy and tolerance may serve as examples of what I aim at saying. These people have shaken off the incubus of Victorian 'Morality' and can no more believe in society as imagined by the Victorians. They find that even evolution is no panacea; and therefore try their utmost to sap men's faith in the narrow and mechanical scheme of life accepted without a question by the 'Victorians.' To the fact that they are almost all literary 'Pamphleteers' must be ascribed the falling-off in the 'externals' of literature in their work.

And lastly we come to the builders—very strange names—Samuel Butler(!) Dostoevsky, Walt Whitman and Edward Carpenter and Thomas Hardy. The first named figures here because he 'was able to do two things for the new faith; he was able to show Mind and Intelligence as the thread on which the purpose of the ages had been spunsecond, (he) gave to man a mental power of attorney by which he might act in full conviction that he is himself Agent-in-Chief on this earth of Mind of the Universe'.....(some 'Cargwidge' this!). Dostoevsky is here as one of the 'Builders'—a step in advance of his three great compatriots—because in him the soul of Russia seems to have incarnated itself; its hopes

and despairs, its desires and its dreams. From his pen we have pictures of characters like Myshkin in 'The Idiot,' and Sonia in 'Crime and Punishment,' characters almost Christlike in their purity of feeling; and it is he again who gives us those figures of the Pure Will, men whose will is so absolute that they *must* do whatever they will—even the most unthinkable disgusting acts—to realise themselves; men like Stavrogin in 'The Possessed' and Svidrigailoff in 'Crime and Punishment,' men who stand outside good and evil, outside Law and Morality as we understand them, because they are purely incarnation of the will to act. And in his last and greatest work, 'The Brothers Karamazov' Dostoevsky goes further. He can figure life in its infinite variety now, from the very and mere Life in the flesh—obscene and lustful—of Old Karamazov; we turn to figures like Dmitri and Ivan Karamazov, who represent Life in the Body and in the Mind; themselves to give way in turn to the last child of the Karamazovs—Alyosha—in whom Dostoevsky sees the promise of the future the Man-Christ, who includes everybody within his personality, and understands and enjoys all that man can do. [I might in passing mention that centuries before even the Christ was born the Hindu sages and mystics had not only foreshadowed, but reached a state of personality even higher,—they pictured the whole world within themselves and their sympathetic imagination included even more than Alyosha does—it understood not only the life of man but the life of the Universe—even the creatures that we hold lower than ourselves, such as the animals, even the things that are held inanimate—such as "stocks and stones and trees."] And lastly there is that artist in Pain-Thomas Hardy. His sole motif in art is the revulsion of the artist—soul in him at the sight of pain—wantonly and cruelly inflicted on man by a force that he pictures as a 'knitter droused over his own web.' The only hope in Hardy is that the creature—man is higher, and therefore able to criticise the creator—whatever we agree to name him. And it is this that he figures amongst the 'builders'!

V.

I have spoken thus, and at length, of our author's theories, and tried even in a very imperfect way to bring out his main ideas about the various 'literary personalities' he discusses.

I should like before I close, to express my feeling of disappointment with regard to certain points. I am not quite clear in my mind as to why certain very important figures of this period have been dismissed by the writer—one feels almost scornfully. The whole set of the great early nineteenth century French writers—Hugo, Dumas, Stendhal, George Sand, to name merely the first four, have been curtly refused admittance; and amongst later writers artists of such supreme quality as Flaubert and De Maupassant, have also been thrown out. If this book had been merely a volume of studies, one could not have objected in the slightest to this treatment, but as there is another and an underlying purpose in the book that I have mentioned above, I feel, at least for myself, that their omission has been a big gap. They surely have been omitted for 'various reasons' by our author but this might, I think, have been explained. Again amongst the wreckers one misses Stindberg, and the School of the 'French Nationalists'—probably the most potent force in this direction. But possibly Mr. Willcocks thought them unworthy! If I were to hazard a purely personal opinion, I should say, that there is an undesirable insistence on the English element in this volume, to the detriment of the whole book. Besides the division is in many cases, far from clear. Why should Ibsen remain only amongst the 'Wreckers,' and Samuel Butler become one of this 'builder'? Why should Tolstoj either be only a 'wrecker'? Why should Browning be put down amongst the group of indeterminates who are huddled together here as 'Those who escaped'? If Shelley and Balzac can be called the 'Prophets of the Will,' so can Browning; because he perceived as clearly as Balzac the triple aspect of man's personality, and in figures like Canon Coponsacchi, or Skedge the Medium, or Prince Hohensteil-Schwangan he comes close to portraying man's personality as understood by the 'Builders' in the manner of Dostowsky himself. The writer tries to defend his own arbitrary classification thus: "It is practically impossible, of course," says he "to actually cut off the 'builders' from the section, who are called the destroyer, or the 'wreckers.' One can only feel of anyone of these men that his work was either predominantly destructive or constructive. Each one, of course, both built and destroyed, often in one and the same work'....."

Of the critical method adopted by the writer here, nobody could have anything to complain of. The writer desires to portray his subject as a personality, environed by a certain epoch; and within the limits he prescribes to himself he is usually clear-sighted, and full of enthusiasm yet sane. He does not suffer from that disease—so undesirable, yet so common—of hysterical exaggeration, and Swinburnian eulogy. This, if anything, is a positive nuisance. Sometimes led into hyperbole, but pardonable hyperbole, his criticism is almost throughout sane and sincere, and often truly

illuminating (e.g., his chapter on Anatole France). With some exceptions his phrase and manner match his critical insight, and his enthusiasm for his subject is really charming. We may not agree with all the notions he brings out in his pages—we don't need to—but the book is throughout so full of matter, is so 'thought-provoking' (to use a hackneyed phrase), and is besides written in a tone of such sympathy and insight, that it is a pleasure to read him even when we most strongly differ from his views.

THE MUNICIPAL HISTORY OF CALCUTTA.

By "A DITCHER."

The history of municipal administration in Calcutta dates from 1727, when the first Corporation came into existence. It consisted of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, and its duties were to collect ground rents and town dues, and to make the necessary repairs to roads and drains. The amount thus spent was, however, insignificant. An effort was made about 1757, to organise a municipal fund by levying a house tax, but the scheme came to nothing. The duty of keeping the town in order rested with the Police Commissioner; but its insanitary condition was notorious, and in 1780 the town was thus described by Mackintosh:—

"It is a truth that, from the western extremity of California to the eastern coast of Japan, there is not a spot where judgment, taste, decency and convenience are so grossly insulted as in that scattered and confused chaos of houses, huts, sheds, streets, lanes, alleys, winding gulleys, sinks and tanks, which jumbled into an undistinguished mass of filth and corruption, equally offensive to human sense and health, compose the capital of the English Company's Government in India. The very small portion of cleanliness which it enjoys is owing to the familiar intercourse of hungry jackals by night, and ravenous vultures, kites

and crows by day. In like manner it is indebted to the smoke raised on public streets in temporary huts and sheds for any respite it enjoys from mosquitoes, the natural productions of stagnated and putrid waters."

By a statute of George III, Justices of the Peace were appointed for the town in 1794, and regular assessments were authorised. The Circular Road was metalled, and the conservancy establishment was increased. But many defects remained, and in 1803 Lord Wellesley pointed out the extremely defective construction of the public drains and water courses, the absence of any regulations in respect of the situation of public markets and slaughter-houses, the irregularity of the buildings and the dangerous conditions of the streets, and appointed a Town Improvement Committee of 30 members to carry out the necessary reforms.

Since 1793 it had been the practice to raise money for public improvement by means of lotteries, ten per cent. of their value being set aside for public works or charitable purposes. As long as the Town Improvement Committee existed, these funds were made over to it; but in 1817 a Lottery Committee was formed which was employed for 20 years in schemes for the improvement of the town. During this period

a great advance was undoubtedly made. The Town Hall was built, the Beliaghata Canal dug, and a large number of streets were opened out, including the Strand Road, Amherst Street, Colootolla and Mirzapore Streets, Free School Street, Kyd Street, Canal Road, Mangoe Lane and Bentinck Street, and the long roadway formed by Cornwallis Street, College Street, Wellington Street and Wellesley Street, with the four adjoining squares. Arrangement for watering the streets was also introduced. In 1820 a systematic plan for road metalling was adopted at an annual cost of Rs. 25,000. Public opinion in England having condemned this method of providing funds for municipal purposes, the Lottery Committee came to an end in 1836.

Meanwhile, under the Act of 1794, the Justices had met the expenses of the conservancy and police of the town from a tax on houses and licenses for the sale of liquor. In 1819 the house tax realised a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and in 1836 this had risen to 3 lakhs while $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs was derived from excise. The expenditure on conservancy and police was at this period $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, the difference being made up by Government.

In 1810 the principle of municipal taxation was extended to the suburbs. In 1840 an Act was passed dividing Calcutta into four divisions and authorising the ratepayers, on an application made by two-thirds of them, to undertake their town assessment, collection and management of the rates up to a limit of 5 per cent. on the assessable property in Calcutta. Nothing came of this Act, and in 1847 the Justices were replaced by a Board of seven paid members, four of whom were to be elected by the ratepayers. They were empowered to purchase and hold property for the improvement of Calcutta and to make surveys, and were entrusted with the maintenance of the street and drainage. In 1852 their number was reduced to four, two being appointed by Government and two elected; and they were allowed a maximum salary of Rs. 250 a month. The house tax was raised first to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and later to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and a 2 per cent. lighting rate and tax on carts were authorised; horses and vehicles had already been made taxable by the Act of 1847. The Commissioners were required to set aside $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs for the sewage and drainage of the town. In 1856 their number was reduced

to three, all of whom were appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

In 1863 the Municipal Government was vested in a body composed of all the Justices of the Peace for the town of Calcutta, together with all the Justices for the Province who happened to be resident in Calcutta. This body elected its own Vice-Chairman and had a regular Health Officer, Engineer, Surveyor, Tax Collector and Assessor. A water-rate was imposed and the house-tax raised to a maximum of 10 per cent. The Justices' power of borrowing was extended by several Acts, and during their period of office, the drainage and water-system of the town were largely developed. The New Market was erected in 1874 and the Municipal Slaughter-houses in 1866. Footpaths were made along the main thoroughfares, Beadon Square was opened and in all about 2 crores were spent on the improvement of the town.

II.

In 1876 a new Corporation was created, consisting of 72 Commissioners with a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman; 48 of the Commissioners were elected by the rate-payers and 24 appointed by the Local Government. This body completed the original drainage scheme, largely increased the supply of filtered and unfiltered water, and effected many other improvements, including the construction of the Harrison Road.

In 1888 the municipal boundaries were extended by the inclusion of a large portion of the suburbs lying south and east of the Circular Road. Seven wards were added, and additions were made to three other wards in the north of the town. The number of Municipal Commissioners was raised to 75, of whom 50 were elected, 15 appointed by Government, and the other 10 nominated by the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Association and the Port Commissioners. During the following 10 years the filtered water supply was further extended at a cost of 18 lakhs, and an underground drainage scheme for the Added Area was started. A Dhobikhana or laundry, and an Incinerator were constructed, and a number of insanitary tanks were filled up and replaced by roads and squares.

The municipal administration of the city was revised by the Bengal Act III of 1899, and placed in the hands of three co-ordinate authorities—

the Corporation, the General Committee and the Chairman. The Corporation consisted of the Chairman, appointed by Government and 50 Commissioners, of whom 25 were elected at ward elections, and the remainder were appointed as follows, viz., 4 by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, 4 by the Calcutta Trades Association, 2 by the Port Commissioners, and 15 by the Bengal Government. The General Committee consisted of 12 Commissioners, and the Chairman, who was President. Of the Commissioners, 4 were elected by the Ward Commissioners, 4 by the appointed Commissioners, and the remaining 4 were appointed by the Local Government. The entire executive power was vested in the Chairman, to be exercised subject to the approval or sanction of the Corporation or General Committee, whenever this was expressly directed in the Act. To the Corporation were reserved the right of fixing the rates of taxation and all those general functions which could be efficiently performed by a large body. The General Committee stood between the deliberative and the executive authorities, and dealt with those matters which were ill-adapted for discussion by the whole Corporation, but yet were too important to be left to the disposal of the Chairman alone.

III.

The Municipal Act has recently been amended by the Bengal Council Act III of 1923 with a view to liberalise the constitution and bring it into harmony with the present political conditions and tendencies. The changes came into force in April, 1924, and are described below.

The first change is in regard to the boundaries of Municipal Calcutta which has been enlarged by the inclusion of Cossipore-Chitpore, Maniktala, Garden Reach, a small area out of Tollygunge in the vicinity of the Corporation drainage pumping station, and the land acquired by the Port Commissioners in the South Suburban Municipality for the extension of the Docks. This has added about 11½ square miles to 18½ square miles of the old Municipal area, and 1,60,000 to its population which (excluding the Fort, Maidan, Port, Canals) now stands at 10,55,000. Cossipore-Chitpore has been divided into three Wards, viz., Wards 30, 31 and 32. Maniktala has been divided into two Wards, viz., Wards 28 and 29, while the whole of Garden Reach together with the Port

Commissioners land formerly situated in the South Suburban Municipality has been formed into one Ward, viz., Ward 25. The Corporation is required to pay Rs. 8,000 a year for ten years to the South Suburban Municipality as compensation for loss of income from the inclusion of the Dock extension area in Calcutta, and to spend annually, for ten years beginning from the third year after the commencement of the new Municipal Act, a sum of not less than one lakh on original improvement works in each of the three Municipalities added to Calcutta.

In the old Municipal area some of the Ward boundaries have been re-adjusted. Entally and Beniapukur which previously formed two Wards have now been made into three, while Ballygunge, which was previously Ward 21, has now been cut up into two, viz., Ballygunge (Ward 21) and Tollygunge (Ward 27). Hastings which was Ward 18 of the Act has been amalgamated with Ward 25. Other changes which, however, are of a minor character have been made in the boundaries of Wards 9, 22, 23 and 24. The present Municipal area consists of 32 Wards, i.e., an addition of 7 Wards to the divisions existing since 1888.

In view of this extension of the Municipal area, and the necessity of placing the constitution on a popular basis and providing for the adequate representation of local and special interests, it has been found necessary to considerably enlarge the Corporation. The present Corporation consists of 90 members, of whom 63 are elected. Of the 63 elected seats open to election, 15 are earmarked for Mohammedans, who will be returned by exclusive Mohammedan constituencies at the first three elections, and by mixed electorates thereafter. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce now returns 6 members or two more, while the Calcutta Trades Association and the Port Commissioners return 4 and 2 members respectively as before. Government nominations have been reduced from 15 to 10. This makes a total of 85 members who are now called Councillors instead of Commissioners. The remaining 5 are called Aldermen, who are elected by the 85 Councillors after each general election. No Councillor can be elected as an Alderman. The elections are triennial and Councillors and Aldermen hold office for 3 years. The Corporation elect annually two of their number to be Mayor and Deputy Mayor.

IV.

It is not only in the matter of increase in the number of elected representatives that the constitution has been made democratic. The franchise has been lowered, women are now eligible to vote and to stand for election, and voting by ballot has been introduced. Under the old Calcutta Municipal Act the minimum qualification to be a voter was the payment of Rs. 24 to the Corporation for the year immediately preceding that of election as consolidated rate or license taxes or both; this minimum has now been lowered to Rs. 12. The franchise was previously restricted to owners and occupiers of properties of a certain value and registered as such in the Corporation Assessment Books and to holders of certain classes of Licenses. Under the present law any occupier, whether occupying an entire premises or only a part, who has paid a rent of Rs. 25 per mensem for at least 6 months during the year last preceding the year in which the election is held, and any owner of a hut on account of which not less than Rs. 12 has been paid as consolidated rate, is eligible, the only condition being that he should get his name entered in a special register kept for the purpose. The system of plural voting under which a voter could have up to a maximum of 11 votes in any one ward according to the valuation of his properties in the ward and could give all his votes to one candidate has been abolished. Under the present law every elector has as many votes as there are Councillors to be elected, but no elector can give more than one vote to any one candidate.

The system of three co-ordinate authorities, viz., the Corporation, the General Committee and the Chairman, each acting independently of the others within a circumscribed sphere, which was a special feature of the legislation of 1900, and a Chairman appointed by the Local Government exercising the triple functions of Head of the Executive, President of the General Committee and President of the Corporation has been abandoned. Almost all the powers and authority are now vested in the Corporation, who appoint, subject to the approval of the Local Government, the Head of the Executive who is called the Chief Executive Officer. Except in regard to assessment and a few other matters specially mentioned in the Act, the

latter exercises only such authority as may be delegated to him by the Corporation and no longer presides at meetings, but he has the right under the law of being and taking part in the discussions as if he were a member although he cannot move any resolution or take part in the voting. The control of the Local Government has been relaxed to some extent in that the appointment of the Chief Executive Officer has been left to the Corporation subject to their approval, and it is only in the case of three other principal officers, viz., the Deputy Executive Officer, the Chief Engineer and the Health Officer that the appointment and salary require the sanction of Government, whereas formerly cases of all officers drawing a salary of more than Rs. 1,000 per month had to be referred to Government. Further, in the case of works and contracts, Government sanction is required only in cases involving an expenditure of more than Rs. 2½ lakhs; the former limit was one lakh. By-laws and rules have still to be sanctioned by Government, who have retained the power to interfere in cases of neglect. They have also taken additional power in the present Act to annul any proceeding of the Corporation which they do not consider to be in conformity with law and to do all things necessary to secure such conformity.

The sphere of functions of the Corporation has been somewhat extended. Besides the obligation to spend Rs. 8 lakhs a year for 10 years on improvement works in the areas added to Calcutta a statutory liability to spend not less than a lakh every year for promoting primary education has been imposed. Specific powers have now been given to the Corporation to establish and maintain municipal dairies, grazing grounds and cowsheds and take other steps for improving the milk supply. The law relating to food and drugs has been made more explicit while in the case of buildings, provision has been made for the system of licensed building surveyors and power has been given to the Corporation to decline to accept building plans for sanction unless they have been prepared and are signed by a licensed building surveyor. Persons desirous of erecting new building have to employ a licensed building surveyor or other competent person to supervise construction if the cost of the building is likely to exceed Rs. 50,000 or such other sum as the Corporation may prescribe.

A REFORM SOCIETY IN CHOTA NAGPUR.*

By MR. PROMATHA NATH BOSE.

It is a matter of congratulation that the hopes which I expressed when we met last year have, to a certain extent, been fulfilled. Numerous meetings have been held under the auspices of the Chota Nagpur Goraksha and Jati Sudhan Sabha. The Tabadili Conference was the most numerously attended of these. It was attended not only by large numbers of the people of the Simdega sub-division, but also by those of the adjacent States of Gangpur and Jaspur. The most remarkable fact about the Gola meeting was the active part taken by a Mahomedan gentleman. His activities did not end there. He even came to Ranchi and delivered a lecture on "Cow protection" at the local *Goshala* during the *Jumnastamy* festival.

The impulse of this great movement has come from you and that the initiative has been taken by you,—augur well for its future success and prosperity. We of the intelligentsia are here only as helpers. We are of course interested, and deeply interested in it. For our welfare is intimately, indissolubly bound up with yours. But as you are more directly concerned, and form by far the greatest majority its utility, stability and permanence would depend upon the amount of time, energy and honest work you are able to devote to it. It is too early yet to judge of the result of your endeavours. But during the year just passing away you have given unmistakable indications of your earnestness of purpose. A *goshala* on a large scale with breeding bulls is about to be started near Angara. Besides, several *Goshalas* have been established under the influence of this society though not directly by it. The Temperance movement has, I am informed, made most remarkable progress in the Simdega and Gola areas. An excellent start has been made which inspires us with the hope of future success.

I cannot too earnestly impress upon you the vast possibilities and potentialities of this

society and its immense beneficence to Chota Nagpur. The salvation of our country is to be worked out by silent, steady, honest work such as it is doing. It affords a platform on which all sections of our community, Hindus of all castes, aborigines, Christians and Mohamedans can join hands and adopt measures for the welfare of Chota Nagpur. One of the most imperative of these is the promotion of temperance. The drinking of spirituous liquors is the greatest curse of Chota Nagpur, especially of this district. As I pointed out last year, no less than 70 per cent. of its Government Revenue (some 7 lacs of rupees) is derived from excise and only 30 per cent. from land revenue cesses, stamp and income-tax, and that no less than a crore of rupees was wasted upon country spirit by the people of the distillery area alone during the year 1923-24 which is ten times the entire Government revenue of this district from all sources and about fifty times the income of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur. I regret to have to say that the Excise Report for 1924-25, shows a reduction of only 2,000 gallons. It is to be hoped, that the next report will disclose more substantial reductions. The success of the work of this society will be measured by such reduction. The economic condition of the district of Ranchi can never improve while this enormous waste continues, and without such improvement it is idle to talk of its agricultural and industrial development. Under existing conditions wealth derived from better wages and higher prices for raw produce is like water poured into a basin full of holes only to uselessly run out. Impoverishment is not the only lamentable evil of this, the greatest curse of Chota Nagpur. It converts man into a brute, and a very large portion of heinous crimes, such as dangerous assaults, murders, etc., are attributable to it. It is for these reasons that our ancient sages prohibited alcoholic beverages. All the great religions of the East, —Buddhism, Hinduism, and Mahomedanism place them in the category of sins, and all the great reformers have put a bar on them. All

*Being the Presidential Address delivered on the 30th December, 1925, and specially revised for the *Hindustan Review*.

sincere Buddhists, Hindus and Mahomedans are total abstainers. The religion of the West, Christianity, does not it is true, abjure spirituous liquors. But the westerns have of late been waking up to a full sense of the terrible mischief they have been doing in diverse ways, and one great country, the United States of America has recently prohibited them altogether.

It is right and proper that abstention from distilled spirit at least, has been made a necessary condition of the membership of this society. Those of you who have become members and taken the pledge of abstinence must renounce distilled spirit altogether. It will not do to give it up gradually. Very few have the strength of mind to keep themselves within the strict limits of moderation. Besides, with most, drinking is useless unless it reaches the point of intoxication. So those of you who are addicted to drink must not deceive yourselves with the idea that you will for the present moderate it and then give it up. A malignant abscess or carbuncle must be cut off altogether. It will not do to cut it piecemeal.

There is a tendency with some people to substitute alcoholic drinks by tea, the supposed virtues of which are widely advertised by interested parties. Do not be deceived by those advertisements. Tea-drinking carried to excess (and it is generally liable to be so carried) is just as injurious to health as alcohol-drinking. You cannot have a better drink than what nature has provided—water, provided it is pure, and where you have not got a pure water supply, I have no doubt, the District Board or Municipality will provide it.

Another matter which stands in the way of the welfare not only of this area, but the whole of India is resort to Law Courts on the slightest pretence. The indigenous panchayet system was certainly much more crude than the one by which it has been replaced, but it was much more efficient and involved much less delay and much less trouble and expenses. Sir Thomas Munro thus speaks of it after long experience in the Madras Presidency: "It appears that under Hindu administration there were no courts excepting the *cutchery* of the *Patails* and *Amildars*, and that all civil cases of importance were settled by panchayets. The native who has got a good case always applies for a panchayet, while he who has a bad one seeks the decision of a collector or a judge because he

knows it is much easier to deceive them. He conscientiously believes that for purposes of discriminating the motives of action and the chances of truth in the evidence of such a people, the entire life of the most acute European judge devoted to that single object could not place him on a level with an intelligent Hindu Panchayet which is an admirable instrument of decision". Sir John Malcolm speaking of Central India says, that "when any of the subjects of the Princes and Chiefs under British protection had disputes regarding land or property demanding our mediation, the aid of a panchayet was invariably resorted to, and its opinion made the guide for a decision. The knowledge and discrimination which some of the members displayed on the trial, and the distinctness of the grounds on which the court made up its judgment were surprising. There was in no instance any cause to suspect these courts of partiality, much less of corruption."

There was a time when your forefathers had their disputes settled by panchayets like these. You should resort to them now, and thus save the time and money now wasted upon law courts. As I said last year, they are interesting as an arena for duels between legal luminaries, and as an agency for relieving the rich of their wealth for distribution among lawyers and Government officials. But they are too costly and dilatory for poor, unsophisticated people as you mostly are. Central arbitration committees may be formed at suitable places to whom cases which your panchayet cannot settle or about which their decisions are not satisfactory may be referred.

There is a third matter which impoverishes you as, indeed, all of our fellow countrymen, and that is the substitution of indigenous by imported manufactures. We cannot be too alert against the insidious influence of the modern meretricious civilization of the west which inculcates a strong distaste for simple, healthy, beneficent rural life, and an equally strong taste for a more or less parasitic, unhealthy, restless urban life with its infinity of futilities, fatuities and superfluities. We have a large class of weavers among us. The Ranchi Co-operative Central Bank, and more recently the Ranchi Weavers Stores by introducing the improved fly-shuttle loom have considerably increased their production and outlook. But even many of the weavers let alone the other

classes have foolishly become so "civilized" as to prefer the imported, fine, mill-made cloth to their own coarser, but more durable manufactures. They forget their own interests and those of their district and their country. They, and all of you, should remember, that the money spent upon imported mill-produce mostly goes out of your district, but what you spend upon the indigenous article remains in it, and makes your weaver class prosper, and your prosperity is inalienably concerned with theirs. You have, therefore, rightly resolved to use so far as practicable, indigenous manufactures instead of imported articles and resume charkha spinning.

I have not yet said anything about the primary object of your society, the protection of the cow; because, I firmly believe that you cannot effectively do that unless your economic condition improves; and there can be no such improvement unless you honestly try to carry out the three resolutions I have referred to, that is unless you abjure distilled liquor and cease to have recourse to law courts and imported manufactures as little as possible. You will not serve much good purpose by starting *Goshalas* as mere refuges for decrepit old cattle. Your aim should be to have good breeding bul's, in fact to convert your *Goshalas* into dairy-farms so far as practicable.

The Tanas of this district have set you an admirable example. They have become total abstainers, spin their own yarn for their textile requirements, frequent the law courts but little and protect their cattle. From all accounts, they have become highly prosperous. There is no reason why the rest of the Chota Nagpuris should not be able to do what they have done.

It is true your land generally is not so

fertile as in the plains. But Providence has by no means been niggardly in her gifts to you. She has given you a climate which is much more salubrious than what the plains' people enjoy, and which should enable you to work harder. Then, again, your land being generally undulating, you have better facilities for irrigation, and are more independent of the vagaries of rainfall. Your lowlands should yield you rich harvests of paddy, wheat, sugarcane, etc., and your uplands of ground-nut, *urid*, various oil seeds, etc. If for their development, as, for instance, for the construction of *bands*, you require financial help, the Co-operative Central Banks which have been organised by some of your philanthropic friends will afford it at a moderate rate of interest so that you may not get into the clutches of the usurer.

Brethren, we must all exert to work out our own salvation by our own efforts. The Chota Nagpur Golaksho and Jati Sudhan Sabha only affords an instrument for doing it. It is, no doubt, an excellent instrument. But success will depend upon how it is worked, how the numerical strength of its membership is increased, and how the members carry out the resolutions which are passed at our meetings and conferences. If these conditions be properly fulfilled, Chota Nagpur would not only become highly prosperous and cease to be the happy hunting ground of coolie recruiters, but if you, aborigines, Hindus (touchables and untouchables) Mohamedans, and Christians continue to meet and work together in fraternal spirit for the common good of your country as you are doing now, you actually set a noble example of manly self-help and beneficent intercommunal amity to the rest of India.

SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI: A STUDY.*

By PANDIT MANOHARLAL ZUTSHI, M.A.

Would man be great he must be a non-conformist.
—Emerson.

In the middle of the 19th century India was, socially and spiritually, sunk in the depths of tireless immobility. In the East, perhaps even more than in medieval Europe, human life has been moulded for better or for worse by the all-powerful influence of religion, but unfortunately religion had lost its vitalising spiritual force and at best was only a 'sad mechanic exercise, like dull narcotics, numbing pain'. In the century that lies between the battle of Plassey and the Mutiny religion had degenerated with the masses into an agglomeration of cold, mechanic customs and dabasing superstitions, while the Brahmans were either lost in the fascinating cloudland of metaphysics or wrangled over the thrice-gnawed bones of scholastic casuistry. The Vaishnava movement which had striven so hard for the uplift of the country during the middle ages and had produced such forceful personalities as Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Tuka Ram, had lost its force and the followers of these saints had degenerated into so many additional sects. The nation was frost-bound to its past, and the past, spiritually at any rate, appeared to be as cold and lifeless as the frozen surface of the polar seas. Not that the people had grown less moral and more sinful: so far as the daily life of the community and the routine of caste and family duties were concerned the anchor firmly held. Indians, even in the darkest period of their history, have never been found wanting in the practice of the virtues of private life, reverence, affection, honesty, chastity, charity and those 'little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love', which, the poet tells us, are 'the best portions of a good man's life.' Life had not grown more sinful, but what was worse, it had grown immobile. Reverence, affection and chastity were not wanting, and of charity there was

enough and to spare. What was wanting, were the ideals of intellectual freedom, of strenuous endeavour, of painful strivings after the unattainable. The mental windows appeared to be closed, there was not enough light and air, and the whole life of the community was cramped and overshadowed. The entire country appeared to be suffering from that rotundity of mind, which distinguishes the ecclesiastical sex, and nothing was shunned more scrupulously than fearless enquiry and honest criticism. To obey authority, specially the authority of caste and priest, was regarded as the highest of social duties. The Hindus dreaded no penalty, not even death itself, so much as outcasting, while the priest held them with his glittering eye; they listened to him like a three years' child; the Brahman had his will. Even powerful Hindu Rajas felt that the Brahman's frown could scorch as with a frame and strove hard to win the largess of his smile. The 'mechanicalisation' of religion was complete and the Hindu social polity, based on the apotheosis of blood and sex, had become stereotyped, I had almost said petrified, in the course of ages. And the worst of it was that the people did not care; they seemed happy in their inert thrall life.

The linnet born within the cage.

That never knew the summer woods.

It was in such a country and during such an age that an indomitable rebel like Dayanand was born and, in the face of the priest and the Puran, sent his challenge ringing up to heaven. He had left his uncongenial home early and, like a true *Brahmachari*, had wandered throughout India for many years in search of the old Sanskrit learning. He had learned well and learned much, but it was only at Muttra that he at last found in Virajanand a *guru* after his own heart, a *guru* who satisfied to the full his desire for the ancient Vedic lore. Dayanand was convinced that the Vedas had been revealed to the Aryan seers, that they contained the eternal and divine wisdom on which religion should be based, and idolatry, priest-

*Especially revised text, for the *Hindustan Review*, of a contribution to the *Leader*.

craft and mythology were all modern excrescences which should be destroyed. Not even the Prophet of Arabia had preached the unity of Godhead and denounced the worship of idols with greater zeal than Dayanand. 'Back to the Vedas' was his cry, back to the pure monotheism of the Rishis, leaving stocks and stones to take care of themselves. Orthodoxy naturally rose up in arms against the iconoclast who was holding up their time-honoured gods to ridicule and had dared to disturb so rudely their life of soulless ease. It is a remarkable tribute to the depth of Dayanand's learning and the forcefulness of his personality that from the first day of his propaganda the Brahman priesthood felt that he could not be ignored, that howsoever fiercely they may denounce him and condemn his teaching they were compelled to listen to what he said and to give reason for the faith that was in them. Dayanand was cast in the heroic mould and had none of that 'softness' which so often weakens the Hindu character. Intolerant he was and even fanatical at times but his honesty was transparent and his zeal for truth above reproach. One may agree with him or one may not, but everybody felt that a new force, stern, virile and unbending, had come into the national life of India and had come to stay.

After spending several years in northern India in teaching his new doctrines, holding discussions with the orthodox Pandits and making converts mostly among the English-educated classes, Dayanand felt the need of a permanent organization to carry on the work which he had begun and founded the Arya Samaj at Bombay in 1875. His chief aim was the propagation of the Vedic faith and the conversion of the world to it, and judged by his standard the Arya Samaj has failed. Half a century has passed, but I doubt if the membership of the Samaj has reached half a million. The days of mass conversion have gone by and in the twentieth century no civilized people will accept a new creed by the million. And there are scholars, both Eastern and Western, who do not accept Dayanand's interpretation of the Vedas and who say that he takes the ancient *mantras* and bends them to his own wizard will. Hindu society is becoming more and more heterodox and the doctrine of divine revelation of the Vedas has not much chance when tested

by the canons of scientific criticism. Higher criticism is making short work of the revelation of the Bible in Christendom and it is not towards a belief in revealed faiths but towards the higher criticism of its scriptures that Hindu thought is moving. And some people at least have been kept away from the Arya Samaj by its want of urbanity, the vehemence of its zeal, its militant and pugnacious methods.

I do not blame the Arya Samaj for this for I know that much has to be forgiven to a new faith fighting for its life. Any one who cares to study the religious and social history of India during the last fifty years can easily understand and explain the existence, nay the inevitability, of these crudities. Yet there is little doubt that they have jarred upon finer natures and have repelled some who would have otherwise gladly enlisted under its banner.

But the Arya Samaj is not to be judged by its numbers. Northern India has been the main theatre of its activities and here it has done splendid work in the fields of education, religious reform and social uplift. The D. A. V. College of Lahore, the Gurukul at Hardwar and a hundred other educational institutions bear testimony to the untiring zeal and the noble self-sacrifice of the Arya Samajists. In the fight against the reactionary influences of the priesthood and the petrifying tendencies of caste, in elevating the depressed and the untouchable, in raising the status of women, in tending the sick and the needy, the forces of progress have invariably found a loyal and sturdy ally in the Arya Samaj. But perhaps its noblest gift to the Hindu community, a gift for which that community cannot be too grateful, is the gift of independence of thought and virile strength. Isolation has been the curse of Hindu social polity and when attacked from without Hinduism, instead of fighting its opponents, has preferred to retire into its shell. Evils have continued to exist, not because their existence was not recognised but because the community preferred acquiescing in wrong to fighting against it. Thanks to the robustness and virility, even vehemence and pugnacity, if you will, of the Arya Samaj, this state of things is changing fast. A manlier and healthier tone pervades the community and in place of helplessness and dependence, we are learning to rise to the dignity of freedom and to make our conscience and our reason the

supreme guides of our conduct. The Arya Samaj may or may not win more converts but as long as it remains true to the principles of its great founder and continues to learn and teach the inestimable lessons of veracity in thought and virility in action, so long it will

continue to be a valuable factor in our national life, and even in the electroplated splendour of an age driven by machines and vulgarised by lustre and advertisement, serve to remind our people of the verities of an elder world.

MEDIEVAL INDIA.*

By "HISTORICUS."

Prof. Ishwari Prasad's *History of Medieval India* is a welcome contribution to Indian historical literature. It has often been said that the history of India has yet to be written and this saying is no less true of medieval than of ancient India. It has long been a commonplace with historians who take up the arduous task of evolving a connected and harmonious history of India from a chaotic mass of disconnected material, to brush only very slightly the historical drama which was played upon the stage of medieval India, a drama which is not only remarkable for its striking denouement but also for the celebrated actors who played their parts so ably. Professor Ishwari Prasad's book makes ample amends for this deficiency in the history of India. His work covers a period extending nearly over a thousand years, from the death of Harsha which closes the cultural epoch of India,—the epoch of all that was truly good and great, the epoch of originality, political unity and imperial greatness,—to the coming of Babar which ushers in a new era in India, the era of an alien culture, super-imposed upon an indigenous culture that was fast dying out, the era of political servility and decadence. The work is likely to supersede all other rivals in the field. Dr. Lane Poole's brilliant sketch is more in the nature of a historical romance than of serious history. And it is no disparagement of the illustrious Elphinstone's monumental history to say that the progress of research

since his day has outgrown the usefulness of his work.

II.

In a masterly Introduction of about twenty pages Prof. Ishwari Prasad makes a rapid survey of the background of his period. He states his conclusions boldly and has the courage of his convictions. His book will serve a useful material purpose. It will enable his readers to have a better estimate of themselves and to feel proud of their spiritual and cultural heritage. It may be possible sometimes to differ from him. He draws rather a gloomy picture of the weakness of all aspects of life during the Rajput period. It is, perhaps, right to say that the political system was weak, though here too the impartial critic is constrained to remark that the Rajput military reverses and loss of freedom were due to a deplorable lack of geographical knowledge among the Rajput princes. But there should be no two opinions regarding the fact that it was not a period of religious decadence. It was a period of religious renaissance, the age of Shankara who cleansed the Augean stable of Indian religious superstitions and evolved a coherent system of thought. The effete Mahayana and Tantric Buddhistic cults, and the monstrous cult of Kapalikas, were knocked on the head by Sankara's religious crusades and Hinduism was re-established in its pristine vigour.

The separatist and feudal tendencies of the Rajputs were too strong for political solidarity and unity. Their ignorance was also appalling. Prithivi Raj never knew what was happening

**History of Medieval India*. By Prof. Ishwari Prasad, M.A., I.L.B. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad) 1925.

on his frontiers in the kingdom of Ghore; he could not form an idea of the military movements of his rival—Muhammad of Ghore, and thus could not baffle his bold bid for Empire. We are reminded of the days of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the saviour of India, when foreign domination and political subjection were staring him in the face,—how he dictated terms to Selucus Nicator and obtained a scientific frontier for his Indian Empire. We also remember the pious rule of Asoka who sent religious missions to East and West and made a cultural conquest of foreign people by peaceful means. During his reign as during no other reign in the whole range of Indian history, the bloody hatchet was buried and swords were turned into pruning hooks. Yet no other ruler can claim to be called the greatest that ever ruled and never was India more secure from foreign attack. The reason is not far to seek. India lost her isolation; the world forces were not shut out from her plains; her people did not remain in blissful ignorance of what was happening in other lands.

III.

Professor Ishwari Prasad attaches, and rightly so, great importance to the cultural effects of the Arab conquest of Sindh. The debt which Sarcenic civilization owed to Indo-Aryan culture was very great. The Arab occupation of Sindh becomes much more significant when we remember that Arabian culture which owed so much to Indian culture also moulded to a degree the European civilization of the Middle Ages.

With remarkable clarity and mastery of detail Professor Ishwari Prasad traces in Chapter III and IV the events that led to the Turkish conquest of Hindostan. In Chapter V he narrates with complete details the story of the Muslim conquest of India and the establishment of the Slave dynasty. The idea of Imperialism had not taken deep root in the minds of the Slave rulers. Balban understood the dignity of the kingly office, suppressed the vagaries of his nobles and gave a concrete illustration of his policy of "blood and iron" by the terrible vengeance he wrecked upon Tughril. But the Empire of Hindostan was still governed on feudal principles and it was not until the reign of Alauddin that we read of the growth of the Imperial idea. But Professor

Ishwari Prasad is right when he says: "He was the precursor of Alauddin; but for the security and stability which he imparted to the struggling power of Muhammadans in India it would have been impossible for Alauddin to withstand successfully the Mongol attacks and to achieve conquests in distant lands which have won for him an honoured place in the Wallahila of Muslim history."

The next important episode in mediæval history is the reign of Alauddin. The Professor has made a special study of the Khiljies and Tughlaks and his conclusions, though they differ from the accepted opinions, deserve a careful attention from all the serious students of history. The growth of the Empire and change in the theory of kingship have been described in detail. Politics was divorced from religion and administration was secularised. The new theory of sovereignty was,—"whatever is good for the State or suitable for the emergency—that alone was to be decreed". Alauddin built up an official hierarchy which owed allegiance to the person of the King and curbed the powers of the nobles, thus making the empire a political unit and not merely a congeries of petty subordinate states loosely knit together. The reforms in the civil administration had a far-reaching effect and ameliorated the condition of the peasants to a considerable degree. The Empire ceased to be merely a tax-collecting and military institution. It became a rigorous state in the most scientific sense of the term. But all these institutions were ephemeral. The political fabric was built on insecure foundations. It was not based on the good-will of the people. The idea of the Muslim State found a forcible expression only in the personality of the ruling monarch, so that after his demise the Empire collapsed like a house of cards.

The author bestows praise very lavishly upon a controversial character of Indian History, viz., Muhammad Tughlaq. He was not mad, he was not a blood-thirsty tyrant. The author pours his cold scorn upon the authority of Zia-uddin Barni, about whose veracity and sense of historical proportion he has little respect. He categorically denies that man-hunts were ever organised. He critically examines all the fantastic charges against him and absolves him from most of them. His chapter on Muhammad Tughlaq is a systematic vindication of the "ill-starred despot". But

historians must reserve the right of private judgment in such cases.

IV.

On the other hand, the Professor's study of Firuz Tughlaq casts a shadow upon the stainless personality that has been painted by Muslim historians. Indeed, after a perusal of his chapter on Firuz the impression that he was good ruler is rudely disturbed. He was a monarch of the type of Aurangzeb, and ruled his subjects like a bigoted Muslim. He persecuted the infidels. For the first time in the history of Islamic domination the poll-tax was levied upon the Brahmans and their protests were altogether unheeded. Again, the authority of Zia-uddin Barni is vigorously denounced. "He (Zia-uddin Barni) pronounces a fulsome eulogy upon the King, for his tastes and policy agreed so well with his orthodox principles. The rationalism of the last reign was anathema to him. Firuz was irresolute, weak and timorous and not a good scholar. He did not lack human virtues, but even his achievements in the field of civil administration are duly recognised—we must unhesitatingly second that his weak policy was largely responsible for the break-up of the 'Early Turkish Empire'". The Professor's estimate of Firuz is thus very damaging and his criticisms of his rule very severe. The administrative system of Firuz was the very antithesis of that of Alauddin. The imperialistic methods and the unitarian policy of that monarch was systematically reversed by Firuz whose administration was theocratic in character and the Jagir system which was revived by him tended to disintegration rather than unification. Unlike Alauddin the military system rested on a feudal basis. But every dark cloud has a silver lining and our estimate of Firuz will be one-sided unless we note with respect, as the author does, his great humanitarian measures, his canal system, administration of poor relief, establishment of hospitals and colleges and his efforts to solve the problem of unemployment.

Disintegration and the rise of small principalities on the ruins of the Empire after Timur's invasion has been described in two chapters of considerable length. All the original sources have been tapped to give a critical and comprehensive account of the Bahmani and Vijyanagar kingdoms. These

accounts incorporate a considerable amount of research and study. The romantic story of the Brahmanical origin of Bahmani kingdom has been discarded. The author in summing up the results of the administration of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan, avoids the unqualified praise of Meadows Taylor and the wholesale condemnation of Vincent Smith. The relations of the Bahmani kingdom with that of Vijyanagar, the last independent stronghold of Hinduism in the Deccan have been described fully. In the account of both the Bahmani and Vijyanagar kingdoms, original authorities, foreign and Indian, are quoted in detail. Every statement and conclusion of the author is supported by a reference to original authorities. The kingdom of Vijyanagar had its origin in the desire in the hearts of millions of conquered Hindus for freedom—freedom from the oppression of a Muslim mal-administration, which treated the Hindus with great severity, an administration which maintained invidious distinctions between the two communities. The Muslim conquest of the Deccan was little better than military occupation. No attempt was made to reconcile them to the new rule. The Muslim rule only widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Mohamedans and disaffection was rife throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom. The result was a successful national movement to drive out the foreign oppressor. The Vijyanagar kingdom was thus the outcome of a vigorous pan-Hindu movement. It remained the seat of Hindu culture for two centuries till it came to an inglorious end at the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D.

V.

The last chapter of 78 pages is a unique feature of the book. It gives us ample information regarding the political, religious and social conditions of the middle ages. No other book, so far as is known to us, gives a detailed account of the political institutions and social and literary advancement of the Indian people during the middle ages. Though the author gives a vivid description of Muslim civilization, he is somewhat timid in presenting his conclusions lest he should offend the susceptibilities of the Muslims. His sympathetic appreciation of Muslim culture is a striking contribution to the history of the Indo-Islamic civilization and its merit is considerably enhanced by the fact that it is based on first-rate

authorities. We commend this chapter to the attention of all those who are interested in the study of the growth of Muslim institution in India. The effects of Muslim conquest were, he thinks, on the whole, favourable to India. Islam gave a new impulse to the art of India. A happy blending of the Islamic and Hindu culture resulted from the conquest. But all this was purchased at an enormous cost. Though the Muslim conquest was not in the author's words "an unmitigated disaster," it was certainly a great misfortune. India lost her freedom never to gain it. Her culture

flowed into different channels, but thanks to the vitality of Hindu civilization, the ideas of the Hindu race did not completely perish. All things considered, this volume of 650 pages is an admirable contribution to Indian history and it is gratifying to think that an Indian scholar has been able to fill a most important gap in our historical literature.

The get-up and the finish of the book compare favourably with those of European publications and the Indian Press of Allahabad deserve to be congratulated on the beautiful manner in which they have brought it out.

SO YOU'RE GOING TO INDIA: A SYMPOSIUM OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION.*

INTRODUCTION.

A visit to India is no longer a formidable undertaking. The mail steamers run with the punctuality, if not with the rapidity, of railway expresses. The journey across France may be made in a comfortable special train. The hotels in India are not luxurious, but they are steadily improving. On the main tourist routes the trains are fairly fast, and the sleeping-accommodation is roomy. India has begun to cater for the traveller for pleasure, though its organization is still below that of Egypt. It is quite possible now, in an absence of two months from London, to see a good deal of India, with a delightful sea voyage thrown in. Some ardent spirits have even been known to crowd the whole journey into six weeks, including a glimpse of the Himalayas beyond Darjeeling. In a very short visit, too much should not be attempted. It is infinitely better to see a few places well than to alternate days of hard sight-seeing with restless nights in the train.—*The Times*.

II. THE LAND AND THE JOURNEY.

A very noticeable phase of popular travel, within recent years, has been the great expansion of the winter touring-field. The increasing popularity of India as a touring-ground is easy to understand. Its unique historical, artistic and antiquarian interest, comparative novelty, wealth of ancient monuments, picturesque and varied scenery, magnificent cities, romantic history, and, finally, the potent fascination and mystery of the unknown Orient, all combine to arouse the interest and kindle the imagination of the intelligent traveller. At present, perhaps no extra-European winter resort, with the exception of Egypt, is more popular than India. Eastward the tide of fashion wends its way, and the exodus from Europe, and more recently from America, of people of means and leisure, to spend the winter months in India, is each year more marked. After all, its vogue among fashionable people is not to be wondered at. It is merely a phase of the "wintering-in-the-south" habit, carried a little beyond the limits of the conventional season in the Riviera. Then, again, the conditions of travel to the East have been, of course, almost revolutionised within the last quarter of a century. Bombay can now be reached in little

*Compiled from the writings of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, Mr. D. C. Boulger, Mr. Reynolds-Ball, the late Mr. William Cairns, Mrs. Flora Steel, Mr. A. R. H. Moncrieff, and the special Indian numbers of the *Times* and some other sources.

more than double the time required for Luxor or Assouan, and the voyage is, as a rule, full of interest and variety. Another attraction, no doubt, is the opportunity India offers of a pleasant winter climate with a thorough change of scene, which puts all Mediterranean resorts out of court. Then, of course, the supreme historic, political, archaeological and artistic interests of India, though they may appeal less to the fashionable globe-trotter than to that occasionally exasperating individual, "the intelligent traveller," have something to do with its increasing vogue. India has, however, long been a favourite hunting-ground. Indeed, now-a-days a journey to India seems almost considered as a necessary preliminary to a parliamentary career.

E. R.-B.

To visit India has now become a part—an almost necessary part—of a liberal education. The voyage, and a run through its most accessible and interesting districts, take, to-day, the place of that "grand tour" which contented our forefathers. No doubt every link in the great chain of colony and dependencies belonging to the British Crown has its own interest; and the Briton may proudly journey from one to the other hearing "the King's morning drum beat round the world." But India possesses among them all entirely special attractions, since, whatever may be the ruling passion of the tourist, he will find it gratified there. India internally possesses a solid changeless existence like the ocean. The British Domain, which bears the mighty name of the Indian Empire, is now more extended than all Europe excluding Russia. She sits throned amidst Empires, herself the most Imperial. Add to this the island jewels of which she is mistress—the Andaman and Nicobar archipelago; the Laccadives, Aden and Perim; the Somali Coast, Socotra, Bahrein, and the Persian Gulf protectorate, with that fairest gem of all, Ceylon, hanging like a pendant to her sunlit breast, and it will be realized what majestic and magnificent title "India" has become. If the extent and splendour of the King's dominions stir his imagination or kindle his patriotism India, of all lands, testifies most plainly to the Imperial attributes of Britain; is richest in stories of British courage and resource; has contributed the most romantic chapters of enterprise to

British history and gives to Great Britain in the minds of foreigners her chief international estimation. If he seeks variety and picturesqueness there is no region in all the world so full of vivid colour, of populous cities, of stately or curious edifices, of diverse races, and of absorbing objects for study and observation in regard to manners, customs, religions, philosophy and arts. If he be a lover of Nature, India can offer every charm of sea-coast, mountains, forests, valley, cultivated plain and wild waste. To sportsman she can still furnish the best shooting grounds on earth, Africa, perhaps excepted; while for the naturalist and botanist, her jungles and *maidan*, her *nullahs* and tanks,—even the gardens round every bungalow—provide a scientific paradise. To the statesman or politician, who seeks rest and change without idleness, India presents a spectacle of busy administration, unequalled in the annals of mankind for vastness of area, variety of scope, and high degree of efficiency; an administration, of which the most superficial observer must perceive, though he cannot thoroughly understand, the conscientiousness, the equity, and the beneficence. Finally, for mere holiday-makers of both sexes, the cold weather season of India, with the pleasant sea trips, going and returning on board the magnificent steamers, provides an expedition of four or five months, as healthful as it is delightful; since with reasonable precautions, and for persons enjoying ordinary physical health and well-being, there is absolutely nothing at that time to fear from the climate of the peninsula, at any rate for people of temperate habits. Moreover, albeit the immense extension of surface spoken of above makes the possible area of travel in India wider, the development of the railway system there and the never-ceasing improvement in the passenger fleet have made it feasible to see far more of the splendid peninsula than used to be open to the visitor, who is now landed at Bombay in a fortnight from the date of his departure from Charing Cross.

E. A.

Every year tourists flock by hundreds to the growing grandeurs of Bombay and Calcutta, the ruined pride of Delhi, the palaces, mosques, and tombs of Akbar's fallen empire, the countless temples of Benares, the tempting bazars of so

many cities, the wonders and curiosities of Indian capitals like Baroda or Jaypore, the stupendous scenery of the Ghats and the Himalayas, the sacred rivers, groves, and caves which, all over India, offer a distracting choice to the sight-seer. There are some who declare that to visit the Taj of Agra by moonlight would alone repay a journey twice as long. The voyage through the Suez Canal is now less of an adventure than was the passage of the Alps a century ago; and travellers of the class whose bank balances are in a healthier condition than their mucous membranes, would still more often be found in India if they realised how easily they can now visit its chief points of interest.

A. R. H. M.

III. PREPARATIONS FOR TRAVEL; BOOKS ON INDIA.

India is no longer an unknown land. Year by year the big ocean steamers are more than half filled with winter tourists. Yet without some knowledge of her glorious past, India must always remain a puzzle. So let the traveller to her shores read—if he can read nothing else—the memoirs of the great Emperor Baber, written by himself, and translated by Erskine and Leyden, and thus, fortified by an intimate knowledge of a lovable personality, use that knowledge to explain much that may seem inexplicable. If he wishes more serious information, he will find ample material. For a tour to India should never be regarded as a mere holiday excursion; it is, or may be—as Steele called the loving of a beautiful woman—a liberal education in itself.

F. A. S.

The visitor to India ought to know something of the country and its numerous races before he gets there, and this can only be accomplished by the study, however superficial, of some part of the voluminous literature created by the labours and the genius of many writers. It has been said that if we abandoned India tomorrow, we should leave no memorial of our stay except railways, but the author of this harsh verdict forgot our books on India. In them there exists a monument to our energy, persistency, and appreciation, not merely of ourselves, but of our

predecessors, that will endure long after the material works of our creation have succumbed in the wreck of time. But a study of British Indian literature is the employment of years, and the production of new works is ever at an increasing rate—so that the hardest student can scarcely keep abreast of the mass that is turned out annually by the official printers in India as well as by the publishers at home. But the traveller who crosses the sea in, as we must hope on patriotic grounds, a P. and O. steamer for the purposes of pleasure or of gratifying the curiosity that the call of the mysterious East has aroused, does not need to have at his finger-ends a literature which began with Orme and which now forms no inconsiderable part of the catalogues of our publishers. What he needs is to have some cursory acquaintance with Indian history, customs and scenery, which will simplify and shorten the process of education that he has to undergo on reaching his destination, and that will enable him to assimilate more easily the essential features and conditions of his new surroundings. All this he can obtain by reference to works which are still included in the most recent list of publications.

The foundation for an acquaintance with Indian subjects cannot be laid in a more agreeable and attractive form than in the pages of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India* (Macmillan), which has long attained the crowning meed for an author of a popular edition; and if the details of Indian political and administrative problems are desired, where can they be better found than in Lord Curzon's *Speeches in India* (Murray), unless, indeed, it be in the *Speeches in India* (Murray) of his predecessor, the silver-tongued Lord Dufferin? But perhaps the traveller will prefer to the weighty judgment of the statesman or the authoritative conclusions of the old resident who has passed a lifetime in India the impressions of another traveller who, like himself, has made but a hurried passage through eastern climes under "the snowy band of Himalaya." Where are those impressions to be gathered with greater freshness than in the pages which Sir Frederick Treves collected with his accustomed deftness on *The Other Side of the Lantern* (Cassells)? Here, again, we find the popular edition ratifying a success among readers far beyond the common. Sir Frederick looked on the teeming millions of India with the eye of a health expert, and he described them as "a little below the

most meagre comfort and a little above the nearest reach of starvation." It is not every hurrying passer-by who succeeds in discerning so well what is below the surface and in bringing the whole truth before the reader in a crisp sentence. If the reader wishes to shake off the depressing effect of this sweeping verdict on a people's poverty, he has only to take up Mrs. Flora Steel's *India* (Black), and he will discover the corrective. No one knows the home life of the Indian people better than Mrs. Steel, and as she unfolds the daily existence of the potter or the weaver whose craft has been handed down from father to son for untold centuries, the conclusion is forced on the mind of the reader that poor as these people may be in our sense they are neither miserable nor unhappy.

Among good books of travel, those relating to the Royal Tours may be said to derive their interest from the special claim that the impressive progress of the Prince of Wales through the Indian Empire made on the attention of the public; but Sir Sidney Low's *A Vision of India* (Smith, Elder) and Mr. G. F. Abbott's *Through India with the Prince* (Arnold) possess something more than ephemeral interest as vividly impressionist works by experienced globe-trotters. Mr. Walter Del Mar's *India of To-day* (Black) is another contribution to our knowledge of India and the Indians that deserves notice. He came to conclusions very similar to those of Sir Frederick Treves, and he found the conditions of Indian life depressing. What struck him most, he says, was "the hopeless sadness of the people." They seemed incapable of laughter, and it was only among the merry Bhutias of the Himalayas that humour and gaiety seemed to be known. It would be a mistake to draw too sweeping conclusions from the sad expression of the Indian people. Plague, pestilence, and famine amid a packed population have left their impress—perhaps indelible—in the course of centuries, and those who have been accustomed to resign themselves to fate without a struggle are not likely to be characterised by much buoyancy of spirit or expression. And if they are incapable of laughter, has not some observer declared that the capacity to smile and the art of laughter are gone or going in what was "Merrie England?" Finally still nearer the practical usefulness of a guide book with information necessary and helpful to the traveller will come Mr. Reynolds-Ball's *The*

Tourist's India (Sonnenschein).

If we turn from India as a whole to India in sections, we find that quite a new class of writers and investigators has sprung up, or rather come to the front, in India of late years. It used to be made a subject of reproach to Anglo-Indians that they spent their life in the country without making any attempt to study the people amid whom their lot was cast, and that when their term was ended they passed away as strangers out of a land of strangers. If this assertion was ever true it is so no longer. The succession of charming books—*Chota Nagpore, The Story of an Indian Upland*, and *Dacca: The Romance of an Eastern Capital* (Smith, Elder)—which we owe to the pen of Mr. Bradley Birt have alone gone far to remove the slur cast on the distinguished service of which he is a member. He has shown that an Englishman cannot merely see what is going on around him, but that he can worm out of the hearts of the sad-looking, but not really unhappy, Indians all their secrets. We have thus acquired an unusually intimate knowledge of the people in at least one division of the great peninsula. Other inquirers and students are doing similar work elsewhere. Far to the south of Chota Nagpore, Mr. W. H. R. Rivers has laboured among *The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills* (Macmillan), and if the traveller does but cross the Bay into Burma, he will not find a better or more amusing companion among his *camarades de route* than Mr. Feilding Hall's *A People at Play* (Macmillan).

Enough has, perhaps, been said to show that, without going far back or attempting to explore what may be called the classical works of Anglo-Indian literature, the intending visitor to India may find in recent books much of the instruction that will help him on his way. Copious as may be the information they contain, conclusive as may seem to be the opinions of their authors, there is always this peculiar attraction about Indian topics: the field presented is so vast, the people are so varied and distinct, the panorama offered is of such a kaleidoscopic nature, that there is always room for the newcomer to make discoveries on his own account, to find things different from what they are painted or described to be by others, and to fancy himself, if not a new Columbus, at least a juster appreciator than his predecessors of the sad millions of India.

D. C. B.

Much light is thrown on the relations between Anglo-Indians and Eurasians, though in the guise of fiction, in Mrs. B. M. Croker's *Her Own People*, and Miss Alice Perrin's *The Stronger Claim*, and in the romances of Mrs. Frank Penny and Miss Sydney Grier. These illuminating novels should be read by all interested in this difficult question.

IV. SEASON, CLIMATE, HEALTH AND HABITS.

The preparation for this liberal education is simple: a return ticket by one of the P. and O.'s steamers—most comfortable and home-like of travelling conveyances—and just such sartorial and personal preparations as would be necessary, say, for a winter to be spent travelling round Italy. For India during the tourist months—that is November, December, January, February and March—is anything but a hot country. In the Punjab, indeed, there are nights on nights when a film of ice, close on an inch in depth, will gather in an earthenware saucer set open under the stars. Besides, there is no greater mistake than to suppose that thinness of clothing is of any advantage when one is exposed to the sun. A warm cloak is certainly needed for the sudden chill which all over India comes with the swift setting of the sun. One moment the air is soft, balmy, full, as it were, of kindness. The next you feel it as an enemy. And so it is: the most deadly enemy a tourist not forewarned has to encounter in India. Armed against this and with due precautions as to food and water, a traveller may voyage from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya with as much safety as from Land's End to John O' Great's.

F. A. S.

The best time of the year for a brief visit to India is from the closing days of the autumn to the beginning of the spring. November, December, January, February and March are all agreeable and salubrious months but the Indian December and January are perfect. There is nothing in the way of intolerable heat to be encountered during the time mentioned, although the days will be steadily and splendidly bright, and the nights deliciously tepid. In the first dawn of the two mid-winter months, before the sun is up, the early riser will find his teeth chattering with the unexpected but

the healthy chill of the Dami-Subh, the "breath of dawn." He may even see hoar-frost on the ground at Delhi, and to the northward. In Calcutta, the December days are throughout exquisite. But the traveller arriving there, or in Bombay before the end of October or staying in the country—except in the Panjab—beyond March, must expect to have the tropical sun asserting his sway. Moreover in India, which is really a sub-continent extending over 28 degrees of latitude, and containing 319 millions of inhabitants, all kinds of climate as well as of races and languages are naturally to be looked for. In the middle of the day the sun in India should always be respected; nor must the allurements of tiffin be too rashly yielded to. The judicious tourist will go to bed betimes that he may rise before daylight to enjoy the supreme freshness and beauty of the Indian morning, starting after his "chhota hazri" (early breakfast) for a ride or walk while the stars are not yet faded, and returning to a bath at 9 a.m. and a well-earned breakfast. About 5 p.m. the Indian stations all take their regular carriage drive and *promenades a cheval*, gathering round the band stand or by the sea-shore or river-side. At half past six the brief twilight begins, and "all the Indian sky turns purple peace." The hour is then arrived for the dinner, which one need not fear to enjoy, if appetite bids. There is much necessity to be temperate, but none to be ascetic in India. Unboiled water should be avoided, except in the healthy and universal form of the morning tub, which, with a dash of "garrum pani" (hot water) is *sine qua non* of daily existence. Beer, once the omnipresent beverage of Anglo-Indians, has happily gone out of vogue in favour of light wines and aerated drinks. Over-ripe fruits, unboiled milk and the land wind at night, as well as all worry and loss of temper, are things to be avoided. Ardent spirits should be taken in India with great moderation and are indeed better left quite alone. Thin flannel light, gauze or silk next the skin, with an abdominal belt, tend to prevent the chills and suppressed perspiration, which chiefly produce fever. For clothing, tweed is the best for day time wear, but Indian etiquette, without regard to the thermometer, sternly insists upon the sombre garments of social propriety for the evening.

It will be plain but sound counsel to mention, in conclusion, that temperance, exercise, a mind well occupied, and a temper always serene, are

the best medicines to employ in Indian travel. And it will be almost superfluous remark to Britishers that it behoves them specially to maintain in India their natural standard of good manners and courtesy of demeanour alike to high and low. It is a land of exquisite breeding and ancient dignity, and the Indian people at large are probably the best-conducted in the world. Their patience, their simplicity, their gentle bearing, and sustained gravity will strike every intelligent mind, and should induce the desire to impart everywhere a good impression of the "Sahib log." Not more faultless, of course, nor virtuous than the rest of human kind, they have, nevertheless, inherited an antique civilization, an atmosphere of philosophic thought and habit, which render even the ignorant peasants respectable, and which is really far above the average of European mental temperament, if judged with adequate acquaintance, and apart from conventional notions and systems. They are moreover our fellow-subjects, becoming day by day a more integral and closer part of the common Empire. It is, therefore, at once a distinct service to that Empire, as well as a personal duty for British travellers, in all their transactions and intercourse, to leave pleasant and kindly memories in the minds of all, small and great, with whom their journey through India may bring them into contact.

E. A.

Climate is, of course, a factor of some importance even to the robust traveller, in the case of a winter sojourn in India. It is misleading to speak of the "the Indian climate." We must remember the geographical axiom that India is not a country but a sub-continent, with an area nearly equal to that of Europe excluding Russia, and that its climates are legion. Indeed, in the Indian Empire is to be found an epitome of all the climates of Europe. Winter visitors to India are, however, only concerned with the cool season which begins in November and lasts till March. Though the extremes of temperature between day and night will perhaps be found trying by new-comers, yet the winter is, on the whole, pleasant, and will be found salubrious for persons in ordinary health. Though it is late for the hill stations, according to the iron decrees of fashion, yet November is really a good month for Darjeeling

or Mussoorie, and the cold being dry will not be found trying. At all events, a stay here is a useful "pick-me-up" after the plains. But even the robust must not be above taking some common-sense precautions. It must not be forgotten that an illness in India is likely to be a far more serious matter than at home. To those ignorant of the tropics it may seem paradoxical to say that the chief precaution to be taken is against chill. But, as all Anglo-Indians know, chill in tropical countries is more easily taken than in a temperate climate, and the results are far more serious. It would be following a counsel of perfection to wear wool, or at least silk, next the skin. Those who regard the wearing of the well-known Jaeger costumes as a harmless fad, may affect to despise this warning, but the fact remains that the wearing of linen or drill is a frequent cause of catching cold, and though a chill may be trifling in itself, it predisposes one to malaria or cholera.

E. R. B.

Those who travel to India in search of winter sunshine run, for once, no risk of being disappointed in this respect. From November to March the climate is for the most part agreeable, though with wide varieties. At places like Bombay, all the year round, the damp, enervating warmth proves very trying to some constitutions, while at dry up-country stations, less discomfort may be felt with the thermometer ten degrees higher. At Delhi, still more at Lahore, the name "cold weather" by no means always sounds a mockery. An overcoat—not to say an ulster—will there come in handy, and here Indian servants brought from Bombay have to be supplied with warm clothing, the nights often affording their masters the luxury of a shiver. For frost and snow to your heart's content, you have only to go up to "the hills"; even on the Western Ghats, 4000 feet or so above the sea. Fires are welcome in winter. The mornings and evenings are, of course, the pleasant time, when Anglo-Indian society devotes itself to exercise and amusement. It is in the heat of the day that nobody stirs out who can help it, the Indian sun having a singularly dangerous influence, quite out of proportion to the height of the thermometer.

A. R. H. M.

The very best rule of health for the stranger in India is to consult doctor the moment he feels unwell. That piece of advice is worth many handbooks. It is easy to keep well in India if ordinary precautions are taken, if the visitor avoids excess, and, above all, if he does not regard slight ailments as trivial. The greatest danger to health in India is the danger of thinking that small derangements are of no account; they may have grave results. When there is any abnormal rise of temperature, or any disturbance of the stomach or bowels, a doctor should at once be sought. For most travellers in India cold baths are inadvisable. A cholera belt should be worn as a precaution against chills. Never drink milk or water at railway stations, and never partake even of aerated waters at wayside shops. It is as well to avoid tinned food. Never sleep without mosquito curtains. Always be prepared for extremes of temperature. Remember that in the tropics constipation is as dangerous as the other extreme. Fruit is best eaten in the early morning, and should only be taken sparingly at the evening meal. A rough but safe rule is to eat only fruits which have skins. Alcohol, if drunk at all, should only be taken after sunset.

The Times.

Everybody goes to India prepared for the heat, and few people understand that it is even more necessary to guard against the cold. Northern India can be bitterly cold at night in winter. The moment the sun sets it is time to take precautions. Oddly enough, visitors feel the cold more than Anglo-Indians. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that visitors to the north of India—and particularly ladies—should be specially careful to be prepared for the cold weather. It is quite easy to modify the attire when it is hot, but more visits to India have been utterly spoilt by lack of preparation for the cold than from any other cause. Delhi in December will be quite cold enough in camp. A thick ulster or big motor coat is an essential part of a man's equipment. A Thermos flask to carry hot tea is worth having. The great need at Delhi will not be gauze underclothing, but rugs; yet in the day-time, in the sun, the weather will be tolerably hot.

The Times.

V. OUTFITS FOR MEN.

Such range of temperature suggests a good deal of luggage, especially when one has to brave a climate of "three shirt days", albeit the Indian washerman is ready enough, if somewhat rough, in his dealings with our underwear. Among minor articles of equipment may be mentioned pyjamas, i.e., the sleeping suits and the cholera-belts worn so commonly in one form or other. Flannels and thin tweeds will be found most useful. As for lighter garments, the traveller need not much encumber his ocean baggage therewith, when he can buy the materials cheap in India, and have them made up in the course of the day or so by a *durzi*, (Indian tailor), who copies your own tailor's handiwork with surprising fidelity; and be it remarked that, while the nabob of our day affects, as far as possible, to dress like his friends at home, the globe-trotter seems apt to overdo this matter of tropical equipment, betraying himself by display of drill suits, sola topees, pugrees, blue spectacles, and the like, in and out of season. Indian society is exacting in the matter of dress; and in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, at least, the amazing tyranny of the high hat has not yet been banished. Fashion holds sway here, as in London, so the carpet-bag tourist will be at more than one disadvantage.

A. R. H. M.

It may be laid down almost as an axiom that every man who goes to India for the first time takes twice as much baggage as he really requires. His clothes will probably be too thick for really hot climates, and not thick enough for the cold of Northern India. Those London tailors who have a large number of Anglo-Indian patrons fully understand how to make up tropical semi-lined suits of light weight, and their advice may be taken without reserve. Others of less experience are liable to mislead the untravelled man, for their tropical suits are rarely as light as they should be. The very first requirements for the traveller in India are a dress coat and a dinner jacket, and he should never part from these even if he starts to climb Kinchenjunga. The jacket should not be lined in the back. The next most serviceable garb is a thin blue serge suit, smooth in texture. It should be noted that the Anglo-

Indian remains more faithful to the double-breasted coat than his countryman at home, because it can be worn on occasion without a waistcoat. Light cashmere suits are more useful in some respects than flannel suits, because, if well chosen, they are rather cooler, and they show the dust less. A light grey frock-coat is far more suitable for India than a black one. A frock-coat is also useful for any visitor likely to be attending important public gatherings during his tour. Riding breeches should be fairly thick, but many men prefer to get a pair of the comfortable Jodhpur breeches on arrival, though they are now obtainable in London. The favourite wear for the hot weather is a coarse yellow silk, Chinese or Indian. Silk suits, if they are likely to be required, are better bought in India. There are excellent British tailors in Bombay and Calcutta, as well as in the chief civil stations and military centres.

A sun hat is a very necessary acquisition. The very best type of helmet is the "Curzon" shape, grey or white, made of pith, and with a silk *pagri* bound around it. The harder white "Ellwood" *topi* is useful for general wear, particularly for riding, and has saved the life of many a man when pig-sticking or playing polo. It should never be worn without a *pagri*. For shooting and jungle work the larger "Cawnpore Tent Club" *topi*, covered with a khaki quilted material, is best. People purchasing helmets in London should seek, if possible, the advice of an Anglo-Indian friend, and they should certainly not buy them at Port Said.

The grey helmet is regarded as full dress in India, and may be worn in the day time with a frock or morning coat, but the silk hat is frequently worn at garden parties, and will probably be required at Delhi. Grey top hats are very popular among dignitaries, but for some occult reason humbler persons rarely wear them. Brown boots and shoes are best for general wear. India is the only country where a man may wear brown boots with a frock or morning coat without exciting remark, but it is inadvisable to do so. India is also a land where the silk hat of five years ago is never out of fashion. In fact, astute dealers make a pretty penny by letting silk hats on hire for State occasions. On the other hand, the morning coat has never replaced the frock coat to the extent it has done in

England. The worst crime in the matter of dress of which a "globe-trotter" can be guilty is to wear a sun hat in the evening, when the sun is setting or has vanished. A soft hat should then be worn, and even a cap is quite permissible on informal occasions. "Bowlers" are not often seen in India. The sturdy Anglo-Indian, who is usually rather an active person, scorns the use of a sun umbrella. Most men forget to take a light motor "duster," though nothing is often more needed. The question of underclothing must be settled by inclination. Some form of woollen garment is preferable. The only thing that need be said is that double the quantity required in England should be taken, for frequent changes are necessary, and shirts and collars soon grow limp.

Men going into camp in India will find the new form of travelling trunk, in which clothes can be hung as in a wardrobe, a great convenience. Nowhere do men's clothes get more crushed and creased than in camp, and though the tents provided are usually comfortable, they rarely contain either wardrobes or chests of drawers. Either wardrobe trunks or trunks with drawers are desirable. Cabin trunks of compressed cane are preferred by many to leather.

The Times.

It is a mistake to take white clothes, shirts, drill or duck suits, or sun hats, and other tropical headgear. They are obtainable better and cheaper at Bombay or Calcutta. Buttons in all washing suits should be avoided as much as possible, and studs used instead. Washing, too, is remarkably cheap in India.

E. R. B.

The traveller would do well, still, to take his bedding with him as in the old days. True, this is provided in hotels, but of the quality or cleanliness of such bedding, I, for one, would not go bail.

F. A. S.

Tourists must remember that bedding is not provided on Indian railways. As soon as they arrive they should purchase a quilt (*rezai*), sheets, blankets, and a couple of pillows, all of which can be obtained quite cheaply in the

shops attached to the leading hotels. Straps should be bought, and the bedding strapped up in the *rezai*, though a Wolseley valise or a hold-all is worth taking, because it will carry rugs and overcoat as well.

The Times.

VI. CLOTHING FOR WOMEN.

The best advice that can be given to ladies about to visit India is to take easy-fitting gloves and corsets and shoes. At least six washing skirts and blouses should be included, as well as a good tailor-made dress, and half-a-dozen hats for various occasions. No woman unused to the sun should go ashore at Bombay without a sun hat. On the other hand, if she clings to her sun hat at tea time she will mark herself down as new to the country. Fashion now scouts "the Port Said *topi*," and it is best to seek advice. A stout sun umbrella with a green lining is useful, particularly when sight-seeing. It is a great mistake to take many elaborate dresses, but three or four wool afternoon and evening dresses are required. In the big cities, particularly in Bombay and Calcutta, most women in society dress well,

and there is invariably seen a brilliant array of frocks at Delhi. For those feminine visitors who have plenty of time the Indian *darzi* will be found a valuable auxiliary, as he can make excellent washing skirts and blouses from a good pattern. A pair of easy-fitting house shoes and a pretty washing dressing-gown are a great comfort when travelling by train all day in hot weather. On board ship washing dresses are generally worn in the day time after Port Said is passed, and at dinner a simple evening gown is customary. The woman who dressed very elaborately on an India-bound ship, or who made constant changes, or who tried to appear in a different dress every day, would be regarded as either inexperienced or vulgar. The Anglo-Indian *mem-sahib* prefers sensible simplicity at sea. A golf skirt is very useful, particularly in camp, and a very light motor cloak may sometimes be required. Plenty of underclothing will be needed, both thick and thin, a good supply of wraps, and a light cloak for evening wear. The night winds are often chilly, even in the south. Every woman should take her furs, especially, if a tour further north of Delhi is contemplated.

The Times.

(To be continued)

SIR F. WHYTE'S "INDIA: A FEDERATION"— A SYMPOSIUM.

I.

By THE RT. HON'BLE LORD SINHA, K.C.S.I.

This little book is the result of labours undertaken at the instance of the Government of India "with the object of making available as much as possible of the material at present lacking for the examination of the constitutional position in India by the Government itself, by the people as a whole, and eventually by the Statutory Commission." We may take it for granted that the materials gathered will be duly utilised by the Government and ultimately by the Statutory Commission, whether it comes in 1929 or before. It is to be hoped that timely use will be equally made of them by

"the people as a whole," if they are "not arrogant enough to suppose that our institutions are the last word in perfection or ignorant enough to deny that the peculiarities of India may find parallels in lands other than Britain." (words used by Sir F. Whyte for the benefit of his own countrymen).

Such hopes are bound to be fulfilled if, in view of the magnitude and complexity of the problems involved, we realise that lessons may be learned elsewhere than in England. The very title of the monograph is suggestive. Does India desire to be a Federation? If so, does it desire to adopt the Federal or the Unitary type? Of seven representative Federal Constitutions, which, if any is the most suitable for India,

either with or without modification? Of the various divisions between Central or Federal and Provincial subjects involved in every Federal Constitution, which would be the most most helpful to furnish the actual dividing line between All-India and Provincial subjects, particularly in the fields of legislation and taxation?

FINGER-POST TO FEDERALISM.

To these pregnant questions, the slogans of the day offer no answer at all. The terms Home Rule and Swaraj, Dominion Status and Provincial autonomy are glibly used by thousands, not one of whom has taken the trouble to analyse the implications of any one of them. To them "Swaraj" is merely an antithesis to "British Raj." For them, the elimination of British control by itself spells political and economic freedom; and little thought is given to the practical methods by which the end is to be attained without A-raj, Ni-raj or anarchy as its inevitable consequence. In the words of Lala Lajpat Rai used in another context "they do not care a rap about what happens to India after the English go." For them, it is feared that the materials under review will not prove of the slightest use.

Though they clamour for Provincial Autonomy, they profess to detest the Montagu division of Reserved and Transferred Subjects in the provinces. And yet, the Transferred Subjects represent the "embryo" of provincial autonomy, and Paragraph 5 of the much-discussed Preamble is a finger-post to Federalism! Sir F. Whyte himself is inclined to doubt whether those who invented or accepted the "ingenious device" of the Transferred Subjects realised that their administration would be the occasion for a study of Federalism; and he complains that they have not succeeded in defining either what they themselves intended, or what the experiment of the Transferred Subjects might entail. With great respect, this seems less than justice to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. That their definition lacks precision may or may not be "due to the Englishman's refusal to build a bridge until he actually comes to the river bank." But that the subject was in view, (though from a long distance) seems clear from para 120 of their Report where they say:—

"Granted the announcement of August

20th, 1917, we cannot 'at the present moment' envisage its complete fulfilment in any form other than that of a congeries of self-governing Indian provinces associated for certain purposes under a responsible government of India; with possibly what are now the Native States of India finally embodied in the same whole, in some relation which we will not 'now' attempt to define. For such an organisation the English language has no word but federal."

THE LINE OF DIVISION.

It must be admitted that the true line of division between the Provinces and the Government of India still has to be drawn for the purpose of the next advance. But one must bear in mind what the Montagu-Chelmsford Report states on the point:—

"The process before us now is not one of federalising. Setting aside the obstacles presented by the supremacy of Parliament the last chance of making a federation of British India was in 1774, when Bombay and Madras had rights to surrender. The provinces have now no innate powers of their own to surrender in a foedus. Our task is not like that of the fathers of the Union in the United States and Canada; we have to demolish the existing structure at least in part before we can build the new. Our business is one of devolution, of drawing lines of demarcation; the Government of India must give and the provinces must receive: for only so can the growing organism of Self-Government draw air into its lungs and live." If the constitutional problem, slowly incubating since 1858, has now reached a stage when the necessary line must be drawn with a firm grasp of the principles involved, we, Indians, must gratefully remember the part which the Montagu Act has played in the process of acceleration.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Sir F. Whyte's book consists of 321 pages of which 254 deal [in 3 chapters IV, V and VI] with (1) a description of seven representative Federal Constitutions viz., those of the United States of America, Switzerland, Imperial Germany, Republican Germany, Canada, Australia and South Africa; (2) the process by which these constitutions may be amended, and (3) "some conclusions" with reference to features common to Federal Constitutions.

Chapter V is of peculiar importance in view of the demand made that any future Act of Parliament granting a new Constitution to India should concede to the Legislature of India *i.e.* necessarily the Indian electorate, the right to make any amendment thereof as and when it pleases—a right which was expressly refused in 1919. Sir F. Whyte's observation on this point merits careful consideration. This is what he says at pp. 279-280: "To make the whole body of the electorate the final court of appeal in the amendment of the Constitution pre-supposes a population educated both in ordinary instruction and in the rudiments of politics to a degree far higher than obtains anywhere in India or is likely to obtain for many years to come. Even in the present restricted electorate, not one elector in a thousand is capable of appreciating the issues involved in the amendment of a Constitution. Moreover the interest hitherto taken by the Indian electors in ordinary political questions offers little justification for the extension of the electors' rights to cover matters affecting the future of the Constitution."

Coming from one whose sympathy for political reform is acknowledged by all schools of thought in India, this conclusion may mitigate the ardour of those whom nothing short of a provision in the Constitution for "automatic advance" will bring conviction of England's good faith.

The rest of the book—67 pages in all—is divided into 4 chapters (1, 2, 3, and 7)—the first preparatory, the second dealing with "Nationality and Unity," the third with "the equipment of a Federal State" and the last and most important with the subject of Provincial Autonomy—which is in fact the *fons et origo* of the monograph. The last is undoubtedly the most important; because whichever type of federation is decided upon, if we are, to have a number of self-governing provinces associated under a Central Government, the functions of the two must be demarcated by as definite and precise a line as possible.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

Sir F. Whyte's instructions from the Government of India did not require him to draw any new division of subjects between Central and Local Governments; but the materials he collects and his comments thereon particularly on Provincial Autonomy cannot

fail to be a helpful guide to those to whom that task will be entrusted in the near future.

The prevailing or popular idea, based to a large extent upon a superficial reading of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, is that the stages of political advance must be (1) all subjects to be immediately transferred to Ministers, thereby establishing complete responsible government in the Provinces *i.e.* Provincial autonomy. (2) Partial responsibility in the Central Government, *i.e.*, except as to "defence and Foreign affairs" for a short period of 10 or 15 years, a kind of Dyarchy akin to what now exists in the provinces and (3) after such period, complete responsibility in the Central Government *i.e.* Full Dominion Status. This view assumes that the mere transfer of all provincial reserved subjects would mean Provincial Autonomy. *Per contra*, the Majority Report of the Muddiman Committee protests that several of the subjects now classed as provincial could not under any system of Provincial Autonomy be entirely provincialised and argues that the reservation of powers to the Central Government is all the more important in the case of a democratic Government. That Committee was however unanimous that before there can be Provincial Autonomy there must be a separation of finances between the Central and Provincial Governments, involving the overhauling of the entire machinery of finance including the system of audit and account and there must further be a clear line drawn in the fields of taxation and legislation.

It is difficult seriously to contest the conclusion of the Majority Report that these and similar other factors merit consideration, before it is assumed that Provincial Autonomy is in the main a question of political advance severable from administrative considerations.

EQUILIBRIUM.

As Sir F. Whyte points out autonomy, derived from the Greek, signifies literally the condition of an entity which is a law unto itself. The autonomy of even an independent State has to undergo limitations of all kinds in its intercourse with other States. How much more must a territory, which is a part of a greater whole and recognises its obligations thereto forego all claim to unlimited authority and in return for benefits conferred by a federal partnership with others, accept a more confined scope for its action? Provincial Autonomy

cannot therefore be absolute—that much is admitted in theory. The problem is to establish an equilibrium between the two factors in the equation, viz., the provincial and central governments—in other words to draw the true line of demarcation between the legislative and administrative functions of the two governments, bearing in mind that if the health of a federal state rests upon the reasonable satisfaction of the ambitions of each of its members, its very life is at stake in the character and power of the Central authority. In support Sir F. Whyte quotes a Turkish proverb: "The fish rots from the head down."

If then we are to aim at autonomy even in the limited sense above indicated, we must have a thorough division and delineation of functions between the Provincial and Central Governments in any form of Federal Government we adopt—be it the Federal-type of the United States or the Unitary type of South Africa. That is the task with reference to which Sir F. Whyte's labours will be most useful in helping us to decide, firstly which if any of the seven models singly or in combination and with necessary adaptations will be most suitable for our special and peculiar circumstances and secondly how the demarcation of functions should be made, under the particular system we decide to adopt.

TASK OF DEMARCATION.

This task of demarcation was to some extent performed by the Functions Committee of 1918 and incorporated in the present Government of India Act. But Sir F. Whyte insists that hitherto the authorities both in England and India have approached the constitutional problem from the point of view of a particular—almost a momentary—situation in India itself. Neither the Decentralisation Commission of 1907 nor the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, nor the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, nor the despatches of the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the Constitutional Reforms, when the present Act was on the anvil, penetrated behind the political or administrative problem of the moment to those ultimate constitutional principles without which no satisfactory instrument of Government can be made. He writes:—

"The first impression which emerges from the study of the present Indian Constitution in comparison with Federal Constitutions else-

where is that the true line of division between the provinces and the Government of India still has to be drawn. The point is taken with unanimity by the Muddiman Committee that greater precision is needed in all definitions before there can be anything approaching to real Provincial Autonomy."

PRECISION NEEDED.

Sir F. Whyte's essay, a mere footnote to the problem as he himself calls it, is designed to enable us to realise where that precision is most needed and he tells us the essentials for consideration. (1) There must be as little doubt as possible where the residuary powers of sovereignty actually lie, (2) the spheres of action defined for each government, federal or provincial, must be laid down in the Constitution, (3) each government, federal or provincial, should be enabled by the possession of its own administrative agencies to make its will effective over the whole field allotted to it by the Constitution, (4) the Constitution must be enshrined in the solemn form of a special statute, not subject to a too easy process of amendment and (5) the procedure for settling doubts and the authority therefore should be laid down without qualification or ambiguity in the terms of the Constitution.

RESIDUARY POWERS OF SOVEREIGNTY.

With regard to the first point, it would appear from the report of the Muddiman Committee that opinion in India is unanimous that the residuary powers of sovereignty should be vested in the Central Government—unlike the United States of America, Switzerland, Imperial Germany and Australia, but like Republican Germany, Canada and specially South Africa, where "the provinces as now constituted are in fact bound hand and foot to the chariot wheels of the Union." The Union of South Africa is in truth a unitary State with virtually all powers vested in the Central Government—its constitution bearing some resemblance to the Government of India Act. As Sir F. Whyte points out, South Africa presents the most remarkable object-lesson available in our generation of the vital strength of those forces which make for union in a modern State. There "the people of each colony agreed to merge the identity of their State, of whose history and traditions they were in every case intensely proud, in a wider national union, which is still

but a name to them, because bitter experience had taught them the evils of disunion." These are the words of Mr. R. Brand in connection with South Africa and may be as aptly used with reference to India. As Sir F. Whyte tells us, it is because of the fusion of two patriotisms—that for the nearer and dearer homeland and that for the larger "patria,"—that Great Britain is truly a United Kingdom: and it is because that fusion is far from perfect in India that Indian nationality is as yet no more than adolescent. Local patriotism must be the foundation of any enduring union and it is to be devoutly hoped that the spirit of renaissance, evidenced by the remarkable revival of the Bengalee language and literature, will be common to all and each of our provinces and thus supply the life-blood of provincial self-government. But if we aspire to be members of a self-governing federation, we must guard by means of a powerful Central Government against centrifugal forces in the shape of provincial, racial, and communal jealousies, and diversities of creed and caste and language. The downright force of necessity which persuaded Natal to relinquish her local patriotism must in time teach the same lesson not only to the provinces of British India but to the Indian States, whose interests are already affected by political changes in British India and will be more so as time goes on. It is a hopeful sign of the times that the Chamber of Princes in its recent session appointed a Committee to consider the means of securing co-operation between the States and Indian Legislatures on matters concerning all common interests.

STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The necessity of a strong Central Government for India is the most substantial factor in deciding which type of federation—the strictly federal, or the unitary—is most suitable for India. The weakness of the federal type is according to Professor Dicey proved by the history both of the United States and of Switzerland. The Constitution of 1789 for the former left the residuary powers in the hands of the States and the nation had to pay the price of it in civil war; and according to Sir F. Whyte the fissiparous tendency of the South and its jealous and sullen particularism continued even down to 1917, when America joined in the Great War. Similarly under the Swiss Federal Constitution of 1848 the Federal

Government at Berne could not enforce the law in 1890 when the Radicals of the small Canton of Ticino deposed the lawful government of the Canton, involving at least one murder. Sir F. Whyte in a very instructive passage at page 146 writes as follows:—

"The panygerics which American writers have been accustomed to lavish on the Constitution of the United States, and the imitation of that Constitution by Canada and Australia probably explain the widespread opinion that federalism is a form of government to be sought as an end in itself, and not one which should be accepted only when nothing better can be obtained. But federalism is, after all, a *pis aller*, a concession to human weakness. Alexander Hamilton saw its dangers and only acquiesced because by no other means was union possible."

In Canada Sir John MacDonald strongly favoured a legislative union but was obliged to bow to the intense provincialism of Quebec. In Australia the narrow patriotism of the different states has imposed upon the Federal Government limitations which are generally admitted to be checking that country's advance. Federalism must be accepted where nothing "better can be got but its disadvantages are patent." The Canadian Constitution is indeed fast developing into unitary Government. Australia found out in the short period of four years that in vital matters, power at the centre is the only effective power and during the war there were vehement demands for increased Federal powers. And when we further consider that under the brand-new Constitution of 1919 for Republican Germany, the German States are shorn of their former powers and privileges and a government unitary in substance, though federal in form, is adopted as the result of latest political thought, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the unitary type of federation is best suited to India, both because of her present condition and her past history.

INDIAN FEDERATION.

It is not suggested by Sir Frederick—it was not his business to do so—that the South African system is the best model for India to follow. Indeed it is not possible for us absolutely to follow or copy any one of the systems he describes. If, as Dicey says, Swiss Federalism is the natural growth of Swiss history, though it may appear to a superficial

observer to be a copy in miniature of the Constitution of the United States, Indian Federalism must be the growth of Indian history and clothed with a character suited to Indian conditions. It is this history and these conditions which favour the unitary type of South Africa and not the federal type of Australia—upon which Mrs. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill is more or less based. It is in this sense that one must understand the view recently expressed by that veteran Indian politician Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Sa'lem that the type of Government proposed by that Bill is wholly unsuitable for India. One need not agree with the whole of his reasoning nor yet with his view that there is no necessity for any Provincial Legislative Councils. The local administration, he thinks, could submit a draft if any law was needed by local requirements to the one and only Legislature at the centre for enactment into law. Such a reversion to the year 1833 would certainly not meet modern requirements and would mean an Atalantean load for the Central Legislature. But it is difficult not to sympathise with him when he complains of "the expensiveness of Provincial autonomies with Governors appointed from England, with large Cabinets and other costly paraphernalia," and it is instructive to compare the picture of waste and confusion involved in four separate Governments before they were merged in the Union of South Africa. For our benefit, Sir F. Whyte has given us that picture from Mr. Brand's well-known book on South Africa.

If the South African type is accepted as the most suitable for India, the questions which Sir Frederick considers essential for consideration become comparatively easy of solution. It is true that system possesses none of the three characteristics of strict federalism mentioned by Professor Dicey, but need we be frightened by such absence? Each of the seven Constitutions differs from the others in material respects and yet each may have elements suitable for our purpose and, therefore, worthy of consideration. But as regards the general framework, the South African Constitution seems to be the most suitable for adaptation to our special needs.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION.

For easy reference a short description of the Government and Finance of the Union taken from an article by the late Sir Richard Solomon,

may be useful. Under the Act of 1910, the Union Parliament is supreme in all matters within the Union, subject only to the limitations which the British Constitution imposes upon all Colonial Parliaments. The dangers of too great centralisation are attempted to be avoided by the grant of wide powers of local government. In each province a provincial Council is established to which legislative and administrative powers are expressly delegated in respect of certain local matters. The Parliament of the Union consists of two Houses, a Senate and a House of Assembly—both constituted on a provincial basis and federal in character. While Cape Town is the seat of the legislature, Pretoria is the seat of the Executive—the result of a compromise essential to bring about the Union. The executive consists of not more than ten ministers, who must be members of one or other House of Parliament and hold office during the pleasure of the Governor-General, thus preserving the theoretical sovereignty of the Crown, and also establishing Parliamentary and Responsible Government. These ministers administer the following Departments of State—Agriculture; Justice and Native Affairs; Finance and Defence; Posts, Telegraphs and Public Works; Railways, Ports and Harbours; Education and Mines; Land and International Affairs. The Government is clothed with all the powers and authorities formerly vested in the several governments of the Colonies now included in the Union, except such as are vested in some other authority, such as the administration of a province. All acts of the Government are by the Governor-General in Council.

The Constitution of each province has three main organs:—1—An Administrator, as Chief Executive Officer appointed for five years by the Governor-General, preferably from persons resident in the province, his salary being fixed by the Union Parliament; 2—A Provincial Council consisting of not less than 25 members, all elected; and 3—An Executive Committee or Cabinet consisting of the Administrator as Chairman and four members elected by the Provincial Council (but not necessarily members of it) under the system of proportionate representation, receiving such remuneration as the Provincial Council with the approval of the Governor-General in Council shall determine and holding office until their successors are elected in the same manner. This Committee

carries on the administration of all provincial affairs in respect of which the Provincial Council is competent to make laws (called Ordinances, to distinguish them from laws made by the Union Parliament). Any Ordinance made by a Provincial Council must receive the assent of the Governor-General in Council and has effect as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to an Act of the Union Parliament.

Provincial affairs include such subjects as direct taxation within the province, the borrowing of money on the credit of a province with the consent of the Governor-General, education, other than higher education, agriculture to the extent and subject to conditions defined by Parliament, the establishment and maintenance of hospitals, municipal and divisional councils, local works and undertakings other than railways and harbours, roads, bridges, markets and so forth and generally all matters which in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council are of a purely local or private nature.

The financial relations between the Union and the provinces were only provisionally settled by the Act—up to March, 1913 the funds required to defray the cost of provincial services being provided by grants from the Union Exchequer. (That is a system which was in vogue in India but was discarded long ago). But Section 118 provided for a Commission of enquiry into these financial relations; and though we learn from Sir F. Whyte that separate provincial revenue funds have been established for the provinces, details are not available. They would be of supreme importance for purposes of comparison.

The Supreme Court of South Africa, with local and provincial divisions (these latter were the supreme courts of the colonies before Union) is one of the federal features of the Constitution—though not in the same sense as the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is interesting to note that the Senate constituted on the provincial basis (another federal feature) still remains a partly nominated and partly elected Second Chamber, the 8 elected Senators serving the interests of each province in the Senate being chosen by the members of the Provincial Council and not by the electorate at large.

As regards the Navy, the Union annually contributes to the Imperial Treasury the sum of £85,000 towards the maintenance of the Imperial

Navy (being the former contribution of Cape Colony and Natal clubbed together) much in the same way as India contributes £100,000 a year.

For internal defence the South African Defence Act of 1912 organised the forces in three categories—the Active Citizen Force Reserve, and the National Reserve. The underlying principle is that every citizen is liable to assist in the defence of his country. Only a certain number of citizens however is trained annually, the Government fixing the number, from time to time, according to the military requirements and financial resources of the Union.

At the conclusion of the South African War, a large garrison of British troops amounting to 32,000 men was left in the country. The garrison has been gradually reduced and in June, 1913 consisted of about 7,000 men. The number is probably much less now.

The Constitution required the Governor-General in Council to appoint a permanent Public Service Commission in a manner similar to that enacted by Section 96C of the Government of India Act and the Parliament of the Union passed an Act in 1912 for the purpose and a Public Service Commission has been appointed under that Act.

In going so fully into the Constitution of South Africa it is not intended to minimise the importance of the study of the six other systems described—each of which, as already stated, contains features which may be found suitable for our special needs.

Sir Frederick Whyte has given us abundant material to stimulate thought in the endeavour to frame an Indian Constitution, permanent to such extent as is attainable under existing conditions but with possibilities of growth and development in the right direction. It is gratifying to think that the spirit in which he has performed his task has been so generally appreciated and there was little necessity for the excuse he modestly offers for such errors of omission and commission as may be found in his book on the ground of the shortness of time—two months only—at his disposal.

II.

By MR. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR.

"India! A Federation?" by Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I., is a very unique, little book on a most important problem relative to the

making of modern India. The work was undertaken on the invitation of the Government of India. But the instrument of appointment has not been published and we are not, therefore, in a position to know the exact scope and nature of the commission entrusted to the author. Strangely enough, we find that while Government had officially appointed the author for this undertaking and provided him with assistance in material and personnel the better to enable him to execute his task, they have not made an official announcement as to the definite object they had in view in promoting this academic enterprise. But they have taken care, however, to declare that they take no responsibility for the views expressed and suggestions made in the monograph. On the other hand, a most superficial perusal of the book, coupled with the fact that Sir Frederick has found it necessary to punctuate the title of the monograph with a note of interrogation, enables one to say that the amiable author was not, in its composition, quite free or quite original.

The general tone of the whole book, except where it analyses representative constitutions, has the ring of an echo of the Majority Report of the Indian Reforms Enquiry Committee. The legal paternity of the costly product being thus virtually disowned, we are afraid that there is very little chance of the foundling being taken in adoption by any section of the Indian politicians; and that one apparent object of Government would be defeated, for Sir Frederick says that Government in asking him to undertake the composition of this monograph "impressed" upon him "the importance of showing to the Indian public generally the complexity and magnitude of the problems which the makers of other federal constitutions had solved." This revelation discloses a very disquieting aspect of the policy of the Government in its attitude towards the Indian politician in his efforts to secure self-government for his country. The full significance of this policy appears the more clearly in an article of the author, entitled "Political Evolution in India," appearing in the January issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the American quarterly Review, wherein Sir Frederick says "the relations between these Councils (Provincial Legislative) and the Central Government is a vital and complicated matter which the average Indian has never studied." But is the monograph which Sir Frederick has apparently pro-

duced to order and presented us somewhat half-heartedly, calculated to dispel the ignorance of the average Indian politician and wisely and safely to guide him in his attempt to solve the problem which is no doubt a vital one? We venture to think that it is not.

THE GRANDEST MAXIM.

It is somewhat difficult in all these circumstances to extract from the monograph what exactly are the conclusions which Sir Frederick would recommend to the Indian politician for his enlightenment and guidance at the present crisis in the political development of India.

Sir Frederick admits that India actually is a unitary State. He further admits that federalism is a compromise, and a result of "the struggle between centripetal and centrifugal forces." Yet Sir Frederick confines himself to a survey of representative federal institutions and devotes no space to a consideration as to whether Parliamentary and Responsible Government, of course necessarily of unitary type, might not better suit India. As it is, the author examines seven representative federal constitutions, namely those of the United States of America, Australia, Canada, South Africa, Switzerland and Germany.

Sir Frederick treats the constitutions of pre-war Imperial Germany and of post-war Republican Germany as two different constitutions. Rightly enough. But can they be both called "representative federal constitutions?" Nor can we understand how the author has found his way to designate the Union of South Africa a federal State. We all know that the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom, allowed the colonists of the four Colonies full freedom to choose their own form of government, and that after long and mature discussion and deliberation they elected the unitary and parliamentary type of government, an image and reflection of the government of the United Kingdom.

We think it would serve no material purpose to follow the author in detail in his analysis of the seven constitutions. The constitution of Republican Germany, the author finds, is a new experiment in several vital points. But we fear we cannot see eye to eye with him when he proceeds to say that the present constitution of British India presents features similar to some of the striking aspects of this Republican Constitution. The reason for this view seems to be

that both these constitutions have created electorates other than purely territorial ones. This may be true. But there is, in our view, a world of difference in the principles and policy underlying the two constitutions.

UNITARY AND FEDERAL STATE.

The grandest of the maxims adopted by the makers of the German constitution is the one embodied in Article 151, which is as follows:

"The regulation of economic life must conform to the principles of justice with the object of assuring humane conditions of life for all. Within these limits the economic life of the individual shall be protected."

The article, read with Articles 163 and 165, makes this new political constitution the most remarkable as yet conceived by statesmanship and humanity. Article 163 proclaims "the moral duty of every German, without prejudice to his personal liberty, so to use his intellectual and physical powers as is demanded by the welfare of the nation," while Article 165 endows, for this purpose, the National Economic Council of the Republic with vast political powers to be exercised in co-ordination with the Government of the Republic. Sir Frederick does injustice to the Fathers of this Constitution when he thinks that there are provisions or principles embedded in the Indian Constitution anywise comparable to these great maxims in the new German Constitution.

Sir Frederick asks the very pertinent question in his rubric to the first paragraph at page 211 "Can the new German device be employed in India?" The answer is, we must confess, unsatisfactory. Having put the very relevant question, Sir Frederick evidently avoids the statement of a frank answer. If he had done so and in the affirmative, we fear he would be suspected not merely of pro-Indianism but of Bo'shevism, if only in embryo.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

The general result of his analysis of the seven federal constitutions may be stated in a very few words of his own. They are: "But federalism is after all, a *pis aller*, a concession to human weakness." "Federalism must be accepted where nothing else can be got, but its disadvantages are patent." "It means division of power and consequent irritation and weakness in the organs of government." "It tends to stereotype and limit the development of a new country." Good God! What has India done

that in the face of these unanswerable conclusions, Sir Frederick should think of assisting the Government of India to cut up ancient and unitary India into a Federal State? He might have, but has not examined nor even alluded to the generally recognised view that federalism and responsible government are irreconcilable with each other. The founders of the most perfect federal type of government, namely, of the United States of America, have admitted this and frankly declared that they did not attempt the impossible. The author in dealing with the constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia has quite overlooked the fact that the Constitution is a hybrid and an experiment in the way of reconciling these inherently conflicting types of governing machines. The first President of the Indian Legislative Assembly does not seem to be even aware of the opinion of the first President of the Australian Senate, Sir Richard Baker, in reference to the menace to responsible and cabinet principle implied by the federal form of government adopted by Australia. Sir Richard declared that "either federation will destroy responsible government or responsible government will destroy federation." This important pronouncement of the Australian statesman has not only been approved by Professor Marriott in his treatise on 'Second Chambers', but the Professor further says that the menace was not unforeseen.

We must now conclude. It is certainly matter for regret that the Indian National Congress has not yet considered and adopted a constitution suitable to India, having, on the one hand, a regard to the past history of the country and to the accepted, almost universal belief that unitary and cabinet principle is the best, and on the other to the imperative requirements of the country alike as to the greatest efficiency of the government combined with reasonable public economy, and to the rapid and most progressive welfare of the people. It is worth while to invite attention to the probable reason of Sir Frederick's silence in relation to this aspect of the problem which he endeavours to assist in solving. He has not shown himself free from the prejudice, a chronic and oft-proclaimed prejudice, that the glorious British constitution is unsuitable for "an eastern country." If so, why has he not examined the constitution of Japan, which is also "an image and reflection" of the constitution of the United Kingdom, and which is now over half a century.

old? On the other hand, can he say that in the opinion of the average Englishman, the governments of France and Italy which are also unitary and on cabinet principle like that of the United Kingdom, are as successfully administered as "at home?"

GOVERNMENT—MIRROR OF THE PEOPLE.

While, on the one hand, Sir Frederick does not ask himself the question whether there is a parallel in the world's history for breaking up a unitary State into fragments and then uniting them in federalism, we recognise the truth and validity of his statement that the government of a people is the mirror of the character of that people. But we also recognise that it is something more than a mere mirror. It is a powerful reacting agent in the formation and progressive elevation of the character of the people. It follows, therefore, that in making a new constitution we are, under the great God of all, bound to select that form of government which experience on this planet has proved to be the best instrument for the development of the beneficent powers of man. We certainly agree that provinces in India cannot be abolished. Far from it. The nine present provinces have to be increased in number both for the sake of administrative convenience and in view to sentiments,

ethnological and racial—real or only subjectively believed so. But this fact need no more be in the way than the counties of England, the Departments of France or the Provinces of Italy are inconsistent with the Parliamentary type of government, but they will not share national sovereignty and cut up the country's patriotism into provincial particularism in a large measure and residuary national patriotism. The people of India mean the making of modern India. They could be allowed the right of selecting the best type, unhampered by Royal Commissions and by ill-concealed contempt for an Asiatic people to secure their political and economic liberty.

POSING AS GUARDIANS.

It is also time that the device of posing as the guardians of Indian States in the solution of great problem affecting the fate of the vast millions of British Indians should be given up. The rights of these feudatory Princes cannot be meddled with except by free will on both sides and then only by free treaties. If British India secures her political and economic salvation, Sir Frederick and others of his way of thinking may rest assured that the people of these States would also secure theirs.

RUDYARD KIPLING AND HIS STORIES.*

By "A STUDENT OF KIPLING."

So universal and unquestioned in our time is the fame of Rudyard Kipling, and so regularly is it still confirmed by some fine expression of a personal philosophy or a national mood, that we feel some surprise on remembering that it was established a generation ago. It is not often that work which gains an astonishing popularity

on its first appearance can bear the jealous scrutiny of thirty changeable years, and show no sign of losing its appeal. The period of the 'eighties and what now seem the faintly noxious 'nineties saw the flowering of many literary reputations; but the wind from the East which Kipling's genius so conqueringly bestrode proved deadly to the feebler growths, and they faded with the century. The work of the startling newcomer still enthralls and stimulates the reader of to-day, whether he comes to it for the first time or the fifty-first. "Boys and girls of to-

*"The Service Kipling": Uniform edition in 26 volumes. It does not include *Letters of Travel*, *A Diversity of Creatures*, *Stalky and Co.* *The Jungle Books*, *Just So Stories*, *Puck of Pook's Hill*, *Rewards and Fairies*, and *Land and Sea Tales*. (All published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London).

day," said a recent reviewer in *Punch*, "cannot know, as their more fortunate elders knew, the thrill with which Victorian England was stirred by the beguiling voice of the young man from India with the strange name. Clerks in the City used to go without a dinner or two in order to buy *Plain Tales* or *Barrack-Room Ballads*. To-day the children of that epoch, now well on in years, are still reading the works of Mr. Kipling, and the artist, not yet old—he will never be really old—is the friend and play-mate, counsellor and poet, of their children."

Rudyard Kipling was born in India in 1865. His father, J. Lockwood Kipling, Principal of the School of Arts in Lahore, was himself a great student of Indian art and mythology, and the author of the fascinating *Beast and Man in India*. He afterwards illustrated his son's work in *The Jungle Books* and *Kim*. The boy spent his schooldays in England from 1878 till 1882 at the United Services College, Westward Ho, North Devon, where many Anglo-Indians sent their sons, and there he laid the scene of that vigorous corrective to the traditional milk-and-water school story, his *Stalky & Co.* His more personal reminiscences appear at the end of *Land and Sea Tales* in "An English School." For over a year he was editor of the *United Services College Chronicle*, to which he made many contributions in prose and verse, and his earliest work, which was published in India by his parents, for private circulation, bore the title of *Schoolboy Lyrics*.

At the age of eighteen he returned to India, and the next publications with which he was concerned were *Echoes* and *Quartette*, produced by the Kipling family and issued by the press of the *Lahore Civil and Military Gazette*, on whose staff Kipling was then performing highly miscellaneous duties. Many of his early poems and stories were composed as part of his weekly tale of bricks for this newspaper, which he left in 1887 when he joined the *Allahabad Pioneer*. What Kipling himself describes as "my first book," however, was *Departmental Ditties*, published in 1886.

It was in 1888 that he first made manifest his real stature as a writer, with a series of books whose covers, to quote Mr. H. G. Wells, "opened like window-shutters to reveal the dusty sun-glare and blazing colours of the East." *Plain Tales from the Hills* introduced the reader to the brilliant and malicious Mrs. Hauksbee,

the superlative Strickland of the Police, and other Anglo-Indians who are now better known than most of the historical servants of India; to the three latter-day musketeers, Orthcris, Learoyd, and Mulvaney, the unhappy hill-girl in "Lispeth," and the opium-eater of "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows." Six little volumes in green-grey paper wrappers appeared in the same year: "Soldiers Three," "The Story of the Gadsbys" (told in dialogue), "In Black and White," "Under the Deodars," "The Phantom 'Rickshaw,'" and "Wee Willie Winkie," "the last book of the series, and it naturally ends with the little children, who always trot after the tail of the procession." In Messrs. Macmillan's editions the first three are all included in the volume entitled *Soldiers Three*, the remainder going to form the present *Wee Willie Winkie*. Each contains tales that have become famous. In the former are to be found the cruel and tragic "Dray Wara Yow Dee" and the picturesque, ironic "On the City Wall;" the latter presents the poignant ghost story of "The Phantom 'Rickshaw,'" the epic of "The Man who would be King," often quoted as its author's finest work, and the heroic incorrigibles of "The Drums of the Fore and Aft."

It was as a member of the *Pioneer's* staff that Rudyard Kipling left India for England in 1890, by way of Japan and San Francisco. The two volumes of *From Sea to Sea* contain the articles he sent back to his paper, together with his other Indian booklets, "Letters of Marque," "City of Dreadful Night" (Calcutta), and "The Smith Administration." America as yet did not offer him the royal progress that always awaited him later in his career, and London at first provided only a chilly welcome. His work had, however, attracted attention in England, and the appearance of some of his stories and poems in *Macmillan's Magazine* evoked critical applause which soon swelled into the roar of popular enthusiasm.

Acclaimed on every hand as a master of the short story, Kipling next exercised his gifts in the wider bounds of the novel. *The Light that Failed* (1891) met with a full measure of public appreciation, and was presented on the stage with equal success; and though English critics have never shown this work much favour, a distinguished French writer recently described it as "perhaps one of the finest novels in the world—in any case one of those which leave the deepest impression of real originality."

As to the merits of *Life's Handicap* (1891) there could be no hesitation. In range, concision, maturity, and power its contents could hardly be excelled—certainly nowhere outside the same author's works. "These tales," he says, "have been collected from all places, and all sorts of people, from priests in the Chubara, from Ala Yar the carver, Siwun Singh the carpenter, nameless men on steamers and trains round the world, women spinning outside their cottages in the twilight, officers and gentlemen now dead and buried, and a few, but these are the very best, my father gave me." Whatever their source, no one could read the tale of "The Courting of Dinah Shadd" as related by Mulvaney, or that of Learoyd's lost love in "On Greenhow Hill," the sinister and perturbing "Without Benefit of Clergy," "At the End of the Passage," and "The Mark of the Beast," the tense drama of "The Man who Was," and the description of heat-stricken Lahore in "The City of Dreadful Night," without recognizing the genius of the narrator.

Another period of travel in South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand was followed by Kipling's marriage to an American lady, and his next prose work was written in collaboration with his brother-in-law, Mr. Wolcott Balestier. This was *The Naulahka*, which ingeniously connects the rivalries of two American townships with the intrigues of an Oriental court. In the same year *Barrack-Room Ballads*, containing such favourites of the reciter and anthologist as "Gunga Din," "Mandalay," "The Ballad of East and West," and "Tomlinson," captivated the imagination of thousands of people who had probably never before responded to any form of verse.

Many Inventions (1893) is memorable for "The Finest Story in the World," which comes near to meriting its own title, for the uproarious comedy of "Brugglesmith," and for the first appearance, in "In the Rukh," of the wolf-child Mowgli, who returned to delight innumerable homes in *The Jungle Book* (1894) and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895). Mowgli and his masters and friends, Akela the Lone Wolf, Bagheera the Panther, Baloo the Bear, as well as Toomai of the Elephants and Rikki-Tikki-Tavi, have become household names in the Empire and in the United States, and France has found them the most popular of all Kipling's characters.

The Seven Seas, in many respects the most

remarkable of his volumes of poetry, appeared in 1896, and expressed all the pride and wonder of Empire in "The Song of the English." Even more striking, perhaps, than this were the monologue of the dying shipowner in "The Mary Gloster," and the wonderful pæan to machinery put into the mouth of the old Scots engineer in "M'Andrew's Hymn." *Captains Courageous* (1897), the tale of how the pampered son of an American millionaire finds himself one of the crew of a small fishing schooner on the Grand Banks, and is turned into something like a man, afforded another striking display of Kipling's faculty for assimilating, for the purposes of literature, a whole new setting, atmosphere, language, and technique.

The following year saw the publication of *The Day's Work*, with those brilliant experiments in the dramatization of mechanisms and animals, "The Ship that found Herself," ".007," and "The Maltese Cat;" the frank farce of "My Sunday at Home;" and that tender and idyllic novel in little, "The Brushwood Boy." A minor work, *A Fleet in Being*, issued in the same year, was the record of two cruises with the Channel Squadron.

In 1899 some fluttering of the dovescotes was caused by *Stalky and Co.* The escapades and expletives of that born leader Stalky, the Irish M'Turk, and Beetle, not disavowed as a portrait of the author himself, startled the admirers of school stories written on the old relentlessly didactic plan; but public opinion was, and has remained, on the side of the daredevils. The contents of *From Sea to Sea*, which came out in book form in 1900, have already been described.

It had often been prophesied, and almost as often disputed, that Kipling would one day produce a masterpiece in the large manner. He achieved this triumphantly in 1901 with *Kim*, an incomparable representation of the crowded, multi-coloured, and unfathomable life of the East, in which the politics, religions, and races of India; the cities, the thronging Grand-Trunk Road, and the lonely heights; the Indians and the Europeans; personal intrigues and the plots and counterplots of hostile powers, are revealed with a vigour and comprehensiveness as yet unrivalled. Kim, the English boy whom his environment has made three parts Indian, the lovable old Tibetan lama whose disciple he becomes, the Babu, the Afghan horse-dealer, and the Englishmen who are the strangely assorted

partners in the Great Game, form a gallery of unforgettable figures.

Yet another aspect of his genius was disclosed in 1902 by the appearance of *Just So Stories for Little Children*, illustrated by Kipling himself. These twelve tales are an inimitable medley of the sort of natural history not previously known to the Zoological Society, as in "How the Camel got his Hump," and the unorthodox but highly convincing etymology of "How the Alphabet was Made" and "How the First Letter was Written," together with such pure fables as "The Cat that Walked by Himself." The songs interspersed with the stories were set to music by Edward German, and are available in *The Just So Song Book*.

The Five Nations (1903) included many poems written in a mood of admonition and prophecy displeasing to those who took the lessons of the Boer War more lightly; but the volume is above all notable for the exquisite "Sussex," in praise of the county of which the author has in so many ways taken seisin, and the noble "Recessional," which he has lived to hear sung on the most solemn of State occasions in Westminster Abbey.

A further harvest of South African experiences accompanied some humorous stories of the Navy in *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904), which was also distinguished by the delicate and touching fantasy of the ghostly children in "They," while the latest invention of the day served the purposes of an eerie tale in "Wireless."

Throughout Kipling's work it had always been clear that, despite his eager interest in far lands and strange callings, in alien races and exiles, he cherished a deep passion for the sights and sounds of the English countryside, for its people, its folklore, and its history. In *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and its companion *Rewards and Fairies* (1910) he gave it enchanting expression in stories of the past told to two children under the spells of Puck, "the Oldest Thing in Old England." Their intricate and subtle texture has been alluringly described: "If the reader will turn back to those wise fairy-tales he will see that each is really fourfold: a composite tissue made up of a layer of sunlit story on a layer of moonlit magic, on a layer of history-story stuff, on a last foundation of delicately bedimmed but never doubtful allegory." The men and women whom the children meet belong to every age from the time when men with flint-

tipped spears fought the wolves upon the Downs to the days of Washington and Napoleon. The same spirit animated *A History of England* (1911) which he wrote in collaboration with Mr. C. R. Fletcher. Another tribute to the witchery of English earth, "An Habitation Enforced," and an impressive glimpse into the future of aerial traffic, "With the Night Mail," formed part of *Actions and Reactions* (1909).

The verses and chapter-headings scattered through the prose works enshrined many haunting lines, and they were collected in 1913 in *Songs from Books*, a whole new poem being given in many cases in place of the extract originally used. The true beauty and profusion of Kipling's lyrics had hitherto hardly gained full recognition, but the manifold treasures of this collection showed with what a lavish hand the pure gold of poetry had been strewn about his pages.

The titles of *The New Army in Training*, *France at War*, and *Sea Warfare* (this last comprising "Fringes of the Fleet," "Tales of 'The Trade'," and "Destroyers at Jutland"), are sufficient indication of the glorious and tragic themes which next put to the test all Kipling's powers of evocation and description; the poems written under the same impulse were grouped together in 1919 in *The Years Between*. He bent all his genius to a kindred task in the two volumes of *The Irish Guards in the Great War* (1923), edited and compiled from the diaries and papers of that regiment, whose uniform his only son was wearing when he fell at Loos. In commemorating their ardours and endurances he achieved something approaching an epic of the whole of Britain's armies in the field.

In *A Diversity of Creatures* (1917) there were only two war-time stories, the grimly restrained "Swept and Garnished" and "Mary Postgate." An account of the lying-in-state of King Edward VII from the lips of a Sikh Havildar-major, "In the Presence," could have been the work of no other hand, while the joyous comedy of "The Village that Voted the Earth was Flat," and the re-appearance of Stalky and his satellites in "Regulus," offered welcome entertainment in very sombre times.

Letters of Travel (1920) and *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides* (1923) assembled articles and stories that had not previously been readily available. The former recorded impressions of journeys in the United States in 1892, in Canada in 1907, and in Egypt in 1913, while

the eleven tales and papers in the latter, accompanied by eight new poems, numbered a hitherto discarded "Stalky" episode and "The Burning of the *Sarah Sands*," besides the school reminiscences already mentioned. The Rectorial Address delivered to St. Andrews University in 1923 has also been issued in booklet form under the title of *Independence*. This concludes the list of the author's works to the present date.

Kipling's public honours have included degrees from the Universities of England, Scotland, Canada, and France, and the coveted Nobel Prize for Literature. But he possibly treasures more highly the spontaneous allegiance that men of every type and calling have sworn him wherever the English language is spoken and understood. This widespread and unprompted veneration is, in the words of the late Dixon Scott, "an entirely wholesome and satisfactory thing. It is the nearest thing we have now-a-days to the reverence that used to be excited by the great literary figures of last century. It is touching, it is beautiful, it is altogether honest and good. . . . There is no priggishness about it, nor any desire to impress or be improved; and yet they find beauty in his work, they find magic, they find hints of strange forces and powers and constant reminders of something unimaginable beyond; they experience that delicious commotion of the blood we call romance, and are thrilled and shaken and renewed by it much as others of us are supposed to be renewed and thrilled by poetry. And at the same time, unlike so much of their 'romance,' it is never a mere dallying with lotus-land sensations, a coloured refuge from the drudgery of day. Its action is always to excite their zest for life, to send them back into reality more exultantly—not (of course) because of any policy it may preach, but because it so crisply handles, names, and sanctifies, the tools of each man's trade."

Their very speech bears witness to his power. Apart from the expressions dear to the hasty reviewer, "Kiplinguesque," "worthy of Kipling," "a second Kipling" (still so far to seek), themselves a tribute to his work as a standard of reference, there are not many articles in a

modern periodical that do not, either by direct quotation or by casual allusion, draw upon the stock of succinct and picturesque phrases with which he has enriched the language. Few readers would hesitate for a moment over the authorship of, say, "For East is East, and West is West," "Lest we forget!" "Sisters: under their skins," "He travels the fastest who travels alone," "But that's another story!" or almost any line of "If—." How familiar is the passage referring to "the three great doors of the world where, if you stand long enough, you shall meet any one you wish!" Travellers give it the certificate of frequent quotation; and it is equally true that, whether you are waiting at Charing Cross, the Nyanza Docks, or the head of the Suez Canal, if the man you are to welcome from the back of beyond has nothing of Kipling in his baggage, it is because he has most of him in his brain.

More than once Kipling has gently ridiculed each generation's habit of gazing longingly backwards with a lament over the sordidness and monotony of its time, while, quietly and ceaselessly, on every hand the high adventure and the "unconsidered miracle" go forward. It is the secret of his spell that for him, and so for his readers, Romance still brings up the morning train, and will still have its hand upon the levers even when men have begun complaining of their tedious journeys across the humdrum atmosphere. "He is the romancer of the present," says an eminent American writer, Professor Wilbur L. Cross; "of the modern social order, on which shines from afar a light as resplendent as that which shone on mediæval society; for it is the same divine light of the imagination. Kipling feels the presence of romance in shot and shell as well as in bow and arrows, and in red coats as well as in buff jerkins; in existing superstitions as well as in the old; in the lightning express as in the stage-coach; in a Vermont farmer as in Robin Hood; in the fishing schooner as in the Viking's ship; in the loves of Mulvaney and Dinah as in *Ivanhoe* and *Rowena*; in the huge python as in the fire-breathing dragon. This is his great distinction in an age that has come to look on its marvels with dull, passive eyes."

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

THE GREAT PYRAMID OF EGYPT.

By MR. W. G. RAFFE.

There is no monument among the many which exist in Egypt which has excited more curiosity and speculation than that which is now known as the Great Pyramid of Gizeh. Many attempts have been made, more or less complete, to fathom the reason that led to the planning and construction of this mighty mass of masonry. What human purpose could it possibly have served? A very popular belief is that it was erected as a tomb, by an early Pharaoh to whom labour and expenditure meant nothing. This view has been contested by many, who cannot agree to see in the sarcophagus of the King's Chamber, nothing more than a stone coffin, according to one argument, or a "corn-bin", to quote another.

In a recently published work* of the first importance, all these and many other views, historical and otherwise, are challenged or set in order, by an engineer whose head office is in Leeds, Yorkshire. The author, Mr. D. Davidson, has published in his work what is evidently the accumulated research of many years of labour, devoted to his subject—*The Great Pyramid*.* His conclusions are as grand in scale as his volume and are most enlightening.

Mr. Davidson (his colleague on part of the work, Dr. Aldersneth, is now dead) deduces some astonishing answers to the problem of the Pyramid, and he asserts that it is a record in monumental form of the original civilisation of Egypt, which was constructed for the definite purpose of leaving for later generations a statement of knowledge and with it a message. The book demonstrates that the structure proves in its builders the possession of precise and accurate knowledge of gravitational astronomy, and further states this is in conjunction with a scheme of astronomical chronology. When correlated with known and defined events in ancient history, this is seen to possess a nature

which, like the stellar movements, enables not only past events to be accurately stated, but supplies the data for the prognostication of future events. By the use of this astronomical key, in which modern astronomy is related to the ancient knowledge and its Pyramid record, a synchronisation of ancient history is completed in many main points, which enable the writers to demonstrate, according to their argument, that one of the primary intentions of the Pyramid was of a prophetic nature.

The formal symbolism of the structure is discussed in relation to the *Book of the Dead* and the Egyptian Messianic texts, and the conclusion arrived at is that the message thus revealed has a definite relation to the present era of mankind in general and to the British race in particular.

II.

This remarkable work of five hundred and fifty-eight large pages, closely packed with relevant arguments, marshalled with scientific accuracy and order, fully supported with academic references to a bewildering array of authorities, constitutes a volume of unequalled interest for all students of Egypt's memorial of her truly ancient past.

The author shows that the ancient name of the Pyramid was "Khuti"—the "lights," and proceeds to show that it was, in one of its many aspects, used as something in the nature of a vast sundial, which could make its reflected ray visible all over the Delta, to which it has a key situation. Certain light effects, visible only at certain definite seasons, marked for the ancient dwellers in the Nile Valley, the beginning and ending of the various agricultural seasons. It is shown that the outer casing, which is known by remaining fragments to have been entirely of white lime-stone, was highly polished for this purpose, and further shows an interesting angle of inclination on the faces. Diagrams are given which show the relative incidence of the reflected rays at various equinoctial periods.

A wealth of incidental reference is made to very many allied phases, where it brings proof to substantiate the main thesis, and we find excursions into agriculture, religion, astronomy,

**The Great Pyramid: its Divine Message.* By D. Davidson, M.C., M. Inst. Struct. E., and E. Aldersneth, M.B., 11 x 7, 558 pages. (Williams and Norgate, London).

philology, experimental philosophy or psychology, and many items of ancient chronology and history, not only of Egypt but of the then surrounding nations. Besides these are mathematical data concerning the astronomical and allied facts which have intimate bearing on the general design of the Pyramid, and many diagrams which greatly help to elucidate certain sets of facts which are shown in their general relations, more easily in that way than is possible by words alone.

To students of the Christian religion, among the most interesting sections will be those which bring the various Bible stories into relation with the Pyramid, and in which the prophetic character of many book in the Bible is accentuated, while the symbolic characters of other books, not so accepted in general, is also worked out with a liberality of quotation and a keen realisation of the facts at issue. Thus Table XXXI refers alone the chronology of "Judah's Captives," and against this sets many verses from Luke and Matthew. The authors have been more interested in the prophetic character of the Pyramid records than in other phases, so that there still remains much to elucidate, by the use of the same scales of measurement which they have so successfully applied.

The method of initial measurement is based on correspondences with the Pyramid inch, the British inch, the sacred cubit, and other measures, together with the old Egyptian *aroura*, or land measures of area. These, in relation to the dimensions of the external Pyramid, and the internal chambers, their mutual sizes and relations, are discovered to symbolise the historical progression of the nations of the world. The implications are, of course, that nations have a normal period of rise, maturity and decay, in definite terms of years, which have a relation to the time-periods of the world process at large. This is of course an integral factor of Hindu mathematics.

III.

An interesting and penetrating discussion of Greek, Roman and ancient Egyptian measures enables another phase of analysis to be added to the others, and the fact is shown that the British inch of to-day is very closely approximated to the oldest Egyptian measures. From these small dimensions, we are taken to the associations of the geometrical graphs which

represent the three phases of measuring of time in the year, and it is proved that the Pyramid has been so designed as to contain all of these in relation to an accurate scale.

This again is related to the "king-lists" of Manetho, which is said to be analagous with the many generations given in the books of Genesis and to have relations with the hidden geometrical science of the ancient priests. With this the period of 36,525 years—the divine years of the gods—is identified as the period of precession. Various well-known Egyptian Mss. are quoted again and again in support of these deductions, but an item of further interest is the renewed suggestion that the Pyramids, even now, must contain, somewhere hidden away in its vast mass, a further number of papyri, deposited at the times of its building. It would be both impossible to search and barbarous to destroy the whole mass to find these, but it seems certain that some clue must exist as to the possible whereabouts of these hidden manuscripts, as they would be placed in some position from which they could be taken, by anyone knowing the secret. This is a task for the modern antiquarian. For if the Pyramid is a geometrical symbol of early Egyptian science, then the Mss. which contain the written record must be of the greatest possible value. Arcane secrets and the knowledge of lost centuries may be recovered by those who can solve this puzzle, and we may be able to record such discoveries as have recently occurred in the wastes of Chinese Turkestan, and on the borders of the Gobi Desert.

Mr. Davidson makes it clear that the quick-brained Greeks got most of their knowledge in Egypt, and for long continued to seek for more, which, they appear to have been convinced, existed in Alexandria.

IV.

The whole work is so welded together that although quotations would be of great interest, it could be done only with the warning that it is as likely to confuse as to enlighten. One such, for example, concerns the prophecies (p. 415) on a fulfilment of interpretation of 78 years ago, in 1846, before Britain had any connection with Egypt, in which the necessity of "group in together India, Egypt and Britain" was foreshadowed in a remarkable manner.

To students of the *Kabbalah*, the Ghosis of

the early Christian father who foregathered in the first centuries of our era, other phases of extreme interest will present themselves in the comments on the Genesis stories. Whether or not the conclusions of the informed student will agree, in outline or detail, with the many suggestions here advocated, is a matter for further discussion.

But the measurements cited are specifically stated as being under the law of relativity, and it is well-known that all such transliterations of myths, from whatever nations they appear, must be handled with due precaution.

It is suggested that the Pyramid was "built at the instigation of, and under the direction of an architect or engineer belonging to the race of the lost civilisation of the ancient East. The Pyramid's own astronomical data, indicates that it may have been built at any time between the two precisely dated years 3434 B.C. and 2144 B.C." This dating however places it much later than it is suggested by well-versed scholars of religion, some of whom give it a far vaster period. But the dates here given by the compilers of this remarkable work cannot be lightly disregarded and it will be a long while before this volume is superseded.

THE ARABIA OF TO-DAY.*

By DR. H. E. H. TRACY.

Mr. Lowell Thomas is well-known to the British public through his travelogue, "With Allenby in Palestine and Lawrence in Arabia." In this volume he pursues his hero-worship of the latter to the extreme. But he disarms criticism by his own and the publisher's explanations that the eulogistic saga has been written without the consent, aid, or approval of the principal subject. Lawrence is, we learn, one of the shiest and most reticent of men. So shy is he of publicity that only by stratagem were the fifteen admirably posed photographs of Lawrence obtained. The author copies this modesty by only inserting five illustrations of himself.

The adventures of Lawrence compose an epic which will live through the ages. In a war

where it might seem that victory went as a negative reward to the general who made fewest blunders, this one figure stands out as starting out to do a thing and completing his task with something in hand. The author takes us from the point when Lawrence, starting as a mere envoy to the camp of Hussein, captured the imagination of the Arab leaders until he became a chief of staff. He actually inspired the whole plan of campaign, but astutely left the Arab leaders in the nominal position of commanders. The seizing of Mecca and Arabia were the early successes that heralded a campaign which exhausted the Turk to the uttermost. The strategy which forbade the storming of Medina, and left the beleaguered city as a bait to the Turks, was admirable. Pitched battles were only fought in favourable places such as that of Petraea, where the Arab women were pressed into the fighting line and rolled boulders on to the heads of the entrapped and bewildered Turks. Lawrence's military efforts were brilliant, but his harder work consisted in welding the tribes together and obliterating the effect of blood-feuds. In this he was partially successful, but his difficulties prove that the Arabs are absolutely unfitted to form themselves into a nation. Recognition of that fact would have kept us out of considerable difficulties in Irak. And Ibn Saud at the moment is showing the world his opinion of the Lawrence-Bell scheme for a United Arabian Empire under the Sherceefian family.

II.

The author's hero worship does not allow him to be quite fair about the amount of support given to Lawrence. He had unlimited gold and squandered in all about ten million sovereigns. He treated the request for a receipt of £600 as a joke. Mr. Lowell Thomas thinks it one also, but he belongs to-day to a creditor nation. In the final phase when Lawrence started off to get behind the retreating Turks, he had a thousand men under his command. When one learns that this included a battalion of Gurkhas, a mountain-battery of French Algerians, aeroplanes and a demolition party, the Arabian element seems a trifle thing. True, in the hour of victory some thousands of Arabs joined in, but this was the root of all future political bothers. At any rate, the campaign was gloriously successful, and Lawrence's last

With Lawrence in Arabia. By Lowell Thomas. (Messrs. Hutchinson, 317 pp. XIII. 63 illus, London) 1925.

task was to gather the spoils of victory for his friends. In politics he was not too successful. He attempted to place Feisal on the throne of Syria and the French would have none of him. He felt that justice would be done if he had him placed on the throne of Bagdad. With this end in view he proceeded to have his own way and Feisal went to Bagdad where he was "crowned" by proclamation in 1921.

Feisal was recently in London, a sick man. His father Hussein has been ignominiously expelled from his capital by Ibn Saud. The Euphrates tribes are busy with murder and the glorious Arabian Empire dreamt of by Lawrence and Miss Bell, to be built up and maintained by the British tax-payer, is a long way off. Lawrence with his intimate knowledge of the "Buddoo" never realised that once the common antagonism was removed the old game of murdering relative and neighbour would commence again. The author ends with a note of interrogation.

What is his hero doing and what is he going to do? The foolish gesture of joining the Air Force as a "private" (we presume Mr. Thomas means "air-man") is finished. Lawrence's great gifts should be used in some great work. If the "mystery man" or the "mystery woman" (Miss Gertrude Bell) would drop some of their incurable romanticism concerning the Arab, and realised that they do not hold the only keys to an enigma, they might do much to solve the problems of the Middle East. The educated Arab and the Bedouin will never meet on common ground.

In spite of the false deductions of the later chapters, the book remains interesting to the end. The author's hero-worship rings genuine, and if his desire to "tell the world" has led him to write a one-sided story, one must remember that he is a journalist, who has not come into contact with some of the disastrous consequences of the post-war policy of the "Sheikh School."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

The Law of Crimes. By Ratanlal Ranchhoddas, B.A., LL.B. and Dhirajlal Keshavlal Thakore, B.A. Tenth Edition, Revised and Brought up-to-date. (Bombay Law Reporter Office, 2A, Charni Road, Bombay) 1926.

We welcome the tenth edition of the standard work on our substantive penal law. Since the publication of the last edition, six new Acts, amending the provisions of the Indian Penal Code or substituting new ones, have been enacted, and seven hundred fresh cases bearing on the provisions of the Code have been reported in law reports, official and non-official. Besides, several sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure have been amended by Act XVIII of 1923. The present edition has been carefully revised and brought up-to-date in the light of statutory changes and fresh case-law. To keep the book handy this edition is printed on tough and thin paper specially ordered out from England, and the type is also slightly altered. Even with the addition of seventy pages of new matter the bulk of the book has not increased but diminished.

The result is that in spite of many competitors in the field—whose name is legion—*The Law of Crimes* still occupies an unrivalled position as the one handy, compact treatise on the substantive criminal law of India, which is not only the cheapest and best, but an ideal working edition for legal practitioners, police-officers, magistrates and judges. It deserves a wide appreciation and circulation.

* **Indian Election Petitions.** By the Hon. Mr. E. L. L. Hammond, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S. Two volumes. (The Pioneer Press, Allahabad) 1924-5.

We commend to Indian public men the Hon'ble Mr. Hammond's treatise called *Indian Election Petitions*. In our election procedure Mr. Hammond may justly be regarded an expert. His treatise on Indian Elections is a standard work and is well-known. It was followed by his first volume of election petitions containing twenty-two cases. He has now brought out the second volume which contains fifty cases. In almost all the cases the editor has given the judgment

in full. Unlike English text-books on the subject, which generally give the substance of the decisions, Mr. Hammond's book gives full texts of election decisions in this country, and is all the better for it. The editor may, however, add to the usefulness of his book if in future editions he gives appropriate catch words and head-notes before every judgment. The book, even as it is, is likely to be highly useful to publicmen and election judges. As for the printing and get-up of the book it is enough to say that it is printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, which in itself is a guarantee for excellence. We hope this valuable work will receive large patronage.

The Law Relating to Bad Livelihood and Cognate Preventive Measures. By S. Roy, Bar-at-Law. Third Edition (Messrs. R. Cambray and Co., Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1926.

Mr. S. Roy's books on Indian Criminal Law have attained by now the dignity of classics. The latest to appear in a new edition (the third) is his *Law Relating to Bad Livelihood and Cognate Preventive Measures*. We have examined it carefully and have no hesitation in declaring that Mr. Roy's book is a considerable improvement on the previous edition. In the edition under consideration, the material sections of the Criminal Procedure Code have been comprehensively dealt with in the light of relevant authorities and there is really nothing of importance which cannot be found within its covers. An elaborate index adds to the value of the book, which is moderately priced and well-printed. Mr. Roy's treatise can be recommended to every one who has to handle this particular branch of the adjective criminal law of India. We commend it as the best text-book on the subject it deals with.

The Criminal Court Manual: Imperial Acts. (The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras) 1925.

The Criminal Court Manual is a thick, heavy and bulky tome of over sixteen hundred pages, and consequently it is by no means easy to transport and handle. But it is none the less highly useful and will be found of great utility by judges, magistrates, legal practitioners and police officers. It is a complete collection of almost all the Acts and Regulations of the Imperial Legislature and of Statutes passed by Parliament relating to the administration of criminal law in British India, upto November, 1925. Not only is the book comprehensive, but the usefulness of the text is appreciably increased by the addition of prefatory notes which are highly elucidative and the incorporation of an exhaustive index. We commend

the book to all interested in the administration of criminal law in British India.

Constitution, Functions and Finance of Municipalities in India. By K. T. Shah and G. J. Bahadurji. (D. B. Taraporevala & Sons, Hornby Road, Bombay) 1926.

Mr. K. T. Shah and Miss Bahadurji have collaborated in producing a useful work on a subject based upon law, if not on a branch of law itself. Their work is a study, as the title declares, of the constitution, powers, activities and finances of municipal authorities. The study is comparative, not merely of the municipalities in the several Indian provinces; but also and more particularly of Indian municipalities with those in the more advanced countries of Europe and America. The experience of the more progressive municipalities,—particularly of Germany—is made use of to point the lesson for municipal reform in India; and the book teems with striking and original suggestions for galvanising the Indian municipal authorities into a keener realisation of their responsibilities, and a wider opportunity for rendering service to the citizens. Suggestions like those relating to the accomplishment of Municipal Home Rule with its complete complement of a local cabinet collectively responsible to the local Legislature; or those touching the institution of competitive examination for recruitment to the consolidated municipal service through a central organisation acting as a clearing-house for the municipalities (Book I); or the utilisation economically and beneficially, on a municipal basis, of the city's refuse, of sea-water for conservancy; and the municipalisation of bath houses and washing booths; of tramway and telephones; of hospitals, and nursing-homes, and sanatoria, or hotels, restaurants, lodging and eating-houses, theatre and cinema and art galleries; libraries and museums; schools, colleges and university as well as mass education; also social insurance of all kinds, including illness and accidents, and old age and disability; (Book II)—are amongst a few of the innumerable suggestions and recommendations which the authors have made in pursuance of their central thesis: that true Democracy and real Self-Government can only be realised if we develop to their utmost capacity these local governing institutions. Book III deals with description and criticism of municipal finance, together with suggestions for reconstruction of the entire financial system in municipal administration. It would thus be seen that the book covers a very large ground and is not only highly informative but thought-pro-

voking and suggestive. It deserves a warm acknowledgment at the hands of municipal reformers.

Women under English Law. By Maud I. Crofts, Solicitor. (The National Council of Women of Great Britain, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London) 1925.

It is an excellent summary of the English Law in relation to women that Miss Crofts has presented in her book under notice. Dame Millicent Fawcett introduces it to the reader as "not only a useful book, but an indispensable book to all who are making a serious study of the status of women under the English Law." That is so; but she rightly urges that "the whole position of women under English Law is changing rapidly" and desires that new editions of this book may be frequently required so as to be always thoroughly up-to-date. We wish we had a work by a competent lawyer on the status of women in India under the various systems of law administered in this country. We hope a work modelled on Miss Crofts' book will be forthcoming before long dealing with Indian laws and conditions. Howsoever that be, *Women under English Law* is an excellent compendium of the subject it deals with—accurate, lucid and systematic. Appended to it is a useful select bibliography to enable the readers to follow up their studies with advantage. We commend Miss Crofts' book alike to lawyers and social reformers.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

(1) ALMANACS, ANNUALS AND YEAR-BOOKS.

Whitaker's Almanac 1926. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4.) 1926.

Inaugurated in 1868, *Whitaker's Almanac* for the current year is the fifty-eighth yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-speaking world. It is too well-known and too well-established in popular estimation as the most useful and most comprehensive repertory of information—well-informed and accurate—on current public affairs, to need the reviewer's commendation; and the *Hindustan Review* has now for over a quarter of a century noticed in terms of high appreciation the recurring annual editions of this highly meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general

statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The current edition of *Whitaker's Almanac* will be indispensable to public men and publicists; it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium of facts and events of the world to-day.

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Whitaker's Peerage 1926. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4.) 1926.

Whitaker's Peerage (which is the youngest of its class) is not only perhaps the cheapest but the most convenient work for reference. The current edition contains complete list of Peers, Baronets, Knights and Companions, including full lists of the last new year's honours. The careful compilation and methodical arrangement, which have always characterised the work, are still fully maintained, while for ease of reference it can hardly be surpassed. The obituary for the last year is very full and complete. *Whitaker's Peerage* is not only the cheapest work of its class before the public, but its convenient shape and handy size add materially to its value and usefulness as an indispensable work of ready reference for all who may have to seek information concerning the title-holders in the British Empire. Of the books of its class and kind, it should, therefore, have a large circulation in India. It is much to be desired that a work of reference dealing with Indian rulers, chiefs, princes and zamindars were compiled and issued annually, modelled on *Whitaker's Peerage*, by some enterprising publisher.

The Newspaper Press Directory 1926. (C. Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 102 Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C. 1.) 1926.

Having seen the light in 1845, the current edition of Messrs. Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* is the eighty-first annual issue of this, the best and indispensable work of reference to British periodical literature. Its range of information is generally wide and accurate and it supplies the fullest details about the press of the British Commonwealth in particular and that of the other countries in general, with the result that it is of the highest utility to pressmen, advertisers and tradesmen. The current edition has

been judiciously revised and carefully overhauled and we have lighted upon few mis-statements of fact. But the section dealing with the press of India requires to be carefully revised by some one in intimate touch with the present conditions of the fourth estate in this country. But making allowance for the Indian section, the *Newspaper Press Directory* is, on the whole, a very creditably accurate and comprehensive work of reference. It should have an extensive circulation amongst journalists and pressmen throughout the British Commonwealth and in America.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1926. (Pulitzer Building, 53-63 Park Row, New York, U.S.A.) 1926.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts—which is edited with skill and knowledge—is the American Whitaker and is now in the forty-first year of publication. It is a most important annual appanage to one of the leading American papers, the *New York World*, from the office of which it is issued. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done his heart good could he but have access in his days to this comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating to the United States. Of the many books of reference, annually issued, it is perhaps the most notable, covering within its nearly one thousand pages facts and statistical data about America, and the other political entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world. The 1926 edition is fully abreast of events and has been judiciously brought up-to-date.

The Daily Mail Year-Book 1926. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.) 1926.

Of the many political year-books that one is familiar with, that associated in name with the *Daily Mail* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet the most comprehensive. Unlike several other annuals of its class and kind—which are only revised and brought up-to-date—the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is completely rewritten for each succeeding edition. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of the current political and economic affairs of

the British Commonwealth. In fact, the little red book is a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day and is a most informative work of reference. The edition under notice is fully abreast of the latest events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shilling—and general utility as a meritorious work of reference, which covers within a small compass a very large range of statistical and other useful data. The edition for the current year is the twenty-sixth and we congratulate this highly useful annual on having passed its silver jubilee.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book 1926. (A and C. Black, Ltd., 4, 5 and 6 Sobo Square, London, W. 1.) 1926.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book is now in the nineteenth year of its new issue. It offers literary aspirants and journalistic free lances much sound and useful information, which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares with profit and advantage. Lists of paying journals, magazines and periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of publishers, book-sellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors, journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists, cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information form the standard features of the publication. We have much pleasure in commending it to those connected with either literary pursuits or the press. Though meant primarily for Great Britain, it will be found valuable for reference even in India.

The People's Year-Book 1926. (The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., 1 Balloon Street, Manchester) 1926.

The current (ninth) edition of the *People's Year-Book* deserves appreciation from seekers after information about Co-operation. Among its salient features the volume contains an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the Co-operative movement throughout the world and of the industrial labour movement as well. Amongst the topics of public interest, the cost of living, the housing problem, and British finance in 1925 are specifically dealt with; the latest developments in art, science, literature, and the drama are also reviewed, and a mass of useful information is likewise included, which will interest the general reader, apart from the student. The *People's Year-Book* thus constitutes a reference work, both in a

special and a general sense, while the many excellent illustrations it contains serve as an embellishment to the volume. Its get-up deserves special acknowledgment for format and excellent execution. Primarily intended as a national and international survey of co-operative organization and activities and for furnishing the latest statistics relating to this subject, the *People's Year-Book* contains much other useful and interesting information, and is thus an acquisition to current reference literature.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1926. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Esplanade, Calcutta) 1926.

The Times of India Directory 1926. (Times of India Press, Bombay) 1926.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory 1926. (Chakravarti & Co., Madras) 1926.

Of the many directories annually issued in India, the three—the current year's editions of which are recorded above—are the best-known as standard works of reference amongst their class. *Thacker's Indian Directory*—which is now in its sixty-fifth annual edition—originally and for many years afterwards appeared as the "Bengal Directory." But it slowly covered the other provinces as well, and for years past the *Lal Kitab* ("the red book"), as it is familiarly known in offices, has been justly regarded as the one indispensable work of reference amongst Indian directories. *The Times of India Directory* is even an older publication than *Thacker's*, as its current edition is the seventy-fourth annual issue. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Basil Scott of the Bombay High Court described it in one of his judgments as "a standard work of reference in Bombay." While *Thacker's* is more comprehensive in its scope in covering the whole Indian Empire, both it and the Bombay publication have much in common. *The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory* is a still older publication, the current edition being 125th. It does for the Madras Presidency or rather for Southern India what *The Times of India Directory* does for Western India. It gives the fullest information about almost all matters of public interest. The new edition has several features which will make it more useful, the most important being that relating to the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Councils. These three works are carefully revised from year to year, and although no work of reference—least of all, a directory—can ever be thoroughly up-to-date, nevertheless these three hardy annuals are as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of their

class to be. They usefully supplement each other and a sensible businessman should keep all of them on his book-shelf.

The Indian Year-Book 1926. (Times of India Press, Bombay) 1926.

We welcome the thirteenth edition of *The Indian Year-Book*—edited by Sir Stanley Reed and Mr. S. T. Sheppard—which has justly come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference for all in any way connected with Indian public affairs. In the current edition, while all those characteristic features which have made it the standard reference annual on things Indian are retained and developed, the economic and sociological sections are even fuller than usual. Indian trade, currency and banking are fully analysed, with the latest statistics available. An important section is that dealing with Indian Labour, including the official machinery and the growth of the Trade Union movement. *The Indian Year-Book* knows no politics, but it is something more than a dry-as-dust record of statistics; in every section there is an attempt not only to give facts, but to see the forces which are behind the facts. This makes it a valuable and useful adjunct to every Government and mercantile office in India, as also to clubs, libraries and institutes, to businessmen generally, and to every one who takes an interest in Indian affairs. It covers a very wide range of subjects and while comprehensive it is, on the whole, commendably accurate.

The Canadian Annual Review 1924-5. (The Canadian Review Company, Toronto, Canada) 1925.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs was founded by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins in the beginning of this century, and has been edited by him since, the volume under notice being the twenty-fourth annual publication in the series. It successfully does for Canada what the famous *Annual Register*—which was founded in the eighteenth century—does for the United Kingdom and other European countries, by recording in detail the public events of each year. As such it is a very valuable contribution to current Canadian history. Covering as it does nearly 750 pages, the narrative is full and detailed, while the high position of the contributors is a guarantee for accuracy and impartiality. We wish we had a similar annual publication dealing with India.

(2) NON-PERIODICAL WORKS.

Technical Education. By J. C. Ghosh, B.Sc., F.C.S. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Esplanade, Calcutta) 1926.

Mr. J. C. Ghosh—Principal of the School of Chemical Technology, Calcutta—has, in his book styled *Technical Education*, brought together a mass of useful information, which will be of great value to seekers after careers in the public services in various branches, including those concerned with Commerce and Industry. The many appendices—which cover about 150 pages and constitute nearly half the bulk of the book—contain accurate and trustworthy information, obtained from official sources, about admittance into the various public services in civil administration, and are a unique feature of the book, which is both handy and well-digested for purposes of reference.

The Traveller's Hand-book to Venice and Venetia. By Roy Elston. (Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., Ludgate Circus, London, E. C. 4) 1926.

We have appreciatively reviewed, from time to time, the new editions of Messrs. Cook's guides for travellers and expressed our view that they constitute one of the most useful series in tourist literature. Mr. Roy Elston—whose work on Constantinople we have already commended—has now attempted a handbook to Venice and Venetia, including the Dolomites and Istria. It is all that a high-class guide should be—accurate, comprehensive, practical and handy. All these conditions are amply fulfilled in the work under survey. We commend it to all travellers to Venice and the adjoining country.

Philip's Handy Volume Atlas. Fifteenth Edition. Revised and Enlarged. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32, Fleet Street, London) 1926.

We welcome the fifteenth, revised and enlarged, edition of *Philip's Handy Volume Atlas*, containing 82 beautifully coloured maps and no less than 96 pages of excellent, descriptive and statistical notes, as also a copious index. It is—as its title indicates—not only handy and convenient to handle and carry about in a coat pocket, but compact, up-to-date and exceedingly well put together. It, of course, shows clearly all the new boundaries and territorial changes effected in accordance with the peace treaties and subsequent international agreements following the Great War. It also gives special prominence to the Home Countries and Overseas Dominions of the British Empire, and separate maps of all the new European States, which have been carved out of the old Empires of Central and Western Europe. We know of no pocket atlas, which combines within its covers so many excellent and useful features, as does *Philip's Handy Volume*. It deserves an extensive circulation.

All About the English Lakes. By (the late) John Baron. (Atkinson and Pollitt, Kendal, England) 1925.

The publishers of *All About the English Lakes* deserve well for their enterprise in reprinting in a convenient form the late Mr. John Baron's articles contributed to the *Westmoreland Gazette*. As its title indicates, the book is a cyclopedia of places, persons, myths and happenings. It comprises in alphabetical order names of places and persons, followed by descriptive details about the former and biographical about the latter. The list is a comprehensive one and the information brought together is marked by literary flavour. The book should appeal to all lovers of the picturesque English Lakes, their beauty and scenery.

NEW EDITIONS OF STANDARD WORKS.

The Mummy: A Handbook of Egyptian Archaeology. By Sir E. A. Wallis-Budge, Kt. Second Edition, Revised and greatly Enlarged. (University Press, Cambridge) 1926.

Sir Wallis Budge's classical work on Egyptian archaeology, called *The Mummy*, has just appeared in a thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged edition. This work, originally published in 1893, had been out of print for some years. It has now been rewritten and brought up-to-date; in particular, the section dealing with the history of Egypt incorporates the important discoveries of the last thirty-five years; and many of the sections in which the various classes of antiquities are described have been expanded, and new sections have been added. There is a whole series of new illustrations, which materially enhance the value of the letter-press. In its new form *The Mummy* is much more than its title indicates—an account of the funeral ceremonies of the ancient Egyptians. It gives, in addition, a brief history of Egypt, a list of names, an account of the Rosetta stone, with the story of the beginning of the decipherment of hieroglyphic writing. Other matters pertaining to Egyptology, too many to enumerate, are adequately treated in this well-got-up volume. The student of Egyptian history and of comparative religion will find this monumental work rich in instructive material. The new edition, which is fully abreast of the latest researches in Egyptian archaeology, deserves, at the hands of students, a cordial welcome and a wide appreciation.

The Science of Public Finance. By G. Findley Shirras. Second Edition (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, E. C.) 1926.

We reviewed the first edition of Mr. Findley

Shirras's *Science of Public Finance* in terms of appreciation as about the best text-book of the subject for Indian students, and now heartily welcome the carefully revised second edition of the work. The author has added in the edition under notice a new chapter on "Debts Arising from a State of War." This subject, to use his own words, "bristles with difficulties," and he offers some suggestions only after discussion with men who have deeply pondered it in Great Britain, in the United States, in France, in Italy, and at Geneva. Mr. Shirras draws interesting comparisons between the position to-day and that after the Napoleonic wars, when Great Britain, then the banker of Europe, wiped out the debts of a common war effort. This new chapter is a valuable addition to a highly useful and very meritorious book. While it is not like Mr. Hugh Dalton's book, of the same name, a spritely sketch designed "to excite the judgment, rather than to inform it tediously," it is a highly informative and very instructive volume of seven hundred pages which, though not exciting and sometimes tedious, is nonetheless a very notable and exceedingly useful achievement.

A Tour in Ireland. With General Observations on the Present State of that Kingdom made in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778. By Arthur Young. Selected and edited by Constantia Maxwell, M.A. (University Press, Cambridge) 1926.

Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* first appeared in London in 1780, twelve years before his celebrated *Travels in France*; and as all subsequent editions are now out of print, the present selection will be acceptable to the general reader. In it we have an accurate picture of Ireland as it was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. All classes are reviewed in turn and each district is systematically examined: the semi-industrial North, the grazing and corn counties, the sheep ranches and the dairy country. Although he describes the linen industry, the fisheries and the trading activities of the towns, it is to agriculture, however, that he gives most of his attention. The *Tour* is divided into two parts: minutes of the tour and general observations. The editor has done her work with discrimination, and the volume is a valuable contribution to the study the sociological condition of the eighteenth century Ireland.

Pure Mathematics. By G. H. Hardy. New Edition (University Press, Cambridge) 1925.

Mr. G. H. Hardy's *Pure Mathematics* is a standard work in the literature of the subject it deals

with. In bringing out the new edition the author has made one important change. The third edition contained an additional appendix in which he indicated shortly how the analytical theory of the circular functions might be based on the definition of the inverse tangent by an integral. He has now expanded the contents of this appendix and incorporated it in the text, which makes this edition even more useful than its predecessors. Mr. Hardy combines in a remarkable measure a spirit of scientific research and accuracy with a pleasing style, which makes his book agreeable reading. The new edition should make a wide appeal.

The Oxford Book of English Prose. Edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. (Oxford University Press, London and B. I. Building, Nicol Road, Bombay) 1925.

We heartily welcome Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's new anthology of English prose. His now well-known *Oxford Book of English Verse* came into the literary world exactly a quarter of a century ago. Now it has a companion, in the *Oxford Book of English Prose*. In it Sir Arthur gives passages from nearly 300 different authors, some of them American. Mr. Thomas Hardy is the oldest and Mr. Compton Mackenzie the youngest of thirty-six living writers who are quoted. "Q" says in his preface that he has tried to make the anthology as representatively English as possible, with less thought of robust and resounding "patriotism" than of subdued and hallowed emotion. This is borne out by a perusal of the book, which is a judiciously-compiled compendium of excellent passages from the dawn of prose in the English language to our own days. Beginning with Chaucer, and ending with Rupert Brooke, it sweeps the whole field of English prose. On the whole, a skillfully managed and—somehow—an exciting book. It would be easy to pick holes in any anthology—not excepting the one under review. But we prefer to thank the cultured editor for the trouble he has taken in compiling this very comprehensive and useful collection.

Humphrey Clinker. By Tobias Smollet. (Oxford University Press, B. I. Building, Nicol Road, Bombay) 1926.

Essays and Essayists. Edited by Sir Henry Newbolt. (Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London, E. C.) 1926.

The Choice of Books. By (the late) Frederic Harrison. (Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London) 1926.

An Outline of English Education (1760-1902). By J. W. Adamson. (University Press, Cambridge) 1926.

Mr. L. Rice-Oxley opens his Introduction to the new edition of *Humphry Clinker* by remarking that "there has been unanimous and enthusiastic opinion among critics" that the book "is the best of Smollet's novels and in itself a work of high merit." That is quite correct and we welcome the new edition in the "World's Classics", enriched with an excellent Introduction and elucidative notes.....Sir Henry Newbolt's *Essays and Essayists* is an exceedingly good compilation. It gives in a short compass selections from the essays of Montaigne, Bacon, Cowley, Steele, Addison, Goldsmith and Lamb, followed by those of latter-day essayists. It thus contains much riches in little room and deserves wide appreciation...

.....The late Mr. Frederic Harrison was one of the greatest essayists of the Victorian age and amongst his many collections of essays that known as *The Choice of Books*—first issued in 1886—is the most popular. We are, therefore, glad that the publishers have at last re-issued it in a form worthy of the contents of the book.....Professor Adamson's *Outline of English Education* is a reprint from that standard work—*The Cambridge History of English Literature*. It is an exceedingly able exposition of the subject and is enriched with a useful bibliography.

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

The Sayings of Confucius. Translated by L. A. Lyall. Second Edition (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4) 1925.

The first edition of Mr. Lyall's *Sayings of Confucius* was issued in 1909, and the revised edition is, therefore, very welcome. In this new edition the author has endeavoured to make his translation more nearly word for word than it was in the first edition. This is an advantage in a work like the one under review. A short Introduction gives some account of the life and times of Confucius, and brief historical notes explain the various characters mentioned in the text. We commend the book to the large circle of readers interested in Chinese culture.

Women in Ancient India. By Clarisse Bader. Translated by Mary Martin. (Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74, Carter Lane, London) 1925.

The late Mlle Bader's work on *Women in Ancient*

India, which was issued in 1867, and was crowned by the French Academy, traces the position of Indian womanhood from the Vedic period, under the laws of Manu, through the heroic ages, down to the era of Vikramaditya, 57 B.C. It contains detailed descriptions of the great epic poems, of Kalidasa's *Sacuntala* and other famous legends. It is a remarkable fact that women were numbered among the poets in India as early as the fifth century, B. C., and from the twelfth century, A.D., onwards. The work should prove a valuable companion for students who cannot study the original records in Sanskrit. It is strange that so useful a work on a subject of great interest and importance was not accessible, until now, to those who do not know French. The book is justly regarded as a classic in the literature of Indian antiquities and the excellent English rendering should command a large circulation amongst students of Indian civilization and culture.

Hindi Religious Poetry. By the Revd. Ahmad Shah and the Revd. E. W. Ormerod (S. P. G. Mission, Cawnpore) 1925.

The Revd. Ahmad Shah is a well-known scholar of Hindi and the work he has just produced, in collaboration with the Revd. Mr. Ormerod, is of great interest alike to the students of Hindi language and literature as to those of Hinduism. The book—called *Hindi Religious Poetry*—contains English translations of selections from the writings of a number of well-known religious poets of India. The original and the translation are printed in parallel columns and a brief biographical sketch of each poet is also given. The object of the publication is frankly propagandist. It is stated in the Introduction that the religious feeling of the people of India finds its natural expression through hymns and that "any attempt to present Christianity to the people of India must follow a similar course." In spite, however, of the object of the compilation, the translations with the original must be found useful by those who want to become familiar with the teachings in the hymns of the saints of Hinduism. There are samples given of devotional poetry of about forty saints, who expressed their thoughts in simple language which could easily be understood by the masses. Hence the value of this excellent compilation.

The Eumenides of Aeschylus. Translated by Gilbert Murray. (George Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1925.

Choric Songs from Aeschylus. By E. S. Hoernle, I. C. S. (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford) 1925.

Professor Gilbert Murray's renderings into English of the works of the Greek dramatists have long since been acknowledged as about the best available to present-day readers. We welcome, therefore, the addition to the series of an equally excellent translation of *The Furies of Aeschylus*. It is to us an agreeable surprise to find a member of the Indian Civil Service turn from his daily drudgery to translating successfully the *Choric Songs* from three of the well-known plays of Aeschylus. Mr. Hoernle's book is a useful contribution to European classical literature.

Modern Russian Poetry. Translated and edited by B. Deutsch and A. Yarmolinsky;

Contemporary German Poetry. Chosen and translated, by the same editors; and

An Anthology of Italian Lyrics (from the 13th century to the present day). Chosen and translated by R. Rendell. (All three published by John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., London) 1925.

The Bodley Head House of Messrs. John Lane has been rightly described as a "nest of singing birds," as it has ever since its inception been identified with the publication of highly appreciable works of original poetry and English renderings of the great poetic literature of continental Europe. The three books noted above belong to the latter category. The first brings together lyrics covering the whole range of Russian literature and translated expressly for the volume under notice, enriched further with an introductory essay dealing with the currents and eddies of Russian poetry and brief notes on each poet. The same features mark the anthologies of contemporary German poetry (last fifty years) and of Italian lyrics from the thirteenth century down to our own days. The third and last is the most comprehensive of the series, as it deals with the whole range of the subject. All the three volumes will be found enjoyable by lovers of good literature.

SOME BOOKS ON ART.

MURAL DECORATORS AND PAINTERS IN TEMPERA.*

Under the above title has been published a most admirable collection of various papers and notes which

**Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera. Second Volume—1907-1924.*

have accumulated between the years 1907 to 1924, on a large number of subjects of great technical interest to all decorators, and more especially those who are concerned with the more advanced and higher classes of work that are comprised in tempera and fresco mural decoration.

The collection has been arranged and ably edited by Mr. John D. Batten, whose work as a pioneer in the revival of ancient traditional processes is as well-known as his part in the making known of Japanese processes of woodcutting and printing. Certain papers on music, on theory of colour, and on Chinese painting have been omitted in the desire to include, it seems, only the data having technical relevance, and as a result the volume is without doubt one of the most valuable works of that class which have appeared in recent years. They gather together information which can only be found by laborious search. Few have time or patience to conduct laborious researches, and we are grateful for the compilation of papers which are excellently printed, at a moderate price. The chemical composition, application and preparation, and the eventual behaviour of pigments in association with certain types of media or ground, occupy much space. The consideration of certain well-known antique remains, as those discovered by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos in Crete; and the well-known Ajanta Cave paintings near Ujjain in India, is brought into relation with modern work such as that by Mrs. Sargent Florence at the Old School, at Oakham, the processes of which are described in full.

Closely allied with this are notes on the encaustic treatment of tempera, a process which seems to have been used by the Greeks in much of their work, and in which media experimental work has been conducted by Mr. A. B. Thompson and Mr. R. Burns Arsa, who worked in association with Professor A. P. Laurie. Tempera methods are discussed by Maxwell Armfield, the well-known painter and designer, and also the methods of the Beuron artist are stated, as well as a note by Holmen Hunt concerning the methods of himself and others of the Pre-Raphaelite company.

Mr. Batten's own contributions concern fresco materials and methods, such as the preparation of lime

Printed for the Society at the Dolphin Press, Brighton: may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Mr. P. F. Jackson. Edited by John D. Batten, Demy 8vo, 134 pp. and 6 plates. 12, Phillimore Gardens, W.8., London. Price 10/6 by Post 11/-.

putty, but he gives also a useful method of single coat gilding for burnished work.

Further notes concern varnish resins, mediums and pigments and a microscopic examination of the setting of lime which was carried out by the late Sir George Beilby, F.R.S. The traditional "water-wax" medium used by Jehan Le Begue, a fifteenth century Parisian official, is detailed in full.

Artists in India who practice or contemplate musical decoration will find that the hundred and thirty pages are full of information of solid professional interest, and they are recommended to acquire the book as a work of reference and study; while it is a volume that no manufacturer of paint who desire to keep pace with present and possible future developments can afford to ignore. For example, the enormous increase in recent years in the use of concrete is fairly certain to arouse a demand from manufacturers for a new class of paints, capable of direct application to concrete and able to withstand the varying rigours of the English climate. Such pigments and media appear to be technically if not yet commercially possible, and it is to informative papers such as these that we may turn in the hope of assistance in the problem of large scale production and use of a class of decoration formerly possible only by the use of traditional method under skilled guidance from start to finish.

The Children of Arles. By C. J. Campbell. Decorated with woodcuts by W. G. Raffé. Pp. 4 to pp. 41. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1925. Price 6/-.

This charming volume is a delight to the eye at first sight and yet more pleasing to the mind on further examination. Though it is but a slight, thin volume, beautifully printed on hand-made paper with wide and pleasant margins, it is so attractive that one is uncertain whether to first respond to the decorations or to the printed words with their bold initials.

The substance of the book consists of a number of disconnected items, through which runs the thread suggested by the title, on the general idea of *The Children of Arles* from the story myths of ancient Greece. The author is evidently a worshipper if not a lover of the God Pan. The sketches are short, each about a page only, and might be termed prose poems, for in their skilful and dainty delineation of a mood, we find a variety that has charm, in some grave, some gay, others even cynical and mystical, in which the writer proves a sense of the value of words though

here and there arises a moment of doubt, whether the speaker in the first person is the same throughout or not. Though so short, the mood of all is large and free with a feeling of open spaces, and a personal quality of a dual kind, deep and sombre, yet elvish, fanciful and wayward, and even inconsequent. We understand that this is the first published work of this author but we have no hesitation in saying that it reveals a capable and workmanlike hand obedient to a deft imagination, that will go far if the freshness is retained.

Coming to the decorations we meet work obviously not that of any beginner, but that of a master of design whose work is now known everywhere. To ask Mr. Raffé to decorate this book was a stroke of genius on the part of the publisher or the author, whichever was responsible. So well is the writer served by the artist, so well does each and every item suggest, without a literal depicting of some incident already done in the words, that the fitting is like words and music, both supplementing each other, both supreme in their own sphere. We do not thus depreciate the author in any sense when we say that the artist has made this book a work of art. There is no stint of labour, no lack of care, and an abundance of great beauty. There is an engraving on almost every page, some being full-page designs; some headpieces, and other tailpieces. With perhaps one exception they fit as if they grew there, having an almost architectural unity, found mainly in the old Italian woodcut books, similarly designed by one artist.

The artist's work has developed in style since the issue of his splendid work, *Poems in Black and White*, and he has a technique which is in some designs quite distinct from that of any other master engraver. The first cut, the frontispiece, is a magnificent achievement: a wonderful effect of dripping frost amid hills of ice with mysterious half-suggested faces and one tiny figure, it is unique alike in atmosphere and design. This cut is unquestionably one of the best we have ever seen. On page 18 is another fine piece of decoration, in which the artist's undoubted genius for work on wood has excelled. A figure of a draped woman bends on one knee searching the ground by the light of a lamp. The technique is masterly in its direct and unhesitating simplicity. There are many other designs in this feast of typographical art, such as the little headpiece on page 27 apparently the work of but a few minutes but thoughtful and quite complete as an excellent example of the much-boomed "white line work" in which, however, it appears this artist is equally at home as such an artist as Eric Gill. The lake scene of page 21 is exquisite in its suggestion

of water. There is no other modern engraver we know, not even Mrs. Raverat or J. P. Greenwood, who has such a sure command of atmospheric effect, allied to unfailing skill in composition. W. G. Raffé is a complete artist of the book as this present volume shows, as it appears from the colophon that he has completely designed the book. The whole production is a very successful piece of work, in which all concerned are to be congratulated. We cordially recommend this work to all who appreciate real art in word and line.

The Technique of Water Colour Painting. By Richmond and J. Little Johns. Demy 4to cloth gilt, 73 pp. and 31 full-page colour plates. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd.).

Water colour painting is a peculiarly British art, since it has there attained an excellence, a variety of technique and a fertility of invention more than elsewhere, combined with a wide and popular practice which the town-dwellers' new found love of landscape has increased with deprivation of natural beauty. Yet few books on the technical side have succeeded in setting down so much as these born teachers now offer in a volume equally fascinating for its accuracy in advice as for examples of accomplished workmanship in the numerous and well-printed plates. They offer not merely one style of technique which they happen to find personally convenient, but ranged through all, from the spurists' ideal of transparent colour and nothing but water, to the other extreme of body-colour and gummy media. The 18 chapters, free of all padding and useless literary sentiments that do not get us anywhere, give a complete statement of all methods: wash and line, white and tinted paper, wiping and scratching, dry or soaked paper, and even can admit the "lucky accident" ignored by many, but known to every student. Controversy between schools is absent: all may find something, good work can be achieved by various methods, and the possession of different styles will enable us fittingly to adjust style properly to subject regarding which this delightful book by two enthusiastic craftsmen gives most valuable information.

TWO RECENT WORKS OF FICTION.

One Increasing Purpose. By Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson (Hodder & Stoughton; 7/6).

Simon, shortly after the conclusion of the Great War, had retired from the regular army, betaken himself into the country, found a cottage and bought

a horse. "What's he want a horse for?" was the comment of his brother Charles, whose only contribution to life was a question uttered in the voice of one who thinks himself badly treated.

But Charles was not the only one who asked questions about Simon, whose look in recent years had somehow changed. There was something up with Simon, and it is this something that gives Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson a theme for his novel "One Increasing Purpose." The book may turn out to be the outstanding publication of the year, for it has a frankly religious outlook and expresses the feelings of many men disappointed with the condition of England, where a great gulf exists between the promises and accomplishments. The author is daring not so much in realism as in saying things that ought to be said by others, in risking his hold on the reading public by giving them religion, by exposing the soul when people seem to be satisfied with a veneer.

Simon the hero, is one eager to take a part in what he watched yet nervously different of seeking invitation; whimsically dubious of his capacity to hold his own. But he asks himself a question and seeks ever for the answer. This is the question, "Why am I spared?" When the answer came he had within him the absolute knowledge that, through those perilous years of the war, and of those thousands more gifted and more worthy who had fallen and who yet would fall, he had been spared and selected and set apart for one especial purpose.

But he could not believe that God was behind the purpose, and sometimes had the uncanny, frightened feeling that God was *after* him. One day he was alone in a country church where he knelt in consciousness alone of that great stillness that filled him. Then he spoke, "if, as with Simon, it is mine to bear Thy cross, O God, then suffer me some truth that I can understand." No more and remained thus. Such a prayer could not go unanswered. Simon describes the discovery of the purpose thus:—"I was walking in a wood near my cottage along a grassy drive, which since the first day I happened upon it I had always called my Mother's walk...."

"Well, then, I had been thinking of her, delighting my eyes on this and this of Nature's lovely treasury spread along my way, and saying in my heart, 'Look, mother; touch this, mother,' but in the moment I now come to I was not thinking of her; I was not consciously thinking of anything—my mind was empty—and suddenly in my mind was this extraordinary sentence...."Christ the Common Denominator". This is how the author interprets it. "Jesus Christ, Son of Man and Son of God, is the Common Denominator, the Common Principle of every human

being—that He is the element which is common in us all." Every smile, every kind action, seen or felt in those about us, those with whom we live, those whom we only pass and see, is simply the Christ who is in them, appearing in them.

Having discovered his purpose and interpreted it to his own satisfaction, he makes his plans to travel the country, telling his gospel as he goes in his caravan.

Larry, one of the characters in the book, said, "I went to hear him last night. The Man with the Lamp they call him; and talk about crowds! There must have been hundreds who couldn't get near enough to hear, I heard!"

Thus the theme proceeds to the end, but it must not be thought it is devoid of lighter touches. There is much in the book that one finds in the average novel of to-day, and much of that is not of the best. There is not the same melo-dramatic force which characterises "If Winter Comes" but some of the writing reminds one of the weaknesses of the more popular book. Mr. Hutchinson can be frightfully vague at times, but worse than his vagueness is a habit of adding words to a sentence already conveying its essential idea, *i.e.*, Referring to his mother's death he makes, Simon say, "Her death, causing, once the first rending sense of loss was healed, no apparent change in his gay and easy way of life, was an event which remained secret to himself, an active condition of his existence for ever, daily, thereafter." Many people became angry with Hutchinson because of his loose writing in "If Winter Comes" and they will be angry again when they read this work, but after the first few chapters the writing improves. A master-hand seems to get to work, and the author warms to his task without losing any of the touches of an accomplished artist. This is especially noticeable when the characters are active. But when they philosophise they are boring, and none but those accustomed to reading sermons and other dry matter will wade through some of the writer's homiletics. There is nothing in the book to carry through without pause. There is too much soliloquy in it to express palpitating life. Simon in spite of his purpose is half asleep, at least that is the impression the book leaves on the reader.

There is one other serious fault. No religion that is alive can be labelled, and although the religion of Simon is supposed to be alive it is called "K. O. H. kindness". It reminds one too much of soap, yes! soft soap if you like.

There is no doubt that the author has taken a risk in publishing this book, but there may be people who are prepared to listen to this style of preaching. Some

may profit by it, but the vast majority will turn away thinking not of its message but of what it might have been. Frankly the book is dull and few there are who will turn to it for a second perusal.

R. M. GOODFIELD.

A NEW STUDY OF AN OLD PROBLEM.

A Passage to India. By Mr. E. M. Forster (Edward Arnold, London).

It is not against the liberty of the subject to make the reading of any book compulsory—apart from examinations—every student for the Indian Civil Service might with advantage be required to read *A Passage to India* by Mr. E. M. Forster before he takes his own to that country. The man or woman who is already a confirmed Anglo-Indian is more likely to regard this remarkable novel as heretical stuff.

Yet there is a convincing coolness and sanity about Mr. E. M. Forster's study of the "race-consciousness" of the English community at Chandrapore, in its action and reaction on the Indian life around it. The author presents his characters with a kind of judicial detachment which forbids us to say that he is taking sides with either the English official group, or the more subtle Indian professional men whom he draws for us with extraordinary skill. His half-attractive, dubious hero, Dr. Aziz, remains an elusive personality to us all through the story as he does to Fielding, the man who "travelled light" and so came nearest mentally to the man he befriended.

McBryde, the District Superintendent of Police, and "the most reflective and best educated of the Chandrapore officials," sums up the whole strength and weakness of the official attitude when he tries to restrain Fielding from taking the part of the accused Aziz—"The man who doesn't toe the line is lost. If you leave the line, you leave a gap in the line."

Perhaps few writers would have resisted the temptation to make Adela Quested a beautiful, or at least an appealing, heroine, but Mr. Forster's artistic instinct is sound, and the girl round whom the most dramatic episodes of the story centre, is a plain young Englishwoman, without charm, only distinguished by her craving to know "the real India," and by an uncommon degree of mental honesty.

There are wonderful word-pictures in this book—of scenes in city and country—of the crowded Court in which Aziz appears as a prisoner—of Hindu Temple worship. We see something of that mysterious India of which the Author says:—"She calls

'Come' through her hundred mouths, through objects ridiculous and august. But come to what? She has never defined. She is not a promise, only an appeal."

So much thought and penetration are shewn in this book that we can hardly avoid seeking for its aim—or "moral." It will not be found in a final tag, nor in any definite suggestion. Perhaps Adela's elderly friend, Mrs. Moore—the only one who "stole into the heart" of an Indian—provides most illumination.

Her son Ronny, the City Magistrate, "approved of religion so long as it endorsed the National Anthem" but held that "behaving pleasantly" to Indians was a side-issue. She insists that the matter is vital—

"God has put us on earth to love our neighbours and to shew it..... Good will and more good will. Though I speak with the tongues of....."

An old solution, not yet superseded.

MURIEL KENT

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The Hindustan Review

FOUNDED
1900

BY
Sachchidananda Sinha,

Vol. XLIX.]

JULY, 1926

[No. 289

SOME REMEDIES FOR HINDU-MAHOMEDAN RIOTS.

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

The tension between the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities, which has been daily growing more and more acute, has manifested itself during the last five years in a series of deplorable outbreaks which must fill with grief and shame the heart of every Indian, who cares for peace and progress in the country. The professions of brotherhood which were made from many a political platform have proved hollow. The unity between the two communities supposed to have been brought about during the height of the Non-co-operation agitation and the Khilafat movement has not been able to withstand the pull of religious fanaticism or communal interest. The need for unity has, no doubt, been realised as indispensable to success in the struggle for political freedom against a foreign Government. But any union preached and based merely upon a hatred of foreign rule can, at best, be only ephemeral. If the appeals for unity had been inspired by a positive and constructive creed, and if efforts had been made to promote mutual understanding, tolerance, kindness and respect, there might have been a better chance of success. The participation of the Hindus by way of a sympathetic strike in the Khilafat agitation is an instance of the insincerity in public life unwittingly promoted by Mr. Gandhi. It is no wonder that this simulacrum has shared the usual fate of all shams.

While the tension is fairly widespread in

both the communities and especially in Northern India, it is due to different causes among the educated classes and the uneducated masses. The antagonism between the masses of the two communities may be traced to the spirit of fanaticism on the one side, or superstition on the other, and to the feeling of religious intolerance. Antipathies based on religious bigotry can be radically cured only by a wider diffusion of higher education. Among the educated classes the tension owes its origin to political ambitions and to a feeling of mutual mistrust. The Mahomedans are distrustful of the manner in which the influence of the Hindu majority may be used in the provinces in which the latter are numerically preponderant. On the other hand, not merely does the Hindu reciprocate this feeling of distrust where the Mahomedans are in a majority, but considers himself justified by actual experience of the manner in which the Mahomedan majority has used its power. The Hindu feels also that owing to the bellicose disposition of the Mahomedan, he has been unduly favoured by the Government and that unless he can also stand up to defend his rights, the Mahomedan will continue to be aggressive and will always claim more than his due and succeed in getting it. The fear of the Mussalman looking always to the West and cherishing schemes of pan-Islamic domination is always present to the mind of the Hindu. The Hindu is convinced that the application of the com-

munal principle, whether in the constitutional or in the administrative sphere, is bound to be harmful to the State and he does not put forward any claim to office on communal grounds in Northern India. The Mahomedan feels that irrespective of any tests of efficiency or intrinsic merit, preferment to office on communal grounds must be allowed until his community is able to overtake the other in education. Of the two forms of tension existing among the educated classes and the masses, the former must be pronounced to be the most dangerous to the commonweal. The feeling of tension among the lower classes on both sides manifests itself in breaches of the peace which can be dealt with by the strong arm of the law and does not and need not affect the constitutional structure of the Government.

II.

I do not propose to offer any suggestions for the solution of the problem as it affects the educated classes of the two communities. I shall deal with the question only as it affects the masses of the two communities. That this tension is often fomented by some of the educated members of the communities and exploited by them seems credible. The disastrous riots occurring in various places attended with loss of life, injury to person or property and the desecration of places of worship must, to some extent, be ascribed to the baneful influence of the propaganda of class-hatred carried on in the press and on the platform by some sectarian writers and speakers. Conferences have been held and pious resolutions have been passed, but few definite suggestions have been made to deal with the evil. One important weapon in the hands of the Government has been allowed to rust unused. The powers conferred upon the Government by section 153 (a) of the Penal Code and section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code are ample to deal with the miscreants who promote class hatred by abusing the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech allowed by law. The unwillingness of Government to make use of their powers under these sections is perhaps due to a fear of incurring unpopularity and the possible reproach of taking sides with one party or another. It would be uncharitable to suggest that the unwillingness of Government to interfere is due to any feeling of indifference to the

growth of sectarian disunion. Care will, of course, have to be exercised in distinguishing between cases where the motive of the writer or speaker is to incite hatred or violence and cases where a reference is made to previous incidents for the purpose of suggesting lawful measures or remedies for protection. We have known cases in which even the bare mention of incidents like the Moplah rebellion or the Kohat outrages has been criticised as likely to cause ill-feeling. But there ought to be no serious difficulty in determining whether the object of a writer or speaker is to secure the removal of a legitimate grievance or to create bad blood. The first remedy, then, that occurs to one's mind is a prompt and effective use of the powers possessed by the Government under these sections.

III.

The two causes which most commonly lead to communal riots are the practices of cow-killing and the practice of carrying processions with music in front of mosques. As regards the former, there are some Hindus who go to the length of advocating complete prohibition of the slaughter of cows. But it is open to doubt whether Hindus generally would go to this length. If they do, their attitude must be condemned as unreasonable and inconsistent with a due regard for the rights of other sections of the community. But I have heard that what the Hindus object to is not the slaughter of cows in the slaughter-house but their slaughter in public places or in places where the slaughter will be visible to the public, and to the leading of cows destined for slaughter through the public streets in a flaunting manner so as to wound the feelings of the Hindus. That this version is probably correct gains support from the fact that these riots take place only on particular festival days and not on ordinary days during the year. Every one knows that hundreds of cows are slaughtered on ordinary days in the great cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras without giving rise to any riots. If this version is correct, the slaughter of the animals whether in public streets or places or in such a manner as to be open to the public view, even though it is made inside a mosque, and so as to offend the feelings of passers-by or of the people in the neighbourhood should be made punishable. The municipal enactments in force in many cities provide against slaughter

in places not licensed for the purpose. An exception is generally made in connection with religious festivals or places of public worship. While the general rules may be relaxed in regard to such places and occasions, it must be distinctly provided in the licence or by specific legislation that the slaughter should not be made in such a manner as to offend the feelings of the public. The other common cause of riots is the carrying on of processions accompanied by music in front of mosques. Appeals have been made to the members of the two communities to come to an understanding upon this vexed question, but so far without success. It is noteworthy that Hindu-Mahomedan riots are comparatively far less frequent in the Indian States than in British India. The recent riot at Gulbarga, when a large number of Jain and Hindu temples were destroyed, is an exception to the rule.

I had occasion to consider this question with some attention a few years ago. Towards the end of 1919 a Resolution was moved in the Madras Legislative Council that a committee of non-official Hindus and Mahomedans should be appointed to consider what steps could be taken to arrive at an amicable settlement with a view to put a stop to the frequent disturbances between the Mahomedans and the Hindus in connection with the beating of tom-toms and the playing of music during processions in front of mosques. A committee was appointed in 1920 and I was appointed as the chairman. Two meetings of the committee were held during the year and I was subsequently obliged to resign my membership owing to my absence from Madras in connection with my duties in the Legislative Assembly. I believe that the committee came to no conclusion and that it proved abortive. Though I do not consider myself at liberty to state what took place in the committee, there is no objection to my placing before the public some of the views which I then formed and which I still believe to be applicable to the conditions of the present. Before suggesting the remedies to be applied, it is desirable to state briefly the law applicable to the conduct of processions accompanied by music when passing Mahomedan mosques. Disturbances between the followers of different creeds or sects in regard to processions are the result of a conflict of claims of right and the inadequacy of the law to regulate such conflict or of the administration to enforce the due observance of the law

where it is adequate. It is a well-established right that an assembly lawfully engaged in the performance of religious worship or religious ceremonies shall be protected from disturbances.

This right is deduced from, or at any rate held to be recognised by, the existence of the provision in section 206 of the Indian Penal Code. It is on the other hand a well-established right that persons may for a lawful purpose use a common highway by parading it with music so that they do not obstruct the use of it by other persons. It was laid down by the Madras High Court that the right to protection in the performance of religious worship or religious ceremonies is limited to an assembly and does not extend to individuals engaged in worship in a public mosque. As assemblies for purposes of worship are scarcely held in any place at all hours but are generally held at appointed hours only, it was held by the Madras High Court that there was no necessity for a rule restricting the right of procession in the neighbourhood of a recognised place of worship except during the appointed hours of congregational worship. The contention of many Mahomedans is that while there are certain primary hours of worship in mosques, persons who are unable to attend during the primary hours are permitted and required to attend the mosque and perform their prayers during all the remaining hours of the day. This contention was negatived by a full bench of the Madras High Court in the Salem case and the decision was approved by the Privy Council in the Aligarh case disposed of by them towards the end of 1924. In the Salem case it was contended that irrespective of the question whether public worship was actually proceeding, the sanctity of a mosque as a building dedicated to public worship required that persons passing the mosque should stop the playing of music. The Court rejected this contention also and held that it would have to be considered whether such a custom could, even if proved, be regarded as reasonable. In their recent decision the Privy Council have also approved the view of the Madras High Court that persons of whatever sect are entitled to conduct religious processions through the public streets so that they do not interfere with the ordinary use of such streets by the public and subject to such directions as the Magistrates may lawfully give to prevent the obstruction of the thoroughfare or breaches of the public peace.

IV.

Any claim by the Mahomedan community to interdict processions with music at times other than the periods set apart for congregational worship and in derogation of the right of procession can only be justified on the ground of usage. How far any particular usage should be recognised is a question which can only be solved by considerations of general expediency and by determining whether the restriction of right involved in the recognition of the usage is or is not reasonable under the existing conditions of society. In some cases there has been a claim by Mahomedans in particular localities to prohibit the performance of music even in private houses during the Muharram season. The fact that the Mahomedans might have forced the Hindus to respect their religion when they were in power or that even when their supremacy ceased they might have by a show or threat of force compelled a concession to their prejudices would not be a ground for recognising such an unreasonable custom. But, granting that a claim to interdict the playing of music during all hours of the day would not be unreasonable, it would have to be shown with reference to the particular mosque that such a claim has been recognised as a valid custom. The procedure usually followed by the authorities is, it is believed, to ascertain from the authorities of the mosque or the local Mahomedan community the hours of congregational worship. When they refuse to give the information, the Magistrates and the Police must fix certain hours for the congregational worship to the best of their own lights. In cases where the claim to stop the playing of music extends to all hours of the day, the claim should be required to be established by clear proof of a valid custom. The custom being ascertained, it lies upon the Executive to protect the parties in the enjoyment of their respective rights. Magistrates are too often in the habit of interdicting the exercise of legal rights on the ground of the likelihood of a breach of the peace. While recognizing the powers of the magistracy to prohibit the exercise even of a legal right when there is a danger of an infraction of the public peace, it was pointed out by Sir Charles Turner, C. J., that the repetition of such orders is bound to create the impression that the authorities are powerless to protect persons in the enjoyment

of their civil rights and against the class from whom violence is apprehended. When this impression takes hold of the minds of large sections of the population, graver dangers are to be apprehended from refusing than from conceding protection to the legitimate enjoyment of civil rights. The essential step, then which seems to be called for in connection with the disputes over the playing of music before mosques, is to ascertain whether any valid custom has been established of prohibiting the playing of music in front of the mosques during all hours of the day.

While the remarks made above apply to existing mosques, the remedy called for in the case of new places of public worship is more by way of preventive action. Every new place of public worship should be regarded as a potential source of communal friction and no building should be allowed to be erected except with the previous permission of the Government. The previous sanction of the Government to the construction of new buildings for public worship has been required either by legislation or by administrative order in the States of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Hyderabad and the enforcement of the rule has been attended with great success in the prevention of communal riots. With reference to the conditions in Southern India, I formulated some detailed suggestions for the preventive action recommended and I reproduce the more important of them below.

1. Where any community intends to erect any new building for public worship or to convert any existing building into one for public worship, or to alter any entrance thereof, or to extend or alter any existing temple, mosque or church beyond the limits of the existing site, the previous permission of the Government should be obtained, after furnishing the prescribed plans and information and after notice to the communities interested.

2. Permission should be refused:

- (a) Where the new building is within the ambit of the customary religious procession of the worshippers of any existing temple or church;
- (b) Where the street in which the new building is proposed to be erected is wholly or mainly inhabited by the followers of a different creed or sect and also where the position is such

as will inevitably create ill-feeling or danger to the public peace;

- (c) Where any proposed extension of an existing building for public worship would bring it into such close proximity to a rival place of worship as to be likely to give rise to ill-feeling;
- (d) Where it is proposed to alter the main entrance of a mosque, temple or church so as to make it newly face a high-road or thoroughfare.

3. A mosque erected in future with the previous sanction of the Government should be entitled to the same recognition in respect of prohibition of music as an old mosque irrespective of the question of its age.

4. To carry out this policy effectively, a register should be prepared by the District Officers of the existing buildings for public worship actually in use on some suitable date anterior to the legislation as may be specified.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES—II.

By "AN EX-MINISTER."

We considered in our first article some of the grievances of the subjects of Indian States. They mostly proceed from the purely autocratic nature of their system of administration and this kind of administration is not subject to the general process of evolution. Other grievances are due to the subordinate nature of these States which have no status in international law, but are entirely unrelated to each other except through the common overlordship of the British Government. So far as foreign countries are concerned these States form as complete a part of British Empire as any British district. Passports, status abroad, emigration, etc., present the same problems to their subjects as to British Indian subjects; only the former have to go through two channels, while the latter have to go through only one. As regards inter-state relations they are exclusively regulated through the British political officers except in certain cases of a routine nature. In several parts of India these States are interlaced with each other and various kinds of disputes often arise which have to be adjudicated upon by the political officers who are foreign to these States. The State subjects have in many cases to be under two masters, one the visible ruler of the State, and the other the invisible, though perhaps even more autocratic, political officer attached to the State. This

invisible rule often acts in devious ways and is not subject to the usual checks of free discussion and publicity.

The system of law prevalent in a State is generally anomalous. Most of the laws passed in British India are made applicable to States by notifications of their rulers, but each State has some special laws of its own. The well-known uncertainty and incognoscibility of law is thus accentuated in the case of these States. When we add to this fact the further fact that the Judges in most of these States are not as competent as those in British India, have not the same security of tenure as in the case of the judges of the Chartered High Courts, and are supposed to be susceptible to underhand influences, the position of the subjects of Indian States is often the most pitiable and it is no wonder that they often look with envy on the judicial administration in British India. The recent strictures passed by the Chief Justice of Madras on the so-called justice administered in Hyderabad is a case in point. Many cases of injustice in this and other States are whispered about, though full details are naturally wanting. It is not uncommon to have persons rotting in jail for years without any charge being brought against them, the only reason being the will of the ruler,

occasionally put in motion by the political officers.* When such things occur in British India, a big agitation is the consequence and even Parliament may take cognisance of the matter. But similar things take place even more frequently in the States and nobody is any the wiser and even the small satisfaction of public resentment is denied to the aggrieved party.

It is but fair to mention some of the points on which these States have a just cause of complaint. Their subjection to the impalpable will of the political officers has already been mentioned. Another just complaint is the indirect taxation levied upon the States by the Government of India. Most of these States are landlocked and any customs duties imposed by Government are automatically paid by the subjects of the States. Thus, when India changed from a free trade country to one with a high customs tariff, the proceeds of this tariff did not benefit these States in the least. They can, therefore, naturally complain of these heavy burdens laid upon them without their consent. To a certain extent they serve to pay for the increased cost of defence of the whole country of which these States form a part; but the original treaties with the States made permanent allowance for this purpose and very often large slices of their territories had been ceded to pay for the common defence, and arrangements about Imperial Service troops have been also made once for all. The States can, therefore, make a just claim to a fair apportionment of the burden between themselves and the Government of India. In this connection it may, however, be mentioned that some States which have a seaboard are often utilised for the purpose of smuggling and thus depriving the Government of India of a large portion of its customs revenue. Many difficulties are known to occur from a lax administration of customs in these States and the Virangaum customs line was for a long time a great, though necessary, barrier for the protection of this revenue. The high tariff of the present day has increased the temptations in the path of the smuggler or unscrupulous rulers of maritime Indian States. But in considering this question there are various points to be remembered. The cost of defence

both on land and water as well as for internal peace is the first point. Then, again, the States take advantage of many of the facilities provided by the Central or Provincial Governments. Thus, they do not maintain a complete system of educational institutions and make use of those in British India for which they pay nothing. Similarly, in the case of hospitals, research institutes, post and telegraphs (which are hardly a paying commercial concern), communications, cost of maintaining foreign relations, etc., the cost of these should all be debited partially to these States and one does not know whether, on the whole, the States will gain or lose by proper apportionment of taxation and cost of common services. Further, this disability of having to pay import duties to a foreign State holds even in the case of independent States which have no sea frontiers. A fair solution of this question cannot be reached on a partial consideration of this matter alone, but must form a part of a general settlement of the whole problem of these States.

II.

Again, a large number of the difficulties of these States arises from their small size and often an inconvenient distribution of their territories. Many of them owing to their isolated bits of territory have to maintain more administrative officers than would be necessary for an equal area or population if compact. But the States are so jealous of any scheme of redistribution that they will spend lakhs of rupees in fighting to the bitter end to preserve what they consider their rights and the subjects of British territory would not be willing to go under the States as at present administered though the converse is probably quite easy except from a purely sentimental point of view. A solution of all these difficulties can be only found in a radical reconstruction of India under a new feudal constitution. We shall venture to suggest such a reconstruction even though it will be very difficult to effect it in practice.

It is necessary, in the first place, that for any administration to be fairly efficient in the modern sense, it should be of a fair size, have a certain minimum amount of revenue and a minimum population. It is difficult to lay down any definite figures, but as a rough guide it will be safe to say that a State, with less than fifteen million population and less than five crores of

*It was only the other day that a near relative of the ex-Maharaja of Indore, who was made to undergo a long term of imprisonment without trial, was released by the order of the Government. (Ed. H. R.).

revenue, will not be capable of maintaining an advanced Government which is getting more and more costly. Even a province like Assam cannot maintain a High Court, a University and various other departments which require an efficient, well-paid and moderately numerous cadre of officers. Many officers have to do duties of various distinct kinds and specialisation so necessary for efficiency is not possible. Any State whose revenue is less than two or three crores should not in any case be allowed to exist as a separate administration, and it would be better to go in for a more thorough-going scheme of redistribution of provinces and States.

The redistribution of the various provinces on a linguistic basis has often been advanced. But this will hardly be as beneficial as it might be unless the States were also considered along with these prospects. Take the case of the Karnatak or the Kannada-speaking portion of the country. This part is now under five main administrations (omitting smaller States) viz. Bombay with its four Kanarese districts, Madras with about three, Coorg, the whole of Mysore and a good part of Hyderabad. If only the first three were amalgamated into one single province, it would form a small province, and would be intersected by large islands in the shape of slices of States territory. The whole of natural Karnatak, however, will form a very efficient administration, will create and foster a spirit of proper provincial patriotism, and may perhaps emulate the glories of the empire of Vijayanagar. The Andhradesh is divided between Madras Presidency and Hyderabad; the Utkal province is divided between Madras, the Central Provinces Bihar and Orissa, and several small States. The greater Maharashtra is divided between Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar, Hyderabad and the large number of Southern Mahratha States the chief of which is Kolhapur. Gujarat with the States of Kathiawar and the territory of the Gaekward will form a convenient natural administrative unit; but the five Gujrati districts of British India alone will be too small a unit. The same is the case with the Malayalam-speaking portions of the country. The several Hindi-speaking States are generally too small but joined together with each other and with the adjacent districts of British India will form about four States of appropriate size and population. Thus the whole of India,

British as well as State, should be divided into between twenty and thirty provinces of decent size and should form parts of federated Empire of India.

If these new States were given a proper constitution of an advanced nature and one capable of gradual evolution according to the wishes of the people of those States themselves, there would arise no objection on the part of the present subjects of British India to form part of these new units. Some adaptation of the present position of the rulers would be required. While about ten of these contemplated States will remain under British Governors as at present, the remaining may have as their heads the rulers of some of the States. Thus Karanatak may have as its constitutional Governor the Maharajah of Mysore. The heads of the smaller States will have to lose their independent powers but may for the time form an upper house in the provincial legislature. These heads should have a definite fixed allowance guaranteed to them as their personal income which should be heritable by the law of primogeniture. It may even be possible to have Governors of these provinces elected for life or for a long term out of the scions of these ruling families by the upper house just mentioned or better still by a plebiscite of the people. The actual administration should be carried on with the help of ministers responsible to the majority of an elected Legislative Council.

The powers of these newly-constituted provinces should be approximately the same as those of the present provinces of British India; all central functions such as defence, tariffs, railways, post and telegraphs, foreign relations, and all residuary powers should be in charge of the Federal Government. The general system of law should be uniform over the whole of British India though the provinces should be able to pass provincial legislation on minor matters. Each province should have a duly-constituted High Court and there should be a Central Court of Appeal or a Privy Council for the whole of India.

The constitutional heads of these provinces, when selected from the present ruling families, should have a stated allowance as a Civil list which should be approximately about ten per cent. of the present revenues of their States, while to those whose powers are to be taken away, a similar proportion should be assigned as

a permanent cash *jagir* without the responsibility of having to carry on an administration. The young sons of these chiefs should descend into the ranks of commoners as the grandsons of the King of England do now. One of the great drawbacks of these States is the large numbers of these relations of the Chief who consider it below their dignity to do any useful work whatever and depend on the charity of the ruling heads of their families for their maintenance.

As an intermediate stage to this wholesale redistribution, we may suggest a small amount of adjustment by having a federation of the big States into a provincial administration, with chiefs of States of a certain size being made Collectors of districts into which their States should be transferred and the chiefs of States of smaller size into heads of *talukas*. There should be a much greater degree of autonomy in these districts and *talukas*, than is possible in British India, but the larger questions should be settled by the larger provincial federation, and all the All-India questions should be in the hands of a Federal Central Government on which the provincial federations should have a voice. To constitute districts and *talukas* out of these States some redistribution both between their territories *inter se* and the British parts will be required. The ideal, however, should be the attainment of a final Federal Government for all India with hereditary element removed as far as possible from the administrative part of the machinery.

III.

Even supposing that such far-reaching schemes are not within the range of practical politics, certain reforms can be suggested which will tend to bring these States into line with modern ideas. First among these is the immediate grant of a certain amount of responsibility to popular elected assemblies in each State. In no case should this responsibility be less than that granted in British India. When such responsible Government is seen to work in actual practice for some years the path would be easier in the way of redistribution of further reforms. The Chiefs should agree or be made to agree to some limitation of their autocratic powers. Really speaking, such a limitation would increase the power and influence of these States to a far greater extent than at present. The

indirect pressure of political officers on the Chiefs would be considerably reduced as these can say that they are unable to do many of the things that they are pressed to do as the popular assemblies have first to agree to them. A good deal of indirect corruption in the administration of the States will thus automatically disappear.

Secondly, the personal expenses of the Chiefs should be rigidly limited to a fixed definite amount not greater than ten per cent. of the present revenues of the State. These personal expenses now form a bottomless pit, but the Chiefs must be made to realise their duties in this matter like any other private individual. The people in the States would not be averse to the payment of taxes, even new taxes, when they know that the proceeds are to be used for their own benefit. The stern control over the budget is the first essential in any reform of the States.

Thirdly, there should be a regular administration of the law which should be in the hands of competent judges with a reasonable security in the tenure of their office. There should be final appeal to some body outside the States like an Indian Privy Council, though in criminal case the Chief should retain his prerogative of mercy to a convicted offender.

Fourthly, the States should be required to have competent services as far as possible and the public servants should be assured perfect security during good behaviour. The subjects of the States should have preferential claims on the offices in the States and outsiders should be imported only when suitable men are not available. The Public Service Commission of India should be allowed to place itself at the disposal of the States in any question of recruitment or quasi-judicial proceedings.

Fifthly, the Government of India should have power to require the States to agree to any action which it considers, in concurrence with the elected legislature, necessary in the interests of the whole country. There should be a third chamber in the legislature to which the representatives of the people in the States, and all the British Provinces should be appointed. Any proposal, passed by the two ordinary houses of legislature, which has any direct effect upon the States should require the sanction of this new chamber before coming into effect. The matters that will be discussed will include among others, any changes in the Customs tariff, railway policy, prohibition as applied to

the whole of India, etc., and no State should be allowed to stand upon its technical legal rights if they are required to be altered in the interests of the country. Such a matter as the construction of a direct railway between Bombay and Karachi through Cutch should be placed before it.

Sixthly, the freedom now given to the Chiefs to adopt should be withdrawn and if the heirs of any present Chief through direct male line should disappear, then the State should be incorporated in the regular parts of British India. This would in time reduce the magnitude of the problem of the States by a natural process.

Seventhly, with the constitution of a new chamber as suggested above, the customs administration of maritime Indian States should be taken over by the Government of India and similarly, the control of all railways. The local currency still used in some States should go as also customs barriers within the whole of India. Those States that at present receive a revenue from internal customs should make up the loss of this income by the imposition of other kinds of taxation.

Many other suggestions can be made in the direction. It is evident that the position of these States is getting more and more anomalous with the passage of time and the growth of political ideas. The recent letter of the Government of India to H. E. H. the Nizam has done great service in removing some of the laboured cobwebs which have been accumulating during

the last two centuries. It brings the question once more on the plane of reality. Phrases and compliments which have grown out of date should be severely discarded. It is, however, not the object of this discussion to hand over the further control of the States to the Government of India as at present constituted. A survey of the whole constitutional problem is immediately necessary. Even before the Royal Commission on the Government of India Act is appointed, there should be appointed a strong Commission to inquire into the question of the States, to formulate definite proposals on the position they are to occupy in the federated India of the future. This Commission will have to be largely constituted from state-men of the first rank drawn from all political parties in England with a small representation of the Chiefs, their subjects, and the people of British India. It is an imperial problem in the widest sense of the term. The treaties with the States are obligations entered into on behalf of His Majesty and only the highest in the Empire will be competent to review them. But if India is to form a strong component part of the Empire, an effort should be made to get rid of some of the difficulties by a surgical process. It will have to be in the nature of a sudden great change and not a gradual evolution and the men in whose hands the destinies of the Empire and the people of India are placed have to take their homage in both hands and grapple with this most fundamental problem of the position of Indian States and their rulers.

A CALL TO INDIAN MUSICIANS.

By D. RUDHYAR.

(French-American Composer and Philosopher).

There are moments in the history of the world when the various races and civilizations are stirred and shaken to their depths, when new forces arise, and old ones which had become dormant awaken and compel men, who had worshipped for centuries only their shadows, to

bow before their new vitality and become one with them. Such is our time. From everywhere problems force themselves upon our attention, ask us for solutions, and there will be no peace and no joy in our respective continents unless we realize the meaning of the

great revolution of ideas which has come, unless, after having shaken our deadly inertia, we dare to question everything which until then we had accepted by mere force of habit, and swear not to rest unless we find a real solution, universal and not particular, illuminating to our understanding and not only pleasing to our brains or vanity, soul-satisfying in its philosophy and not agreeable to our materialistic selfishness, however disguised under beautiful words.

This is true in the realm of music as well as of civilization; for music is the very centre of culture, the direct expression of the individual or collective Will of man. Music is magic and power; and, as India has always known but Europe had sadly forgotten, music when performed by men who know themselves as Souls, is able to lead others to soul-realization and eventually to liberation; music is the manifestation of a *sakti* which, if spiritually used, may transfigure our very nature and bring our physical-psychic lives in contact with the spiritual Life of our Soul.

Music is always great when the power of the soul is great in a civilization. But there are two kinds of soul; the spiritual and the intellectual. In the old Aryavarta civilization was illumined with the radiance of *Atma*, the Universal Self; and music was truly the song of the Gandharvas, of those spiritual beings who are our very Higher Selves in the celestial spheres. But in Europe, after that the people of Greece and Rome perverted the ancient beauty of Asia, after that ambitious bishops perverted the real Christianity of Jesus and killed the Gnostics who were the true Christians, after that the spirit was dead and intellect took its place and ruled. And thus music became more and more an intellectual combination of mathematical symbols, an intellectual recreation to please the senses. Music became artificial; it broke away from Nature. It became used by the personal self for selfish enjoyment and for the sake of money. And the entire civilization of Europe has become spiritually dead, though great efforts were made last century and are still being made now to resuscitate the Soul of the West, especially in America.

But what became of the ancient Aryan civilization of India, where music was the song of the Gandharvas and the great Agnihotris of the Vedic period chanted their *mantrams* which is Life? What became of the civilization of Krishna and of His divine music played to the

Gopis? What of the India of Gautama the Buddha, of Sankaracharya, even of the great Reformers of the fifteenth century? Europe killed her real Christians and glorified a materialistic intellectuality; but India forgot her great spirituality and only a few individuals are left to sing what remains of the glorious songs of ancient days, the treatises of music have become obscured and difficult to understand because the philosophy which made them clear has been forgotten by most musicians, and the very substance of music has been perverted under the influence of the intellectual ideas from the West perhaps, but, perhaps still more because, the sacrificial food offered to the music-devas being no longer offered with the true devotion which is knowledge and spiritual devotion, it could no longer feed the Gandharvas who departed from music.

Western ideas, the false and ridiculous chronology of the Orientalists confusing cycles, dates and personages, the importation of foreign instruments, the materialistic interpretation of ancient books, and many other causes have created such a confusion that Indian music is a great darkness, even to most Indians who have but their intuition and innate traditions to go by. There is a great longing for knowledge and for rebirth, but what can be done before the ancient Aryan philosophy itself becomes alive again in the souls, that philosophy which was the foundation of the music which was a spiritual power? It is only as music becomes reintegrated into the philosophy of life itself, when the musician becomes a spiritual man, that knowledge becomes real, that *srutis* and *swaras* and *gramas* can be understood. And if those three great elements of the substance of music are not in harmony with Nature itself, never will the Gandharvas pour their lives into the *ragas* which the musicians can try to produce. For music is Nature itself, creative Nature. So it was of old; so it has ceased to be. Indian music will never be great again if it does not become Nature, if it does not base itself again on the very Law of Sound, this Law of which the Harmonic Series of overtones is the representation on the physical plane. Music is sound, and therefore, it must grow as sound grows. And the *srutis*, so much talked about and so little understood by Westerners and Indians alike, are the very symbols of this growth of sound, which is in every respect similar to the growth of a seed into a tree.

Within the seed is contained the potential image of the complete plant and is condensed as it were the life-energy necessary for the plant's growth. When germination begins, this life-energy, which was like a wound-up spring, unwinds itself, and the rhythm of this unwinding is a very definite one manifesting in a spiral, following a characteristic law of periodicity and retardation. In certain plants this is made very patent by nodes appearing at certain intervals; the disposition of the leaves upon the stem, the relative lengths of the phalanges of the human fingers, are examples showing how this law, which it would be too long to describe in detail, works. It is the great cyclic law of Nature, and therefore, the law of sound, the law of the Harmonic Series.

Take a string one inch in length and pluck it, you have a sound. Extend it to two, and three and four, and five inches, inch by inch indefinitely. And you get the *descending* series of harmonics. Take a string now 44 inches long, and sound out the tones produced by twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four, etc..... inches, till you get to a length of forty-four inches. What you have done is merely to produce the twenty-two *srutis*! We said the *sruti* was an inch, but of course that depends on the thickness of the string and a few other considerations; it is merely a simple way of putting it. The important point is that the *srutis* are *units of vibrating matter*; and not, as most people believe, definite and equal musical intervals, measurable as proportions between frequencies (number of vibration per second).

The idea is a capital one. If *srutis* are units of vibrating matter, Indian music rests upon *substance*; if they are intervals it rests upon *intellectual relations*. Intervals are mere intellectual relations, as conceived by Europeans. The terms of these relations do not matter; they are mere abstractions. But when music rests upon vibrating substance, everything changes. For sound becomes the very soul of this natural, living substance.

In the example mentioned, we see the energy of sound (of the seed) expanding in matter, conquering space—exactly as the little stem of the plant conquers space and expands through the air. And this gives us a *descending scale*, for the longer the string the lower the tone produced. Such a descending scale symbolizes the descent of spirit into matter, the incarnation of the Soul. Sound, or the Soul,

becomes more and more material; it expresses itself through an increasingly wider sense of material life.

But then the reverse action follows. Sound immaterialized in an instrumental fundamental, —or the Soul incarnated in a body,— liberates itself progressively from matter. It rises like fire toward a spiritual condition, *Moksha* or *Nirvana*. This is the ascending series of over-tones, studied now by Western science, the *ascending scale* of music, the evolutionary aspect of sound. This series is produced by plucking a string of 44, then 43, 42, 41, etc.....units. When you reach the length of 22 units, you have had your twenty-two *srutis*, in ascending order.

This conception of the *srutis* is not a personal one. In the first issue of the magazine the *Theosophist* November, 1879, a long article appeared signed by a certain Bulwant Trimbuk, Secretary of the Poona "Gayan Samaj" where this theory of the *srutis* is given, though only in a very incomplete manner, that is, without any philosophical explanations. In the booklet "The Hindu musical scale" by K. B. Deval, the same theory is mentioned as being exposed by two musicians Balawant Trimbak Sahasrabuddhe and Bhavanrao Pingale. Mr. Deval declares that such is incorrect and claims that *srutis* are constant proportions between frequencies; but there are no definite arguments advanced justifying such an opinion, which to my mind originated in a confusion brought about by the spread of Pythagorean ideas in India long ago. What Pythagoras *actually* taught however has never been known; his teachings were secret, and what we know of them is through false or treacherous students who spread them for their own glory after the school of Krotona was destroyed.

The important point to understand is that if our theory is correct, *srutis* are not fixed proportions, and, therefore, have not all the same values as intervals. They do not correspond to anything which can ever be fitted into the European system. Any mixing up of the European system with the Indian will kill whatever remains of the latter. This very conception of the *srutis* as units of vibrating substance, is absolutely foreign to European thought.

The determining of the actual place of the seven *swaras* within the cycle of the twenty-two *srutis* will follow the new reinterpretation of the nature of the *srutis*. The cycle of ascending

and descending *srutis* is almost like a circle, a sphere or egg. To fix within this egg, or aura of music, the seven focal centres or *chakras* (*swaras*) this is the next problem. It is the old idea of the squaring of the circle; for $\frac{22}{7}$ equals approximately the value π (3.1416) which is the measure of the relation of circumference to radius. Various figures have been given, that is various ways of dividing 22 into seven factors. What seems quite definite is the attribution of two *srutis* to the last interval *Ni-Sa*. But the important point which we want to stress here, unable as we are to discuss at length the position of the *swaras*, is that the sum of three *srutis* at the beginning of the scale (*grama*) and the sum of three *srutis* at the end of this scale means two different intervals, in the Western meaning of the term. Another difference comes according as we consider the *srutis* in a descending *grama*, that is the *Gandhara grama* of olden days now forgotten, or in an ascending *grama*, like the *Sa-grama*.

And this brings us again to the mysterious problem of ascending and descending *gramas*. It seems obvious that the archaic *Gandhara grama* was a descending progression of tones, symbolizing the very process of incarnation of the Gandharvas as Human Souls. Later on, possibly at the beginning of the *Kali Yuga* or perhaps at the time of the last Buddha, a reversal took place, and the ascending *gramas* became preponderant, the *Sa-grama* and *Ma-grama*. I personally believe that the *Ma-grama* is the oldest and a reversion of the *Gandhara grama*; that the *Sa-grama* is something very different which perhaps has never been fully understood since the beginning of the Christian era; that the true *Sa-grama*, born in the South perhaps at the time of the true Reformation of Sri Sankara-Acharya, was quickly misunderstood, as was misunderstood the Pythagorean scale in Greece; and that perhaps both those misunderstood

scales were one and the same. Yet tangible proofs of such an assertion are lacking, as far as I am concerned at any rate, and the subject is too vast to discuss it here.

What I have attempted to do above has been merely to point out where the fundamental problems confronting Indian musicians lay, as well as indicating some possible solutions born out of a slight understanding of the philosophical elements involved. It is enough to show, however, that the path of Indian music lies far, very far away from the old and dying system of European music. The classical-romantic music of Europe is dead. A new Western music is slowly, very slowly, being evolved in America, and it finds in the great Russian composer, recently dead, Scriabin, its foremost pioneer.

But this new Western music can never be complete and never reach pure spirituality, unless the true music of Aryavarta is reborn to bring to the Western races a new sense of melody. Real, living, soul-energized melodies must come from the East. The attempt of some Western composers to evolve quarter-tone and eight-tones is but a poor substitute to the real thing. To India belongs the task of regenerating the melodies of the world. This is her great spiritual mission but one which cannot possibly be performed unless Indian musicians begin again to study with a philosophical and spiritual mind the mysteries of Music and above all of Sound. I, a Westerner and a composer, entreat them to do so. I call upon them to rise to the great task which is theirs. In Music there is power and life. This power in ignorant or lethargic hands means death. O my brothers, has there not been enough death in this miserable world? And shall we not be strong enough to work, hand in hand, for the New Life which shall flow over the whole world and make of men, gods?

THE PURCHASING POWER PARITY.

By PROF. BRIJ NARAIN, M.A., *Prof. of Economics, Sanatan Dharma College, Lahore.*

Exchange is subject to both temporary and permanent influences. Temporary factors are represented by variations in the international balance of payments; permanent factors by variations in purchasing power parities. It is claimed that the experience of past few years shows "that the effects of changes in the purchasing power parity are powerful enough to override altogether those of changes in the balance of international payments". This is the explanation of the improvement in the £ sterling in relation to the dollar since 1920.*

The theory of purchasing power parities has been subjected to a detailed examination, among others, by Dr. Karl M. Obenaus and Dr. Andreas Reval. Dr. Obenaus† makes a study of the Italian exchange between 1914 and 1919, and Dr. Reval of the course of French exchange since 1914‡. Before proceeding to discuss the results of Indian experience, I may summarise briefly the conclusions of these writers.

The rise of prices during the war was greater in Italy than in France, England or the United States of America. In these circumstances the

fall in the value of the lire in terms of the currencies of France, England and the United States was to be expected. But as pointed out by Dr. Obenaus, there is no correspondence between the movements of prices and exchange in Italy in the second half of 1918 and the first few months of 1919: "Although during this period the internal price level fell only 25 per cent, the Swiss franc fell at the same time about 50 per cent. The internal purchasing power of money," Dr. Obenaus concludes, "does not by itself explain the course of the Italian exchange during the war,"§

Dr. Obenaus then proceeds to examine other factors which have a bearing on exchange. In the second half of 1914 Italian exchange remained near gold parity as the trade balance was comparatively favourable to Italy, and large sums of money were brought into Italy by emigrants returning to their country immediately after the outbreak of war. Exchange began to rise in the spring of 1915 owing to the increasing imports of war materials. The rise of exchange was checked in the summer of 1916 owing to rumours of peace and the export of gold from Italy. Exchange rose suddenly in March, 1917, owing to the outbreak of the Russian revolution which endangered the cause of the Allies, but the entry of the United States into the war exercised a favourable influence on exchange. The appreciable rise in November, 1917, was due to the defeat at Isonzo. The fall in exchange in the latter half of 1918 was due to the decisive victories of the Allies, decrease in imports for military purposes, the grant of large foreign credits to Italy, and lastly, large purchases of lire in foreign countries. The rise in exchange which commenced in April, 1919, was caused by the exhaustion of foreign credits and the heavy imports of foreign goods required for the reconstruction of peacetime economy.

Dr. Reval's interesting study shows that while purchasing power parities and French

**Statist.*, May 16, 1925, p. 834: "The great rise since February, 1920, in the value of the £ in relation to the dollar can never be accounted for by reference purely to the British and American balances of payments. Indeed, the relevant statistics would show, even when full account is taken of America's huge foreign lending, that the £ ought to have depreciated over those years in relation to the dollar instead of appreciating. More recently, the annual buying season for dollars, during which the balance of payments has been undoubtedly against this country, was not able to prevent a rise in sterling in the autumn of last year. The true explanation of the rise in sterling is, of course, that the purchasing power parity between sterling and the dollar has moved in favour of sterling since the early months of 1920—that despite a substantial net rise in the internal purchasing power of the dollar since then, the internal purchasing power of sterling has risen even more—and this, too, although the balance of payments may have been on the whole against Great Britain and in favour of America."

†*Die Italienischen Wechselkurse während der Jahre 1914-1919*, von Dr. Karl M. Obenaus, Lischke & Seidel, 1922.

‡*Die Ausländischen Wechselkurse in Frankreich seit 1914*, von Dr. Andreas Reval, Duncker and Humblot, München, 1925.

exchange ran parallel in 1914, in 1915 purchasing power parities rose above exchange and remained so till the beginning of 1919. In the middle of 1919 the two coincided, but towards the end of the year exchange rose above purchasing power parity. The two met again in the beginning of 1922, but they diverged in the middle of the year, exchange rising above the price parity. "Purchasing power parities", says Dr. Revai, "did not exactly coincide with exchange; there were often divergences in the one direction or the other, for understanding which it is necessary to consider the relation between supply and demand in the exchange market."^{*}

Dr. Revai then refers to the factors which influenced French exchange during the war and subsequent years, such as the grant of foreign credits to France, the unfavourable balance of payments during the war, political developments in France and speculative purchases of francs caused by changes in the political situation. He concludes his examination as follows:—

"The conclusion may be drawn from this comparison that so long as the supply of foreign means of payments preponderates, exchange is lower than purchasing power parities. When, however, demand for foreign means of payments preponderates, exchange is higher than purchasing power parities. The comparison of French exchange with purchasing power parities and with market conditions confirms the view that the two theories do not exclude, but supplement each other, and that movements of exchange can be satisfactorily explained only by a combination of the two theories."[†]

Indian experience shows that the "permanent" or the "more fundamental" influences, that is, purchasing power parities, offer very little or no explanation of the fluctuations of Indian exchange since 1914, and that this explanation is to be found in "temporary influences," viz., India's balance of payments and the fluctuations in the price of silver.

Indian exchange rose during the war because of our favourable balances of trade, and the heavy demand for Indian rupees for other reasons.

The invisible exports and imports of India (freights, insurance, interest, transfer of profits,

movements of capital, etc.) cannot be valued accurately, but the most important item in India's balance of payments is the balance of trade. Before the war the balance of trade was generally in India's favour. The average net exports from India in 1909-10 to 1913-14 amounted to a little over £52 millions. The immediate effect of the war was to reduce net exports, which in 1914-15 amounted to only £29,108,000 and in 1915-16 to £44,026,000; but in the last three years of the war, while imports had declined heavily, exports increased, so that net exports in 1916-17, 1917-18 and 1918-19 exceeded the average of the five pre-war years:†—

	Exports.	Imports.	Net exports.
Year	£1,000	£1,000	£1,000
1916-17	1,60,591	99,748	60,843
1917-18	1,61,700	1,00,280	61,420
1918-19	1,69,230	1,12,690	56,540

At the same time India formed the base of military operations in Mesopotamia, Persia and East Africa, and the Government of India provided funds for meeting the cost of these operations and civil expenditure in occupied territory. In addition the Government of India undertook to finance purchases made in India by certain Dominions and Colonies, and to assist American buyers of Indian produce in 1917-18 and 1918-19.

"These exceptional disbursements", says the Report of the Indian Currency Committee of 1920, "created a heavy additional demand for Indian currency."^{**}

While the demand for Indian rupees had increased considerably, the imports of gold and silver declined, total imports in 1914-15 to 1918-19 amounting to only £35,084,000 as against £120,242,000 in the five pre-war years.

Considering the abnormal increase in the

^{*}Die Anlaendischen Wechselkurse in Frankreich seit 1914, p. 99.

[†]Ibid. p. 107.

[†]Report of the Indian Currency Committee, 1920, Section 12.

demand for rupees and the decline in the imports of gold and silver into India, the rise in exchange was inevitable.*

The following table shows, for the month of January of each year from 1915 to 1925, the rate of exchange per rupee, the price of silver in London per standard oz., the index numbers of Indian and English prices, and the purchasing power parities (English index numbers divided by Indian):—

Year	Rate of exchange T. T. Calcutta.	Price of silver d. per oz.	Index Nos. of English prices	Index Nos. of Indian prices	Purchasing power parities
	(1)		(2)	(3)	
1915	1-3 ²⁷ / ₃₂	22 ¹¹ / ₁₆	116	110	105
1916	1-4 ¹ / ₁₆	26 ⁷ / ₁₆	150	124	121
1917	1-4 ⁷ / ₃₂	29 ¹ / ₂	193	144	136
1918	1-4 ³¹ / ₃₂	44 ¹ / ₄	225	188	134
1919	1-5 ²¹ / ₃₂	48 ⁷ / ₁₆	228	188	121
1920	2-4 ¹ / ₄	78 ¹ / ₄	303	218	139
1921	1-3 ¹⁰ / ₁₆	41 ¹ / ₂	219	178	123
1922	1-5 ³ / ₄	34 ³ / ₄	167	178	94
1923	1-4 ⁵ / ₁₆	31 ⁵ / ₁₆	169	179	91
1924	1-5 ⁵ / ₁₆	34 ¹ / ₁₆	182	172	105
1925	1-6 ¹ / ₃₂	31 ¹ / ₄	186	171	109

It should be noted that while exchange rose from 1-4 ⁷/₃₂ in 1917 to 1-5 ³¹/₃₂ in 1919, the purchasing power parity fell from 136 in 1917 to 134 in 1918 and to 121 in 1919.

It is necessary to refer to another "temporary" influence which, however, profoundly affected the course of Indian exchange in 1918-20.

The bullion par of the rupee is a little more than 43d. that is, when the London price of silver is 43d. per standard oz. the intrinsic value of the rupee is about equal to its face value—1s. 4d. (apart from cost of reduction to bullion). In August, 1917, the price of silver rose above the bullion par of the rupee, and the rupee ceased to be a token coin. In September, 1917, the price of silver rose to 55d. In the same month the United States instituted control over the trade in silver and prohibited the export of the metal except under license. The effect of these measures was to check the rise of silver prices and between October, 1917, and April, 1918, the London price of silver varied between 41¹/₂d. and 49¹/₂d. per standard oz. Following on the passing of the Pittman Act in April, 1918, in the United States, the Canadian and the British Governments fixed a maximum price for silver corresponding to the American maximum, so that between May, 1918, and April, 1919 the London price of silver ranged between 47³/₄d. and 50 d. per standard oz. When, however, control over the silver market was removed in May, 1919, the price of silver, owing to the strong Chinese demand, rose rapidly. On 16th December, 1919, the rate quoted in London was 70¹/₄d. per oz., on 29th January, 1920, 85d. and on 11th February, 89¹/₂d.*

The rise in the price of silver rendered the Indian currency system impracticable, and it compelled the Secretary of State for India to raise the rate for Council Drafts by successive stages to 28d. in December, 1920. The rise in the rate was dictated by the rise in the price of silver and had nothing at all to do with purchasing power parities.

The following table shows the market rates

*The abnormally large balance of trade in favour of India had resulted in the sellers of exchange greatly out-numbering the buyers, and, there being practically no imports of gold to fill the gap, the former were at the mercy of the latter. On the one hand, exporters were only too ready to pay high rates if they could thereby get their bills purchased; on the other hand, importers were in the position of being able to effect their remittances at rates which, as businessmen they could scarcely refuse to take advantage of." Report on the Operations of the Currency Department for 1916-17, p. 8.

*Ibid, section 13.

(1) Quotation for Bombay.

(2) Index numbers of the *Economist*. Wholesale prices. Prices at the end of July, 1914, equal to 100.

(3) Index numbers of the Commercial Intelligence Department (see *Indian Trade Journal*). Wholesale prices of 75 articles in Calcutta. Prices at the end of July, 1914, equal to 100.

of exchange and the bullion value of the rupee from April, 1918 to March, 1921†:—

Comparative statement of market rates of exchange and of the bullion value of the rupee from April 1918 to March 1921.

	1918		1919		1920		1921	
	Rate of exchange T. Ts.	Value of silver contents of the rupee.	Rate of exchange T. Ts.	Value of silver contents of the rupee.	Rate of exchange T. Ts.	Value of silver contents of the rupee.	Rate of exchange T. Ts.	Value of silver contents of the rupee.
	Pence		Pence		Pence		Pence	
1st January	...		17'969	18'000	27'875	28'196	17'250	15'514
15th "	...		17'969	18'000	27'937	29'357	17'375	15'143
1st February	...		17'969	18'000	32'500	31'355	16'250	12'820
15th "	...		17'969	17'791	31'500	30'890	16'468	12'960
1st March	...		17'969	17'744	31'000	31'214	15'375	12'077
15th "	...		17'969	17'744	27'750	31'106	15'562	12'448
1st April	...	16'969	16'955	17'969	18'418	28'000	26'802	
15th "	...	17'969	17'466	17'969	18'163	27'812	25'270	
1st May	...	17'969	18'302	17'969	18'139	27'312	23'690	
15th "	...	17'969	18'163	19'969	20'021	24'500	21'544	
1st June	...	17'969	18'163	19'969	19'742	25'250	21'414	
15th "	...	17'969	18'163	19'969	20'345	22'000	16'351	
1st July	...	17'969	18'139	19'969	19'606	20'750	18'008	
15th "	...	17'969	18'139	19'969	20'021	21'875	19'928	
1st August	...	17'969	18'139	19'969	20'717	22'687	21'182	
15th "	...	17'969	18'139	21'969	21'925	22'500	22'064	
1st September	...	17'969	18'395	21'969	21'925	22'250	21'414	
15th "	...	17'969	18'395	21'969	22'713	22'500	22'575	
1st October	...	17'969	18'395	24'250	23'782	21'375	21'925	
15th "	...	17'969	18'395	24'187	23'601	19'500	19'928	
1st November	...	17'969	18'395	24'250	24'341	19'375	19'645	
15th "	...	17'937	18'116	24'750	25'176	19'875	19'091	
1st December	...	17'937	18'116	27'125	27'174	18'375	16'583	
15th "	...	17'969	18'000	28'062	29'311	17'125	15'840	

The close correspondence between the bullion value of the rupee and the market rate of exchange between 1st April, 1918, and February 1920, will be noted.

The fall in exchange between 15th February, 1920, and 15th December coincided with the fall in the bullion value of the rupee. The price of silver on 10th December was as low as 38½d.; at the end of December the quotation was 40½d. Exchange and the bullion value of the rupee now separated, and the low exchange in 1921 and 1922 was not due to the fall in the price of silver but to other causes.

It must be admitted that one of the causes

which were responsible for the rise of exchange in 1917—20 was the rise in the price of silver. Another and still more important factor, as we have seen, was India's favourable balance of trade. In 1919-20 exports of Indian merchandise reached a total of Rs. 32,703 lakhs, while imports amounted to Rs. 20,800 lakhs, net exports thus amounting to Rs. 11,903 lakhs.

When the price of silver fell below the bullion par of the rupee, it ceased to be a factor governing exchange. The causes of the fall of exchange in 1920-21 and 1921-22 and of the subsequent rise in exchange are to be sought in the Indian balance of trade. The following

†Report on the operations of the Currency Department for 1920-21, page 12.

table shows the Indian balance of trade in merchandise from 1920-21 to 1924-25:—

LAKHS OF RS. + INDICATES NET EXPORTS
AND — NET IMPORTS.

	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25
Private trade					
Exports of Indian merchandise	24,001	23,138	20,916	24,594	38,485
Re-exports of foreign merchandise	1,804	1,400	1,510	1,307	1,301
Imports of foreign merchandise	35,567	26,624	22,431	23,700	24,318
Balance of trade in merchandise	-7,762	-2,086	+9,001	+11,448	+15,478

As against net exports from India in 1919-20 of Rs. 119 crores there were net imports of Rs. 78 crores in 1920-21 and of 21 crores in 1921-22. The balance of trade thus turned against India and exchange fell.

The causes of the reaction which started in 1920-21 are well-known. In the first place, agricultural conditions in 1920-21 were unfavourable and agricultural production was below the normal. Exports were also checked by the glut in the world's markets, of which evidence is furnished by the fall in prices. The principal decreases in exports in 1920-21 as compared with 1919-20 were as follows:—

While exports declined, imports increased, the principal increases in 1920-21 as compared with 1919-20 being as follows:—

	Rs. 1,000	Per cent.
Cotton yarn	92,189	211
" grey piece-goods	39,341	175
Motor cars and motor cycles, etc.	81,148	211
Iron or steel sheets or plates	37,262	37
" beams, pillars, girders and bridgework	23,479	457
Cotton, white piece-goods	39,317	37
" coloured "	2,18,182	171
Wool, piece-goods	33,450	264
Railway carriages and wagons	35,393	118
" materials for construction	21,017	182
" locomotives	39,022	910
Hardware	47,176	108
Machinery, etc., textile, cotton	23,662	181
" electrical	9,499	76
" primemovers, etc.	17,402	246
Glass and glassware	13,781	69
Chemicals	10,509	65
Copper wrought	13,263	122
Paper	47,949	235
Bars and channel, steel	25,326	116

What is the explanation of the increase in imports? They were partly stimulated by the currency policy of the Government, which, following the recommendations of the Babington Smith Committee, attempted, though without success, to maintain exchange at the level of 2s. gold. But after several years of shortage in the supply of manufactured goods on account of the pre-occupation of western countries with the war, an increase in imports into India after the war was to be expected. The pre-war average of imports into India of articles wholly or mainly manufactured (1909-10 to 1913-14) was 11,180 lakhs; the war average (1914-15 to 1918-19) was 10,856 lakhs; the imports in 1919-20 and 1920-21 amounted to 14,535 lakhs and 27,498 lakhs. The war average is slightly

	Rs. 1,000	Per cent.
Tea, black	34,196	41
Hides, raw	62,509	76
Skins, raw	1,18,897	79
Jute gunny cloth	26,095	8
Seeds—Cotton	26,191	72
" Groundnuts	13,704	33
" Linseed	43,234	41
" Sesamum	18,779	80
Oil—cocoanut	8,135	57
Cotton, raw	1,70,236	29
Hemp, raw	10,325	55
Jute, raw	83,386	31
Wool, raw	17,555	44
Indigo	9,155	70
Myrobalans	6,053	60
Hides, tanned	67,309	85
Skins, tanned	26,456	57
Cotton, twist	80,877	44
" piece-goods	12,209	14
Oilcakes	6,687	36

less than the pre-war average, but we have further to allow for the fact that prices of imported goods generally had risen about 200 per cent. during the war. The shortage of imports was thus much greater than is indicated by the value of imports during war years. India had prospered during the war and when, after the war, it became possible to buy more foreign goods, she did so, particularly because exchange was tempting.

The depression which started in 1920-21 continued throughout 1921-22, and became very acute. The year 1920-21, says the official Review of the Trade of India for 1921-22, "was one of sharp contrasts between the boom conditions of the early months and the liquidation of the latter part of the year, but 1921-22 was a year of unrelieved depression, of hand-to-mouth buying by the consuming trades and of resigned patience on the part of the traders and their financiers". Prices continued to fall heavily in the world's markets and the violent fluctuations of the European exchanges made matters worse. In these circumstances it is not surprising that Indian exchange should have fallen below 1s. 4d.

Some light is thrown upon exchange fluctuations in 1920-22 by the imports and exports of treasure. In the year 1920-21 there was a net private export of 888 lakhs of gold bullion and coin. There were large imports of gold during the first half of the year, and large exports of gold from October onwards. The total value of gold imported on private and Government account during 1920-21 was Rs. 23½ crores. This was less than half the amount imported in 1919-20, and has often been exceeded. On the other hand, the exports of gold, which amounted to Rs. 21½ crores, were far in excess of any previous year. "In view of the charge commonly made", says the Report on the Operations of the Currency Department for 1920-21, "that India is a sink of the precious metals, her ability to export gold is not without significance".*

From December 1920 to March 1921 the exchange value of the rupee remained at 2d. or more above its bullion value. This was mainly due to the heavy exports of gold from Bombay in the latter part of 1920-21.

In 1921-22 the exports of gold totalled 1,661 lakhs and imports 1,382 lakhs; there was thus

a net export of gold during the year as a whole of 279 lakhs (excluding an export of 7 lakhs by Government to the Bahrein Islands which does not enter into the balance of trade). The meaning of the exports and imports of gold in 1921-22 will, however, be better understood if we study the movement in shorter periods. The following statement shows the exports and imports of gold quarterly from 1st January 1921 to 31st March, 1922:—

Quarter.†	Figures in lakhs of Rupees.		
	Import.	Export.	Net import
January to March, 1921	237	1,378	+1,141
April to June, 1921	192	779	+587
July to September, 1921	158	876	+718
			Net export
			+
October to December, 1921	491	54	-440
January to March, 1922	538	2	-536

It will be seen that the strong export movement which marked the close of the year 1920-21 continued in the first half of 1921-22. From October 1921 to March 1922, however, net exports of gold were replaced by net imports. This import of gold, combined with heavy imports of silver, was one of the most important causes of exchange weakness in 1922.

The value of the net imports of gold in 1922-23 was about 334 lakhs in excess of the corresponding figure for 1921-22, the previous record, and about 5½ crores in excess of the figure for the year 1919-20 when the Government imports were exceptionally large. The explanation of the increased imports lies in good crops and agricultural prosperity, decreased imports of cotton goods (partly owing to high prices and partly to the non-co-operation movement in India which included the boycott of British goods in its programme), and the fall in the price of gold. From Rs. 33 per tola on 1st August, 1921 the price fell to Rs. 28-13-0 per tola on 1st April, 1922 and to Rs. 25-20 per tola on 31st March, 1923. The price had risen to Rs. 26-6-0 on 31st March 1924, and the rise of price had some effect in restricting imports in 1923-24, which amounted to 2,925 lakhs as compared with 4,132 lakhs in 1922-23.

*P. 5.

†Report on the Operations of the Currency Department, for 1920-21, page 7. *

We have seen that the balance of trade turned in India's favour in 1922-23. During the last three years Indian exports have steadily expanded, reaching in 1924-25 the record figure of 348.85 lakhs. The total imports of gold in 1924-25, 7.414 lakhs, broke all previous records. Exports of gold in 1924-25 totalled a little more than 1 lakh and net imports of gold amounted to 7.377 lakhs. The rise in exchange in 1923-25 is explained by the favourable balances of trade that India has enjoyed in these years.

The relation between exchange and prices is not a simple one. The external purchasing power of money in terms of foreign currencies may rise when internal purchasing power in terms of commodities is steadily falling; the external purchasing power may remain stable when prices within the country are rising; the external purchasing power may decrease heavily while internal purchasing power remains practically the same. And when external and internal purchasing power are rising or falling together, the extent of the rise or fall is not always the same in the two cases.

The history of money in Europe since the war provides many illustrations of this lack of precise adjustment between the price movement and the exchange movement. For example, during the war, the depreciation of the mark and the crown in terms of foreign currencies was less than the decrease in the internal purchasing power. Even in July 1920, while the price of Swiss francs had increased 29 times the pre-war price, the cost of living had increased 37 times in Hungary and 52 times in Austria. In October of the same year, however, the rise in the price of Swiss francs in Hungary exceeded the rise in the cost of living, and similar was the situation in Austria in January 1921.*

In the period 1895-98 Indian exchange should have fallen but for the financial measures adopted by the Government. Further, between 1899-1914 exchange remained stable, except in 1907-08, in spite of the more rapid rise of prices in India than in other countries. This would show that exchange may be kept stable by artificial means, whether prices are rising or falling. A good illustration is furnished by the Russian Tschervonez in 1923. While its purchasing power in terms of the English £

and the American dollar remained fairly stable, its internal purchasing power in terms of goods fell. "This circumstance", says Markoff, "is extraordinarily interesting and important. It shows that so far as exchange is concerned, favourable circumstances exist, which exert no influence on the maintenance of the internal purchasing power"†. Foreign trade is a state monopoly in Russia and exchange can be kept stable by increasing exports and restricting imports, or by means of a favourable balance of trade. But, at the same time, owing to causes affecting the supply of money, or of goods, prices may rise continually within the country. In the case of Russia the rise of prices in 1923 is attributed to inflation.

Even when foreign trade is not a state monopoly, favourable balances of trade and prompt action on the part of Government when exchange shows signs of weakening, backed by strong reserves of gold, may prevent exchange from falling, when, on account of the increase in the supply of token money (which is not convertible into gold for internal purposes) prices are rising rapidly. Such is the experience of India.

The internal and the external purchasing power must vary in the same manner if we ignore the special influences to which exchange is subject, such as movement of funds, speculative buying and selling of currencies and psychological factors which have no connection with prices. We must further assume that prices tend to be the same all over the world, and any inequality is immediately corrected by the export or import of gold. A country in which prices are higher than world prices will export less and import more so that the balance of trade and exchange must turn against it. But are these assumptions correct? Is it not rather true that prices are *not* the same in different countries? "The purchasing power of 1g. gold", says Gruntzel, "was always less in the United States than in England, and in England less than in Germany, and indeed permanently". Further, the pre-war history of our own currency shows that a country may export more and more goods and import more and more gold

†Der Geldverkehr in Sowjetrussland von A. P. Markoff, p. 7 (Verlagsdruckerei Bernard and Grafe, Berlin).

*Geldwert und Wechselkurs von Dr. Josef Gruntzel, p. 29. (Wien, 1923).

*Das Geldproblem in Mitteleuropa von Dr. Elemér Hantos, p. 54. (Jena, 1925 Gustav Fischer).

than world prices.[†] A check may come later, but in the meantime the country in question will suffer from all the evils of inflation in spite of its stable exchange.

The theory of purchasing power parity as an explanation of exchange fluctuations when inflated paper currencies take the place of the gold standard has certainly the merit of simplicity. But it is of very little use in explaining the fluctuations in the exchange value of the rupee since 1914. Any one who started to deduce our rates of exchange from the relation of prices in India and England would certainly fall into error.

†".....the goods of one country are not easily replaceable by the goods of another country, because one can buy coffee, cotton, rubber, copper and even many manufactured products only in those countries where they are produced, and must therefore often pay a higher price for them than would be justified according to the general price level which has hitherto prevailed. Gold has a world market; each good or service, however, first of all a national market; one speaks of a world market only in an approximate sense when a commodity acquires importance for several economic regions." *Ibid*, p. 29.

It may be objected that our favourable balances of trade during the war were themselves due to the silent action of price differences between India and England—that is, English prices having risen more rapidly than Indian prices, India exported more than she imported. This explanation is not very convincing. Imports into India were not restricted by the rise of prices in England but by the pre-occupation of Western countries with the war and the shortage of shipping. The shortage of manufactured goods in India during the war was so great that we should have gladly imported more and at higher prices, if imports had been available.

Further the rise in the price of silver was a factor wholly unconnected with purchasing power parities between India and England, and yet, as we have seen, in the main it accounts for the sensational rise in Indian exchange in February 1920 and the equally sensational fall during the course of the next ten months.

THE CALL OF THE COMMUNITY.

By "INDOPHIL."

India is the meeting-place of all the great religions of the world. Of these, the three main are Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Christianity. The followers of each religion form a distinct community. Hindus form the largest community in India, Mahomedans come next, and Christians, including Europeans and Indian converts, come third by a long interval. The Hindus, confined as they are to India, and the Christians, who dominate the whole civilized world, have this feature in common that the cultured sections of their communities, in discussing a question of public and general import, do not think that they are members of this or that community, but treat of the subject entirely on the merits. In this respect, the Indian Mussalmans display a markedly different attitude. However cultured they may be, and

however high their position and presumably wide their outlook, it seems as if they cannot help looking at every matter from the communal point of view. The communal method of approach is strictly confined by Hindus and Christians to its legitimate province, religion, and to the peculiar social questions which appertain to them as religious communities; but the more general aspects of social welfare which they share with other communities are naturally recognised by them to be outside the scope of communal consideration. The Muslims of India, on the other hand, orientate everything, religious, social, moral, and even political, to the standpoint of their community. By giving all public questions this communal twist, they at once degrade the plane of discussion, for the dignity of thought and reasoning is warped

by irrelevant and foreign matter, and public discussion is narrowed down and reduced to private and personal considerations. The level of the whole controversy is lowered; fundamental truths, recognised as universally binding, and the general principles and laws of rational thinking, are thrust into the background; narrowly selfish aims and aspects alone fill the whole field of vision, with the result that the whole and the ultimate are sacrificed for the part and the proximate, and the immediate and partial gain is preferred to the more remote but completer achievement. This attitude would not be surprising had it been confined to the masses of the community; but it comes upon all serious thinkers and well-wishes of India with a shock of pain inasmuch as it is shared by the leaders and the intellectuals of the community. The call of the community, which finds a response in the mind of the cultured Hindu or Indian Christian only on strictly legitimate occasions and in regard to matters with which the general public can have no concern, is in the case of the cultured Moslem insistent and ubiquitous in its demand, and is bound by no such limits. Every public question furnishes occasion for its display, and no place is sacred from its invasion, not even the temples of learning and justice are immune from it.

The intellectuals of the community far from feeling ashamed of introducing such a narrow, prejudiced and personal outlook in affairs of public moment, vie with one another in emphasising it in the hope of thereby snatching the leadership of the community from their rivals. The apparent success of this policy has induced some Hindu leaders to take up the same attitude, but forgetting that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, the Mahomedan communal leaders fall foul of them for being actuated by exactly the same feeling that animates themselves. Thus, the poison has begun to work all round, and the cultured European who is the spectator of this communal drama and of the element of heat and passion which it lends to the upper levels of public life, and which is translated into bloody riots in the lower levels of society, sees in it, with natural self-satisfaction, the best justification for his continuance in India as the ruling power, while secretly he cannot but harbour a feeling akin to contempt for even the most enlightened Indians, be they Hindus or Moslems, who are responsible for this suicidal folly and this un-

speakable degradation of public life, unknown for some centuries in Western Europe and America, where people have long ceased to think communally, and now think, in all domestic matters, only in terms of the nation (except where the colour-bar intervenes), while in matters of general political or economic interest, they think internationally, and in scientific, social and moral concerns, the best minds among them have even begun to think in terms of humanity itself.

II.

Excessive love of one's own community has for its counterpart hatred of those who do not belong to it, and it is a well-known psychological fact that while love is difficult to cultivate the cult of hatred is extremely easy to propagate, and what passes for communal zeal is often only another name for hatred of the rival community. That being so, what is the reason at the back of the minds of the highly intellectual communal leaders which induces them to respond with such alacrity to the communal call in regard to every vital problem not merely of communal but of national interest without perceiving that their sense of truth and justice are humiliated and their freedom of thought curbed thereby and that they are themselves lowered in their own esteem and in that of the public by the narrowness of outlook displayed by them? There must be some sort of reasoning by which, while behaving as communal fanatics, they succeed in retaining their self-respect as cultured and enlightened members of society. It seems to us that they seek to deceive their minds by a wrong interpretation of the popular maxim, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*.

In the first place, the voice of the 'People' cannot obviously be the voice of only one section of it. In India, the followers of the Prophet, among whose leaders the communal call is most loud and vocal, do not even form the majority of the people, and 'the plenary inspiration of majorities,' to quote John Morley, which, is the bedrock of western representative institutions, cannot be claimed by them. A minority can claim guarantees against unfair treatment provided it does not vote in a solid communal block but like the other communities, according to the dictates of reason, and of course a minority, *qua* minority, cannot claim privileges

denied to the majority. Nor can it be said that by the word 'people' Mahomedans are to understand their co-religionists only, even as regards questions affecting their own community. For most of the questions which affect their community also equally affect the other communities of India, and if the people's voice is to be obeyed, it must be the voice of the united Indian people, consisting of Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, and the followers of all other religions inhabiting the land. A Moslem leader may say that this is far too high an ideal for him to aim at, and that he would prove most serviceable if, instead of trying to hitch his wagon to a star, he were content to give to his community what in the opinion of others was meant for the country at large. But would he really be more serviceable so, even to his own community? To try to pamper his community at the expense of other communities would be sure to demoralise his own community and take away the incentive to progress which is fostered by competition. It would breed a sense of injustice which would rankle in the mind and poison all mutual relations and provoke retaliation and infinitely retard the growth of a common nationality upon which the salvation of India depends, and thus help to perpetuate his own subjection which can be gilded but not removed by the bestowal of communal favours and the conferment of a privileged position among helots. It is a position which may now seem to be alluring enough to the leader hankering for preference, both for himself and his community, in the midst of the universal degradation that has overtaken all classes and communities living under a foreign yoke. But soon the prospect will cease to please, and he will feel from bitter experience that he cannot rise without raising his whole country with him, and that by alienating the sympathies of his fellow-countrymen belonging to other communities he has lost his best title to attain the high privileges of a citizen of a free country, which India can only be if we learn to think in terms of the nation and not as followers of this or that religion. By 'people' then, we must understand the entire people of India, even if our immediate aim is to bring about the amelioration of the condition of our own community.

In the second place, the popular voice is not always or even in most cases the voice of God, and history abounds in instances in which the

contrary statement would be nearer the truth. To make the multitude the source of inspiration, and to read the divine will in the prevailing tendency of the mass mind is to begin at the wrong end, for "the mass is apt to be hasty and excited, to be immoderate alike in affirmation and negation, to cling to the outward and obvious impression, to seek the greatest possible excitement, to be tossed between contrasts, and to be disinclined for either calm reason or justice" (Rudolf Eucken, *Main Currents of Modern Thought*). And yet the leaders begin at the wrong end because to do otherwise would be to lose their influence with the multitude. "At every period there exist a small number of individualities which react upon the remainder and are imitated by the unconscious mass. It is needful, however, that these individualities should not be in too pronounced disagreement with received ideas. Were they so, to imitate them would be too difficult, and their influence would be nil. For this very reason men who are too superior to their epoch are generally without influence upon it" (Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*). The Aristotelian doctrine of the summation of reason in a community, which considers the whole community as better fitted to pass judgment than the separate individuals of whom it is composed, depends on a belief in the mass of the people which is no longer shared by leading thinkers. In the opinion of Eucken, "historical experience bears abundant witness to the fact that the truly great has proved victorious in spite of persecution in the early stages; the stone which the builders rejected has often proved itself to be the corner-stone... In spite of all inner connection the truly great has usually been related to the general level of its age in the sense of a contrast.....It is the peculiar task of the great men of a period to prepare the way for a summation in a particular upward direction and to carry this through. Great men have been the masters, not the servants of their age" (*Main Currents of Modern Thought*).

III.

To be the masters and not the slaves of their age, not to be the voice of the people, but to be their guide—it is indeed a great and a noble ideal which is here set before our intellectual leaders. The modifications which an idea must undergo, before it can come within the range of

comprehension of the multitude, depend, according to Gustave Le Bon, on the nature of the crowd, and the race to which they belong. At first sight it would seem that it is difficult for the followers of a rigid and anthropomorphic monotheism of Semitic origin to emulate the wide tolerance of an ethnic creed of subtle Aryan origin which covers the whole gamut of philosophical ideas and whose proverbial philosophy is pervaded by the ancient wisdom of the sages. Behind the veil of this cosmic Maya and his multitudinous gods the Hindu peasant has no difficulty in seeing the play of the one immanent consciousness which manifests itself in our individual selves, and however hide-bound he may be by his religious customs and practices, the recognition of this one fact makes it easy for him to appreciate and make room for the view-point of the followers of other religions. But the Indian Mahomedan is for the most part racially akin to the Hindu and breathes the same philosophic atmosphere, so that there is no reason to suppose that if left to himself, the Moslem peasant would feel very differently from his Hindu brother in these matters. As a matter of fact, the communal idea did not hitherto play any considerable part in the domestic life of the people in the rural areas. The Report of the Civil Justice Committee 1924-25, presided over by Justice Rankin observes in regard to village panchayets with judicial functions as follows: "In the course of our investigation we were told in the various Provinces by some witnesses that communal differences and factions are in the way of any further extension of the jurisdiction of these tribunals. There is some force in this objection, but it is in our opinion overstated. In villages where there are common interests to be protected, common services to be rendered, and common funds to be administered, it is idle to ignore the common life of the village in which the necessities of neighbourhood have held their own or have prevailed against the divisions of caste. Those who have organised co-operative credit societies assure us that caste or communal differences do not in any way affect the success of the panchayets or committees of these societies which are composed of individuals of different castes as well as those who are outside the pale of caste.....Indeed, wherever these co-operative societies are constituted the tendency is for their panchayets to adjudicate on local disputes and determine local quarrels and they do these

things promptly and satisfactorily." Communal consciousness was first awakened into life by the leaders of thought among the Indian Moslems, and it is they who, with the aid of bigoted Mullahs and Maulvis, have dinned the idea so vigorously into the ears of the ignorant villagers that it is beginning to enter into the region of the unconscious and fast becoming a sentiment and a motive-force of action among them. The Mullah and the Maulvi, like the sacerdotal class in every religion, have their horizon entirely bounded by the revealed scripture, the *Koran*, and the *Hadis* or the body of traditions that grew up round it. They contain the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, for these preachers of the one and only true faith. Is it by following in their wake, that the intellectual leaders of the great Islamic community hope to be the masters of the age and guide the voice of the people? Or is it the selfish idea of enjoying a few more of the loaves and fishes of office that is driving them into this unnatural union with those religious preachers whose ideas have not advanced beyond the mediæval ages?

"It was only in the earliest stage of culture, and under very simple conditions of life, that the individual was solely and entirely bound up with the social organism, simply a member of family, of tribe, and such like; entirely swayed by custom, authority, and tradition. All further evolution was a differentiation and led to the greater independence of the individual. There came a time, however, when in contrast with his mere membership of the society, the individual felt himself to have arrived at a state of maturity; when he questioned the right of the traditional order, and ultimately found himself coming into opposition with the whole of society.....a deepening of life in all its branches went hand in hand with the individual's attainment of independence, mobility and depth." (Eucken, *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal*). When such a profound transformation, a deepening and enriching of life, takes place among the leading minds of the two great communities of India, the tail, to quote an expressive vulgarism, will cease to wag the dog, and the intelligentsia will be emancipated from the leading strings of the theologians. To raise the level of the masses, and not to be dragged down to their level, is the noble function of the leading minds of a community. At present the leaders are either too much under the influence of the

theologians, or though mentally free from their thralldom, they use these relics of a bygone age as pawns in the game and show them a lip-deep reverence which they are far from feeling. But they know not what harm they are thereby doing to their inner lives and their best selves, and what incalculable mischief they are storing up for future generations by pandering to the fanatical elements in their community. To let a little more daylight into the befogged brains of the bigots of each religion by the spread of education and rational thinking should be the aim of the intellectual leaders of each community. No fear that to do so would interfere with genuine faith and true religion, unless they too subscribe to the motto, *Credo quia absurdum*, and imagine that faith and religion thrive

best in an atmosphere of ignorance and superstition. In other words, the call of the community must be relegated to its due place and season, and must not prove compelling in its appeal in every field of national activity, nor must we surrender our right of private judgment in response to it. Only those who are prepared to take up this attitude can lay claim to a genuine culture, and deserve to be called the intellectual leaders of the country irrespective of the community to which they belong. All other so-called leaders, in spite of their veneer of outward culture and enlightenment, are on a par with uncultured bigots self-righteously boasting of their orthodoxy, and have no right to pose as the torch-bearers of light and the apostles of national progress.

ADMINISTRATION OF RURAL ECONOMY.*

By MR. N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

It is a happy idea to bring together co-operation, industry and agriculture; for it is through their combined integration that the principal economic problem of this country is to be solved. It is sometimes wise to indulge in platitudes, for they enshrine at least the half-truths of experience which are apt to be overlooked in the complexities of everyday life. It is too often forgotten that the only sound way of developing a country is to develop its inhabitants. Every economic activity is merely a means to the end of promoting and increasing the sum-total of general welfare. It is, therefore, essential occasionally to envisage our activities in their relationship to the life of men of which they form merely a part and which they are expected to enrich. It is towards the enrichment of the economic life that the activities of the departments of agriculture,

industry and co-operative credit are directed. Credit is required to put the wherewithal of agriculture in the hands of the cultivator in the most economical way possible. Industry is necessary to provide employment during the spare hours of the agriculturist, to fill up the time between one harvest and the other, to enable the cultivator, and above all his family, to earn something besides and in addition to his income from agriculture, to furnish a kind of insurance, small though it be, against the inevitable risks of cultivation, and to direct the flow of labour in its most profitable channels. Both co-operation and industry are necessary for the fruitful progress of agriculture. The problems of agriculture proper are the concern of scientists—practical agriculturists, theoretical chemists, botanists, physiologists, entomologists, cattle-breeders and irrigation engineers. The sole objective of the three departments of industry, agriculture and co-operation is, in other words, the improvement of agriculture,

*This was prepared in connection with the U. P. Provincial Conference of Co-operative Credit Industry and Agriculture, 1926.

which is the bed-rock of national prosperity and even existence. It follows from this that there must be complete co-ordination between the departments, if their work is to yield the maximum utility. There are many obstacles in the way of our economic progress most of which are well-known. I have no intention to dwell upon the obvious difficulties and drawbacks which the departments of agriculture, industry and co-operative credit have to confront. I only wish to bring before you an aspect of the common problem, which is at least worthy of your consideration. The necessity for co-ordinating the activities of all the departments of the State which aim at the promotion of rural welfare can not be disputed. The question which has to be answered is how to achieve the desired integration in the best way possible. The administrative unit is still the district, and the District Officer, though shorn of much of his power, still retains a certain amount of his old prestige and influence which may be useful to the departments of agriculture, industry and credit.

I shall not attempt to answer the question whether the movement of co-operative credit has not substantially suffered at least in the U.P. as a result of relative indifference of the latter-day District Officers. It will be, however, generally admitted that the interest of the District Officer is likely to be of considerable value to the departments mentioned above so far as their activities relate to rural areas. The political traditions of this country have always encouraged the people to look to the State as the fountain-source of all initiative and benign enterprise. The representative of the State before the villagers, at least in these provinces, is still the District Officer and the landed gentry still look up to him as the origin of all novel and beneficent activities. In the circumstances, it is essential that he should be made the person primarily responsible for putting into execution approved principles and projects of credit or of industry in their relation to agriculture. I would even suggest that the local officers of the departments of industry, credit and agriculture should be made subordinate and responsible in part to the District Officer, for it is only by such means that unitary control can be partially attained and the tendency to advance excuses for what may be, after all, the results of incompetence or idleness may be checked. What is even more important is, that the great, though

impalpable, influence and prestige of the District Officer or rather of the State through him can be made to bear their full fruit in the cause of economic progress to which the three departments named above are primarily dedicated. It is well to remember that "nobody has any wide experience of life without being conscious of the generally low standard of human behaviour." Theoretical principles must bow to the exigencies of life and this is specially true in this country where the bulk of the people is more or less helpless, devoid of enterprise, lacking in certain elements of character necessary for the success of all organization and where everybody from his very childhood has been in the habit of looking up to somebody or other for authority and orders. The lessons of European experience must be applied with caution, for the social fabric of this country is fundamentally different, and it is useful to note that society with us is differently organized, has its own peculiar standards of life moulded by habits and customs of centuries and is classified on the novel principle of caste. In fact, the peculiarities of our body social are responsible for giving rise to a series of definite problems which have to be met according to the traditions and environment of our people. Corporate responsibility is readily undertaken and organized endeavour easily put into operation through the medium of the *biradaris* or caste brotherhoods. A careful study of Indian society brings to light the enormous amount of work that is being done through these agencies. Work of a social and philanthropic nature is accomplished with ease and without friction through the instrumentality of caste brotherhoods, with their varied and sometimes conflicting interests and different occupations,—bodies which at first sight seem to be so archaic and doomed to failure, if judged from a western standpoint. The recent changes in our political constitution have brought into relief the tremendous power which *biradaris* still wield in this country; and it stands to reason that no means should be neglected which affords any reasonable opportunity for broadcasting the principles of improved agriculture and of putting them into actual practice. Constituted as our people are, it is easier to galvanise our economic organization and make it operate smoothly and with greater profit by perfecting the administrative machine and bringing it into closer and more intimate touch with the problems of everyday

life; and the only agency available for the purpose which commands traditional prestige and authority is the District Officer. Through him can be linked up all the various activities of the different departments of the State which have for their purpose the amelioration of rural life. The departments of sanitation and health will also be included along with those of industry, agriculture and co-operation, the activities of which will be under the direct control and personal supervision of the administrative head of the District. Social and political life in this country must not be compared with the life in England; for the English temperament is essentially different from the Indian. The comparison will be more useful if it is instituted with people like the French, the Germans or the Japanese, who are more bureaucratically organised than England is. It is also necessary to examine our own national character more critically with a view to adapt our policies and methods of action in consonance with its peculiarities. It is a singular fact that outside the Western Presidency and Rajputana organising capacity of a high order in the spheres of industry and trade is rare in this country. The share of the Punjabis, Bengalese, the Madrasis and the U.P. men in the industrial commercial life of the country is almost insignificant relatively to their numbers. This is particularly true of large business. This peculiarity does not seem to have come into being with the advent of the British but seems to be of even earlier origin, if we are to believe the testimony of European travellers of the 17th and the 18th centuries. Business ability even of a moderate character is not so generally met with in these parts as is, for instance, the case in Gujarat. My plea, therefore, for greater officialisation of the movement such as of co-operation, the fundamental principle of which according to European writers is one of complete non-interference by the State, is more applicable to these provinces than to the Western Presidency.

What is suggested is not to revolutionize the existing practice, but merely to bring the administrative machine in closer touch with the people and to make its component, at present somewhat distinct, parts work in greater concert for the common weal. The dominance of the District Officer does not necessarily mean more

official control over the activities of the departments of credit, industry and agriculture, so much as his enlistment as one of the chief workers responsible for the effective supervision and practical realization of the reforms to be initiated by these great departments. In fact, one of the complaints which is often heard, against bodies manned by non-official agencies such as our District and Municipal Boards, Co-operative Banks etc., is that with the periodic change of masters the power of the petty official is very much increased, while the fear of swift and effective punishment is correspondingly diminished. This paradox of increased power of the petty officialdom as a result of increased transfer of responsibility to non-official bodies can easily be verified by actual experience. My proposal is not to reduce the non-official control or power by one jot, but only to bring the administration and the public workers together in an effective union and to do away with much red-tape and formalities which clog the wheels of improvement and flourish even under non-official aegis, practically unchecked. I only plead that the district officer should be the principal executive officer of the nation-building departments, which have for their aim the welfare of the agriculturists. He is still the person most in touch with the difficulties and troubles, the weaknesses and strength of the village people and now that he is no longer responsible for the District and Municipal Boards, he may be entrusted with the great mission and problem of rural welfare, the different sides of which can through him be dealt with as an integral problem by those responsible for laying down the high principles of State policy. His enrolment among the missionaries of the departments of agriculture, credit, industry, sanitation and health seems to me to be at least the only method to evoke sustained popular support and interest in the present state of the country. Such a method may not be flattering to our newly-found democratic consciousness, but if it is useful and bears in itself the promise of even temporary success in an intermediate stage of progress, it is the duty of the practical man to accept it, for anything done towards the solution and simplification of our great problem of economic regeneration affects the welfare of the millions and *pro tanto* the resources of the Nation.

MAULVI MUHAMMAD HUSAIN AZAD.*

By KHAN BAHADUR SHAIKH ABDUL QUADIR, *Bar-at-Law*.

Among the benefactors of modern Urdu literature, who have made it what it is to-day, there is hardly any name that ranks higher than that of Shams-ul-Ulema Maulvi Muhammad Husain, *Azad*. His life was devoted to learning and his literary work not only added materially to the stock of Urdu literature, but reformed public taste as to the quality of Urdu poetry and prose and set up a high standard of excellence for writers of Urdu. Like many of his distinguished contemporaries he belonged to Delhi, which can rightly claim credit for having produced him, but Lahore too has a right to share with Delhi the honour of owning him, as it was here that the greater part of his life was spent and almost the whole of his literary work accomplished. He came to Lahore as an exile, but eventually adopted this place as his home, and found here a congenial atmosphere for his literary activities. He met with considerable encouragement and appreciation at the hands of some eminent western scholars and educationists with whom he came in contact and among whom the names of Colonel Holroyd and Dr. Leitner may be specially mentioned.

The story of *Azad's* life is full of great interest and in some respects extremely pathetic. I am indebted to his grandson, Agha Muhammad Tahir, for a brief account of the author's old family and early career. Muhammad Husain was born in Delhi about 1827 A.D. (1245 A.H.). His father, Maulvi Muhammad Baqir, occupied an important position in the literary circles of Delhi in those days. Maulvi Muhammad Baqir belonged to a family of Hamdan, in Persia, which traced its descent from *Salman Farsi*, a well-known disciple of the Prophet of Arabia. A representative of that family, Mirza Muhammad Shikoh, was the first to migrate to India. He was a great scholar of Shia theology and soon became a religious leader of the Shia community in Delhi. After him his son Maulvi Muhammad Akbar occupied the

same position. Maulvi Muhammad Baqir was the only son of Maulvi Muhammad Akbar, and was educated at the Arabic College at Delhi, after he had completed his studies at home. He belonged to the very first batch of men that came out of that College and among those who were educated with him was a well-known Punjab scholar, K. B. Syed Rajab Ali, of Jagraon in Ludhiana District. Maulvi Muhammad Baqir got employment as a reader in a Court but his father persuaded him to give up the job and to devote himself to the teaching of religion like his forefathers. Among the associates of Maulvi Muhammad Baqir's youth was the famous poet *Zauq* and this fact had a unique influence on the career of Muhammad Husain *Azad*. *Azad* thus came in contact with one of the best writers of the Urdu verse, and even as a youth he went with *Zauq* to some of the great poetical contests of Delhi, where he saw other great writers of verse and had opportunities of weighing the relative merits of *Zauq* and his contemporaries. He himself began to write *ghazals* which had the privilege of being corrected by *Zauq*. It was this practice which gave his verses the neat finish that characterised them.

Maulvi Muhammad Husain in addition to the opportunity he thus had of writing verse, also got a very good chance of developing a taste for prose, as his father became the editor of the *Urdu Akhbar* of Delhi, which was, perhaps, the first Urdu newspaper started in Delhi or perhaps in India. The newspaper did not last possibly very long but must have proved of considerable help in making *Azad* the great publicist he afterwards became.

Azad's education like his father's was partly at home and partly in the Delhi College, where he was a contemporary of Maulvi Nazir Ahmad and Maulvi Zakaullah. When these three were reading in the Delhi College, who could have known that each one of them would shine as a star on the firmament of Urdu literature? It is remarkable that Muhammad Husain, even as a youth in his teens, had an intense desire to

*This was first delivered as a lecture under the auspices of the Punjab University.

devote himself to learning for the whole of his life. Once a distinguished European visitor came to the College and after examining the boys, put them a question as to what they would do on finishing their studies. Each answered the question according to his own inclination. When the turn of Muhammad Husain came, he said: "I shall acquire further knowledge and then spread among my countrymen whatever light I possess or receive." It need hardly be said that he lived up to this noble ideal.

The smooth course of *Azad's* life was suddenly interrupted by the Mutiny of 1857 A. D. Maulvi Muhammad Baqir had given shelter to Mr. Taylor, Principal, Delhi College, when the mutineers were going for every European whom they could get hold of and had concealed him in a room inside his *Imambara*. The mutineers came to know of it and surrounded the place. The Maulvi managed to take him out of his hiding place and was taking him to a mosque for shelter, when Mr. Taylor felt that all would be soon over with him and handed over to the Maulvi a bundle of currency notes on the back of one of which he wrote something in Latin. He told the Maulvi that if the English succeed in getting back Delhi, the currency notes should be made over to the first Englishman whom he might come across. Mr. Taylor was taken to the mosque by the Maulvi but this was found out by the mutineers the next day, who caught him and killed him. When the Mutiny was over and the British re-entered Delhi, Maulvi Muhammad Baqir, true to his trust, made over the currency notes left with him by Mr. Taylor to a Colonel, little knowing that he had been holding in trust his own death warrant and was delivering it himself. What Mr. Taylor had written in Latin on one of the notes was that Maulvi Muhammad Baqir had at first given him shelter for some time but had eventually failed him and had not tried to save him. The Maulvi was, therefore, suspected of having been identified with the mutineers and was ordered to be shot dead and his property confiscated. This rendered *Azad* homeless. He left Delhi with the women and children of the family and the only thing that he managed to save from the general ruin that suddenly overtook the family, was a bundle of manuscript poems of his great Master *Zauq*, which were subsequently published by him in his enlarged edition of *Diwan-i-Zauq* with a suitable preface.

II.

Azad and his people took shelter at Sonapat with an old employee of theirs, who had served in their press at Delhi, but as he learnt that he might also be arrested as the son of Maulvi Muhammad Baqir, he left Sonapat, disguised as a faqir, while his family remained at Sonapat. He came to Jagraon and met his father's old friend, Maulvi Syed Rajab Ali. He treated him very kindly and sent for his family from Sonapat. After some time Syed Rajab Ali started a press at Ludhiana, where *Azad* began to work as a calligraphist. After a short time *Azad* visited Lucknow in 1858 A.D. and made the acquaintance of the literary men there. He came back to the Punjab and temporarily got employment in the Jind State. He did not, however, find employment in the State congenial to him and came to Lahore, where a cousin of his was employed as a Postmaster. Through him he first got a job in the Post Office and after a few years he got into the Education Department, where he made a humble start, but his talent was soon recognised and gradually he rose to the position of a Professor in the Government College and got the title of *Sams-ul-Ulema*, in recognition of his learning.

His connection with the department of Public Instruction in the Punjab gave him the opportunity of accomplishing what Nature had fitted him for. Now his literary work began in right earnest. His earliest productions were some text-books in Urdu, for use in schools, and among these his *Qisas-i-Hind* is entitled to a high rank. Some of the most important episodes in Indian history are described in this book in the form of short and attractive stories. The language used is simple and the style beautiful. Another historical work of his which is worthy of great praise is the *Darbar-i-Akbari*. It deals with the period of Akbar and tells us all about the galaxy of remarkable men who gathered round Akbar's throne and made his reign one of the most famous in history. *Azad* was long engaged in collecting materials for this work and unfortunately could not bring it out himself, and the first edition of the book was brought out by the enterprise of one of the best-known of his old pupils, Maulvi Syed Mumtaz Ali. The most remarkable book, however, in the writings of *Azad* is his *Ab-i-Hayat*, which is a history of Urdu poetry from the time of the earliest poets like *Wali* to the time of *Zauq* and

Ghalib. This book is admitted on all hands to be the best of its kind in Urdu literature. There were some *tozkiras* written before, but they give very little account of the lives of the poets and little or no criticism. They only give specimens of the poems of each writer. This was a distinct improvement on them and gave in the form of an interesting and readable narrative the story of Urdu poetry. Considering the meagreness of the material, which was available, this achievement of *Azad* is entitled to great admiration and must have cost him any amount of labour when he was collecting information from various sources. It has been said by some critics that inaccuracies have crept in here and there in certain details and that at places the author has even drawn on his imagination a good deal. That may be true to some extent but, taking the work as a whole, we cannot be sufficiently grateful to *Azad* for the pains he took in producing his *Ab-i-Hayat*. It is necessary that some one should now supplement this book by an account of the period after *Ghalib* and bring the history of literature up-to-date, including in it not only accounts of later poets but also of eminent prose-writers.*

Another Urdu book of *Azad* which may be mentioned is the *Sukhandan-i-Faras*, in which he traces the development of the Persian language and literature. It is really a collection of lectures dealing with the subject and is a compilation, which can be very helpful to students of Persian literature. Among the imaginative writings of *Azad* the book that deserves the foremost mention is his *Nairang-i-Khayal*, which is so well-known and so widely appreciated that I need not say much about it, except recommending it for perusal to those who have not already read this beautiful allegory.

III.

Having referred to some of *Azad's* famous prose works let us turn to his poems. I need hardly say that his published poems occupy only a small volume and that his fame as a great

writer depends mainly on his prose-writings. I must add, however, that he was by nature a true poet. His heart was full of poetical ideas and if he had chosen to shine as a great poet, he had the distinction within his grasp. I think there must have been a time in his life when he made the choice for himself to specialise in prose. His far-seeing eye must have perceived that what the Urdu language and literature needed most was good prose and he devoted himself to it heart and soul. He wrote poetry in prose. There are passages in his prose in which it is just as difficult as it is in good verse to substitute one word for another or to change the order in which words are placed. Words flow from his pen which are not only full of poetical rhythm but the ideas clothed in them are poetic. This is not all. Feeling, which is the essence of poetry, characterises his prose writings. If he is talking of old poets he seems to be living with them, feeling for them and sharing their joys and griefs, their failures and successes. Such being the characteristics of his prose, his poetry could not be without them. *Nazm-i-Azad*, the collection of his published poems, is well-worth reading. These poems, along with the poems of *Hali*, written before the famous *Mussaddas* of the latter, mark a definite stage in the progress of Urdu literature. It is interesting to note that both these reformers of Urdu poetry worked in the Education Department in the Punjab and thus co-operated in bringing about this reform. They advocated that old ideals and forms of poetry must change and they themselves led the way. In 1874 a literary society was founded in Lahore, at the first meeting of which a lecture was delivered by *Azad* in which he appealed to his countrymen to tap the stores of English to enrich their own literature. He said:—

"The gems that can now adorn your literature are locked in English boxes, which are placed close to us but we are unaware of their existence. Our countrymen who have acquired a knowledge of the English language, have got the keys of those boxes and I appeal to them to help us in securing the gems. I ask them whether they have realised or not that the heritage of their ancestors is about to disappear. Have they no sympathy with that heritage and will allow it to decay?"

He described his ideal of "eloquence," in the following words in the same lecture:

*Two recent works which deal with modern Urdu poetry also are (1) *Shair-ul-Hind* (Vol. II) by Moulana Abbas Salam Nodvi and *Gul-e-Rana* by Maulana Hakim Abdul Haq—both issued by the Muarrif Press, Azamgarh, U.P. A work dealing with Urdu prose literature is by Maulvi Muhammad Yehya Tanha, Pleader, Ghaziabad, U.P. It is called *Sate-ul-Mussanifin*, Vol. I. (Ed. H. R.).

"Eloquence does not consist in flights of imagination and exaggeration, nor in the beauty of rhymes and metaphors nor in high sounding words and expressions. Its true test is this: If we have in our mind a feeling of pleasure or grief, of a liking or dislike for something or of fear or anger, our description of it should convey to the hearer the same feeling or the same impression which he would have received if it had been his own observation or experience." To illustrate what he advocated Azad wrote a *Masnavi*, giving a graphic description of night time when the whole world goes to sleep. This *Masnavi* was recited after the lecture and was very much appreciated. Another *Masnavi* which he wrote later is known as the *Subh-i-Ummid* (The Morning of Hope). The author shows how hope is the one source of inspiration and encouragement in all walks of life. The *Masnavi Hub-i-Watan* dealing with the love of one's own country and the *Khwab-i-Aman* or the "Dream of Peace" are equally remarkable poems. A few *Ghazals* of Azad which have been printed along with his longer poems show that he could have been a great *Ghazal* writer if he wished.

IV.

There is one phase of Azad's life to which no reference has been made yet. He was a great traveller. He once went to Central Asia with Dr. Leitner, who was deputed on a political mission. Dr. Leitner disguised himself as a Mulla, a role which he could easily fulfil on account of his Oriental learning. Azad and one or two other Indian scholars went about with him as his assistants. Azad gathered a lot of valuable experience in his travels and on his return wrote about them and also published some text-books of Persian. It was during these travels that he had a unique experience which, in the light of subsequent events, would be of great interest to students of psychology as a remarkable phenomenon of the working of the human mind. He was sojourning in Bokhara, dressed as a *Qualandar* (*Darvish*), with a tall cap on his head. He went to a baker's shop to have his food and had just started taking his meal when his eye fell on a poor lean man who was sitting there. He was so lean that there was hardly any flesh left on his bones. He asked him his name. The man replied that his name was Muhammad Husain. He asked him to what

place he belonged. The reply was "Delhi." He asked him the name of his father. The reply was "Muhammad Baqir." Azad was so startled by this that he could not take any more food and ran away from the place and left Bokhara at once. This incident he related, on his return, to the members of his family and it has been narrated to me by his grandson, Agha Muhammad Tahir. Strange as this incident is, it explains to some extent Azad's mental derangement, which followed a long time after. It is a permanent source of regret to the admirers of Azad and his work that the world was deprived of the benefit of his literary activity for about twenty years before his death. Those who knew Azad with his enchanting powers of conversation and his love of wit and humour, were shocked to find him silent yet alive. Even after this forced retirement from life, he was a familiar figure in Lahore, constantly walking, according to his old habit, in the gardens round the city, speaking to no one and appearing as if something was absorbing his thoughts. In those days the peculiar hallucination under which he was working was that some enemy had so arranged things that a person bearing the name of Muhammad Husain was going about as a man with a deranged brain and giving him a bad name. When he talked to old pupils or relatives in those days he used to try to disillusion them on the subject and to assure them that he was all right. It is noteworthy that he continued reading and writing even in that state of mind. The books mostly read by him at the time were those on religious philosophy and his writings in those days were of a more or less incoherent character. A little book called the *Sapāk Namāk* represents the effusions of this period. The two words which make up the name of the book are probably coined by the writer, who purports to found some new religion, the revelations of which are contained in that little volume. It is painful to refer to this dark period of Azad's life and I am glad to go back to a brighter period.

I have already said that he was a well-travelled man. The visit he paid to Central Asia with Dr. Leitner was about 1867 A.D. That, however, was in the course of duty and at the expense of Government and is not so noteworthy as his visit to Persia in 1885, the expenses of which he bore himself, spending about ten thousand rupees of his own hard-earned money. It was one of the ambitions of

his life to have a great manuscript library for research work. He had been collecting some books here and one of the objects with which he went to Persia was to collect some manuscripts there. He succeeded in bringing some valuable books from Persia and was going to present his whole collection to the public by founding a library, when the illness referred to above intervened. It is fortunate that a good part of Azad's collection is now preserved in the Punjab University Library and is not lost to the world. Azad was keeping a diary during this visit to Persia, out of which it was his idea to produce a book of travels. How interesting that book would have been if he had been able to write it can well be imagined. That intention remained unfulfilled but luckily his notes have been found by Agha Muhammad Tahir,

who has published them in an interesting little volume, called *Sair-i-Iran*. This is one of the several posthumous publications that have been brought out by his grandson, whose efforts in this direction deserve appreciation.

Azad's letters also make interesting reading. The first collection of his letters called *Maktubat-i-Azad* was published by me some years ago, but it is now out of print. I am glad that Agha Mohammad Tahir has brought out an enlarged edition of the letters under the same name. They are readable from a literary point of view, as well as because they throw some light on the events of his life.

Azad died at Lahore in 1910, after more than 20 years of the unfortunate malady which cut short his eminently useful literary career.

PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE IN INDIA.*

By MR. S. K. SEN, B.Sc., F.E.S., Assistant to the
Imperial Entomologist.

The appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the position of Agriculture and the cognate branch of veterinary science in India will generally be regarded as opportune in view of the present-day outlook of thinking men in India, who have begun to realize more than ever, that the path along which the initial work of nation-building must proceed is verily a path which unobtrusively runs to the yonder fields where the languid farmer makes ineffectual incursions, with the aid of a singularly primitive weapon and a pair of hare-boned oxen, into the profundity of Mother Earth, already impoverished to the point of barrenness by incessant demand on her limited productivity. "India is primarily an agricultural country" is now a worn-out expression and can almost be categorized as an aphorism. With the quickening of civic consciousness, however, engendered by actual or passive participation in the discussion

of problems vitally connected with the welfare of India, there has been an increased and increasing realization of the fundamental fact that in any scheme of national reconstruction the farmer must constitute the unit around which the fabric of the nation has to be woven and that agriculture, apart from its main rôle as a giver of bread to the "teeming millions" of India, provides that mental climate which is peculiar to the genius of the nation, for the spirit of India finds almost an echo in Gilder's memorable lines:

"The sense of pureness in the air,
Of wholesome life in growing things,
Weaving of blossoms, blade and wings,
Perfume and beauty everywhere,
Sky, trees, the grass, the very loam
I love them all—that is our home."

To those desirous of approaching the question of the betterment of this premier industry of India with a mind open to conviction and divested of all traces of attachment to

*Review of *Agricultural Operations in India 1924-25*. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta) 1926.

traditional, although outmoded, methods of agricultural practice, may be recommended Dr. Clouston's recent volume which reviews in a non-technical manner the agricultural operations in India during the year 1924-25. The wealth of information it contains within what—considering the vast field it covers—may be regarded as the modest compass of 162 pages and the lucid and straightforward presentation of the subject-matter make the book both profitable and interesting reading, whilst the whole review is permeated with that spirit of synthesis which is particularly needed when one comes to deal with a highly composite science comprising such diversified branches of knowledge as chemistry, bacteriology, botany, mycology, entomology, animal husbandry and dairying, animal pathology and co-operative systems.

It can be said at once that the outstanding fact which emerges from Dr. Clouston's review is the supreme necessity for research as the surest and the only means of placing agricultural practice in India on a sound basis, and the facts which he adduces to substantiate this proposition are clinched on to solid figures of statistics in a manner which makes it impossible to disengage them and fling away as mere gibberish, as is the wont of a section of the public whose *amour propre* in this sphere of knowledge constitutes a serious obstacle in the way of viewing the value of agricultural research with the detachment of an impartial critic.

Prejudice against research would appear to be, to a large measure, due to the fact that the benefits arising out of research are not immediately available to the public, who are uninitiated into the discipline of that forbearance which, as is well-known, constitutes a trait of very high value in the life of the scientist. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, as observed by Wilkins,[†] "the greatest need at the present time is for the establishment of more principles on which experiments may be based," although he admits that "this class of work is usually highly technical; it is not easily described in popular language and it is sometimes remote from practical application."

On the other hand, the fact has to be recognized that in a poverty-stricken country where demand for improved agriculture is urgent and insistent, attempts to inculcate the

virtue of patience are not likely to be taken seriously and a line of research has to be evolved which should be capable of yielding results of immediate practical value to the farmer. A quasi-empirical type of research of this character could obviously profitably concern itself with the separation of the mixtures of the numerous varieties of staple crops cultivated in this country—for these are generally found mixed to a considerable degree—with a view to obtaining types quite suitable for different soil and climatic conditions; or in other cases entirely new strains might be evolved by hybridization. It is gratifying to note that Dr. Clouston's *Review* bears ample evidence of the fact that the possibilities of both these lines of research have been steadily kept in view, although sight has not been lost of the paramount importance of abstract research as the surest means of ultimately placing agricultural practice in this country on an enduring basis. The rapid pace at which areas have been laid under improved crops in India is strikingly shown in the following statement:—

Crop.	1923-24.	1924-25.
	Acres.	Acres.
Cotton	2,348,882	3,011,447
Wheat	1,990,526	2,262,120
	(revised)	
Rice	603,603	569,908
Jute	210,262	299,320
Sugarcane	50,604	75,334
Other crops	467,146	521,970
Total	5,670,823	6,760,299

Dr. Clouston observes: "If Rs. 10 per acre be taken as the additional profit made from the adoption of these varieties, it is estimated that the annual value of agricultural crops of the country has been enhanced by nearly seven crores of rupees, of which one crore has been added in a single year."

The work of raising and testing of improved types, although not requiring the rigour of abstract research, is not really so simple as it might appear at the first sight, inasmuch as work of this nature necessitates extremely laborious study of the inheritance of characters and the crossing of numerous different strains under diversified conditions with a view to obtaining types quite suitable for particular localities, or such work may be generally

[†] *Agricultural Research and the Farmer*. By V. E. Wilkins, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922, 168 pp.

directed with the object of evolving strains (such as is typified by Pusa wheat) better than those existing in India. For instance, in regard to rice, the Agricultural Department of Bengal is faced with the problem of producing strains which will mature early enough to eliminate danger from an early cessation of rains, such as frequently occurs in West Bengal, and endeavour is being made to evolve a suitable strain by crossing early and late *aus*, and *aus* and *aman* varieties. Again, in the case of the two Pusa varieties of wheat (Pusa 4 and Pusa 12), although of established superiority over indigenous wheats, they lack the awn which is of considerable importance in certain parts of India as a protection against birds. To meet the demand for a bearded variety of wheat with high yielding qualities, a series of bearded varieties has been fixed by hybridization between what are known as Pusa 6 and Punjab 9 and a type has been obtained which has successfully stood the test of large scale trials in the field. Again, the *Review* states that during the year ending 31st March, 1925, 671,000 tons of white and brown sugar have been imported into India. With a view to making India as self-contained as possible, attempts are being made at the Cane-breeding Station, Coimbatore, to raise new varieties with high-yielding qualities, and over two hundred different combinations have thus been attempted and some two lakhs of seedlings raised, many of which have proved to be of more than average vigour. In the case of jute, again, which is one of the most important crops grown in Bengal, disease-resistant strains have been isolated and brought into general cultivation, which yield on an average 250 lbs. more fibre per acre than local varieties and it is computed by the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, that the additional profit to the cultivator from the adoption of the improved varieties aggregated Rs. 90 lakhs during the year 1924-25.

In regard to what has been termed "abstract research," the *Review*, on account of the highly technical nature of the questions involved, judiciously restricts itself to a brief survey of the main directions along which contributions have been made towards strengthening the *fond* of applied agriculture in this country. As has been mentioned earlier in this review, it is this type of research that faces the largest amount of public opprobrium, for its contributions are too subtle to be tangible, although they are the most substantial and enduring. As Wilkins

tersely puts it, "Biological research, in the true sense of the word, aims at finding out the why and wherefore; it investigates principles. Later on, when such principles have been established, the scientist can use them as a basis of experimental work, and thus in due course the farmer reaps the benefits." Under this section the *Review* briefly deals with work that is being carried on by the Agricultural Department in connection with such diversified problems as the movements of nitrates in soils, the conservation of soil moisture, the fixation of nitrogen in soil by non-symbiotic organisms, the relative availability of different organic manures, the utilization of the sources of natural indigenous phosphate, animal nutrition, diseases of crops, insect pests, etc.

The *Review* also includes within its scope brief accounts of work done for the improvement of live-stock and the extension of co-operative movement as affecting agriculture, both the subjects being indissolubly bound up with the general question of the promotion of agriculture in India.

The section that will doubtless be of considerable interest to the general public is that dealing with the subject of agricultural education. In this informative section Dr. Clouston presents a succinct account of what is being actually done by the Agricultural Department as a whole by way of imparting training in scientific agriculture in this country. Briefly, the Agricultural Department provides for three types of agricultural education: courses given in middle schools to sons of tenants or small zamindars who intend to take up farming; courses given in provincial agricultural colleges to train men for employment in the department and for private farming; and courses given in Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa and Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying, Bangalore, to post-graduate students qualifying for the highest appointments in the Agricultural Services. Much as is being thus done by Government for the spread of agricultural knowledge not only by providing facilities for agricultural education but also by organizing demonstrations and exhibitions, it is incumbent on the educated public to assist in infiltering into the masses the results achieved by research. What obviously is immediately needed is a widespread and profound awakening to the possibilities of scientific agriculture in this country: the *ryot* has to be taught most

frankly to accept the well-established facts of science and jettison ruthlessly all outmoded practices of agriculture. In this connexion a large field for service is open to the numerous newspapers and periodicals, which, by functioning as liaison agencies between scientific circles and the outlying public, may contribute substantially towards the spread of agricultural

knowledge in this country, whilst in regard to the landed aristocracy of India we may perhaps share Dr. Clouston's hope that they "will follow the fine example of their class in England and other countries in the West, by whose generosity it has been possible to establish and endow many educational and research institutions for the development of agriculture in these lands."

"THE UNKNOWN": THE TOMB IN THE ABBEY.

By MR. RUSTOM C. VAKEEL.

The writer was among the crowd, which silently and reverently watched, on a cold and rainy day, the great procession which carried in its midst the remains of an unknown warrior.

Representatives of the great and the powerful, of the humble and the poor, of the white and the coloured peoples across the sea, followed the coffin to its final resting-place. For once, India was fitly represented by an Indian soldier in civil garb—a son of the soil, who followed reverently in the wake of that great procession as he would have done behind his brother's coffin to the burial-ground near the marbled mosque of his own land. Memories of that day are ineffaceable. Irreverent queries, concerning who he was, have been hushed with the passing of years; whether he was a beardless boy who went willingly from the shadows of ancient colleges to set the world aright, or a ne'er-do-well from the street corners where the public houses are, or some wonderful youth like Rupert Brooke whose music was silenced before it matured or some idle village loon, who left the village-green and rounded up his useless life with a glorious death. These are idle and ephemeral fancies arising out of our desire to know the unknown; but with the passing of time the personality of the warrior goes more to the background and the symbol of the nation's great effort becomes more and more prominent, the imperishable part, the ideal is more and more emphasized. Has it not been written, for

innumerable future generations that "He shall live for evermore"—the supreme symbol of all that is fine and great, the perennial reminder of what men can achieve in the grip of great emotions? Four years have passed since he was buried. As disillusionments are apt to follow in the wake of great enthusiasms, the cynic gets a large audience and the reactions arising out of a great war are often exploited by him to show the futility of noble endeavours.

Large hopes were stirred in the minds of all nations which led them to do great deeds. There is not a city in the world, there is not a Church in Europe where the lists of those who fell have not been engraved on bronze or marble. Great artists have vied with one another in dedicating their talent to build beautiful memorials to the dead. In the light of a very unsatisfactory peace and a world weighed down by debts and misery, by wars and rumours of war, these pretty tablets in small village churches and imposing monuments in great cities, alike confront the on-looker with the one great question whether the living have done their duty by the dead and whether the work that was begun in the trenches has been continued.

Not very far from the tomb a well-intentioned Prime Minister's prayers for "the Lord's peace upon earth" and drowned by sabre-rattling among the extremists of his own section and the loud and vulgar abuse and vituperation,

arising sometimes out of undoubted grievances, of the extreme left of the Opposition.

Meanwhile, in the gigantic piles round about the Cenotaph, pulsating with a thousand activities whose ramifications extend not only to the far-flung extremities of a Great Empire, but perhaps reach the whole world, putting into shape policies which affect the destinies of nations, one wonders if these activities are now-a-days influenced by memories of the great self-sacrifice which the Cenotaph so wonderfully symbolises.

When we see passing by it every day the Member as he goes to move a resolution which is, perhaps, going to affect the destinies of millions, the would-be satrap who comes from Downing Street after an interview with the Premier, the newspaper-man on his way to the House, for his morning tale of policy and ambition, of political intrigue and futile idealism, we doubt whether they will colour their resolution, policy, or propaganda by the light of the great lesson learnt during the War.

What wonder, then, that one sees thousands passing by it to some Bacchanalian festival, forgetful of the great carnage even on days dedicated to the dead. One cannot blame them. Crowds have such short memories. It is up to those who mould public opinion—parliamentarians and publicists, proprietors of big newspapers, men on the education board, preachers to whom the crowd readily lend their ears and to those who claim to speak for labour and those who ask for co-operation from the other parts of the Empire, to saturate their policy and action with that idealism which sustained the Empire during a great crisis and which one fervently hopes, is not buried with the Unknown in the Abbey.

On the day the German Charge d'Affaire,

Herr Von Hoeck first laid the wreath on the tomb of Le Soldat Inconnu under the arch, he did not only recognise the heroism and valour of the French Army, but he paid a tribute to the valour which lies submerged in all men's hearts and thus made the unknown poilu, like the soldier in the Abbey, not only a source of perennial pride to the races to which they by right belong, but, a constant source of inspiration to all humanity.

In these days of irreverent and cynical journalism, a few political propagandists have exploited him for their own purposes. The communists in France last year used the tomb under the arch to decorate their election manifestoes. An idealistic youth wrote a drama "The tomb under the Arch" making the unknown poilu the hero of his theme, drawing on himself the wrath of Marshal Foch and was the indirect cause of a few ducts and exchange of fisticuffs and a flinging of chairs. Such things do not often happen out of Paris; they are almost impossible in England. The reverence which lies deep in Northern races saves them from many impossible and indecorous situations in which the Latin with his adventurous temperament often lands himself. One rarely sees in England such rude and irreverent exploitation, in words or pictures, of sacred subjects by interested parties.

When the Indian who stands by the grave in the Abbey where all trite hickerings of race and creed are hushed—in the presence of the Unknown where all humanity can meet without distinction of race or creed,—one wish naturally well up in his heart that the qualities for which the Unknown will stand as a symbol throughout the ages will be brought to bear by Englishmen in co-operation with Indians, in the difficult task of building a great future for this ancient land.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA.*

By SIR CHIMANLAL SETALYAD, K.C.I.E., M.L.A.

In order properly to appreciate the present political situation in the country, it is useful to recall very shortly the events and causes that have constructed the present situation. After the British Government established itself in India, it developed a highly efficient system of administration and restored tranquillity and security of life and property throughout the country in a manner unknown for a long time. The people felt that they were under the reign of law and justice, and British rule in the beginning endeared itself to all classes. But the highly developed and efficient administration soon came to regard itself as infallible and indispensable for all time. It was taken as axiomatic that the British were to administer the country for all time and that self-governing India was unthinkable, although some broad-minded British statesmen spoke of it as a goal to be attained in some dim remote future beyond human ken. No serious steps were, therefore, taken to fit Indians for self-government or to give them military training which would have enabled them to defend their own country from foreign invasion. It was not realized that good government can never be a substitute for self-government and that India once secured from foreign aggression and internal commotion under British rule, must begin to yearn for self-government.

This unimaginative attitude was all the more surprising when Western education with all its implications had been introduced by the British Government, and Universities and Schools had been established. The young generation, imbued with the lessons and ideals of liberty and freedom drawn from the study of English history and literature and fired by the writings of the great English masters, were not going to be satisfied with a system under which Indians were to be merely hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country and were to have no effective part in its administration and in the shaping of its destiny. They were not going

to reconcile themselves to a system of administration, however efficient and whatever its acknowledged benefits, which excluded their best men from a share in the governance of the country and which apparently meant to keep them under the perpetual tutelage and trusteeship of the British. While Indian States were efficiently administered by men like Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Mahado Rao, Sir Dinker Rao and others, men of equal and greater capacity in British India were denied the power and opportunity to which they were entitled.

This state of things led to the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Congress unflinchingly toiled for thirty years during which period it was in succession mistrusted, ridiculed, abused, threatened and tolerated by Government, although it must be acknowledged that it received the sympathy and support of some broad-minded Englishmen. Although the Congress effected a good deal in improving the administration by its sustained criticism of public affairs, no appreciable advance was made towards the goal of self-government. The Councils were enlarged in 1892 and in 1909 and the elective principle was introduced, but the Councils so enlarged, although they exercised a very wholesome influence on the administration, without power and without responsibility, became dignified debating societies.

II.

Then came the Great War in 1914 which altered the whole outlook of human affairs throughout the world. India stood steadfastly loyal to the British Empire, and its people and Princes did their part. A genuine feeling of appreciation and gratefulness towards India was roused in the British mind and, on the other hand, India, having participated and helped in fighting the war for liberty and freedom and civilisation, was stirred by the legitimate aspiration and ambition to be a self-governing dominion in the British Commonwealth. Fortunately at that time was installed at Whitehall an Englishman with large and sympathetic

*Authorized text supplied by the writer (Ed. H. R.).

vision ready to grasp the psychological moment to put India on the road to self-government and make her a valuable unit in the British Empire. The famous declaration of August, 1917, was made defining the goal of the attainment by India of responsible self-government and the Secretary of State came to India with the Viceroy, visited all important centres, and collected information and views regarding the lines on which constitutional advance could be made. All political parties in the country at that time fully co-operated in the enquiry.

The fact must be remembered, but is very often forgotten in condemning the Government of India's Act of 1919, that the schemes submitted to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy by the Congress as well as by the Muslim League did not contain the element of responsibility. It was Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy who rightly insisted that unless responsibility was introduced to begin with in the Provinces there could be no real start made for self-government. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report followed and although the Reforms therein recommended were not considered adequate, specially as regards the Central Government, it was recognized that a substantial step forward was being taken towards responsible Government. The inherent difficulties and weakness of Dyarchy in the Provinces were indicated, but it was conceded at the time that there was no better alternative possible. The Southborough Committees were appointed to determine the division of functions in the Provinces between the Reserved and Transferred halves of Government, and the franchise for election.

I had the honour of serving on the Functions Committee and at every place we visited and took evidence the Committee were very enthusiastically received by people of all shades of political thought. After the Committees made their report the Bill for the Government of India Act was drafted and Indians of all political parties fully co-operated by sending deputations to England to give evidence before the joint Parliamentary Committee with a view to improve the Bill. Unfortunately, at about this time other events were happening which were destined to deflect the public mind in other directions.

III.

It was in February, 1919, when the Southborough Committees were actually considering

their reports in Delhi, that the Rowlatt Act was introduced in the Viceregal Legislative Council. This Bill evoked unanimous opposition from the Indian community and all Indian members, whether elected or nominated, solidly voted against the Bill. The Government of India with the then official majority in the Council were determined to carry the measure, and even the suggestion to adjourn the consideration of the Bill to the Simla Session in September made by the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea was negatived. Great resentment was felt at the time at the attitude of the Government in rushing through the measure on the eve of great constitutional changes, and an atmosphere of distrust was created in respect of the good faith and intentions of Government. This was all the more regrettable as Government, after having insisted upon the great danger of delaying the measure, never found it necessary to apply it to any place in British India, and the Act, having remained an unused instrument, was repealed after the Assembly under the Reforms came into existence.

The great agitation that swept over the country in connection with the Rowlatt Act first brought Mr. Gandhi to the surface. He at that time started the creed of Satyagraha, passive resistance and civil disobedience which was to have such far-reaching consequences on the political progress of the country. But, even with all the widespread discontent and distrust in the good faith of Government as the result of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, the constitutional advance secured by the Government of India Act of 1919 still received recognition. And, although the advance secured was felt to be inadequate, everybody was prepared to work it fully as the first instalment. The Congress at its Amritsar Session in December, 1919, resolved that the Reforms should be worked and, on the motion of Mr. Gandhi himself, actually passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Montagu and the British Parliament for this earnest of their desire to lead India to self-government.

At this very time, however, other events had happened and were happening which brought about a radical change in the public mind. Following the unrest created by Mr. Gandhi's preaching of passive resistance and civil disobedience, disturbances and disorders broke out in various parts of the country. The most serious of these disorders happened in the

Punjab in March-April, 1919, and martial law was proclaimed. Ugly rumours about the happenings under the Martial Law Administration were afloat throughout the country and ultimately the Government of India appointed a Committee of Enquiry under the presidency of Lord Hunter which took evidence at Lahore, Amritsar and other places. I was a member of that Committee and I fully remember the great excitement and feeling created throughout the country by the disclosures made in the evidence that was placed before it. Under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi the Congress people refused to lead any evidence before the Hunter Committee but constituted their own Committee of Enquiry. In May-June, 1920, were published the reports of the Hunter Committee and of the Committee appointed by the Congress. The Punjab events were exposed in all their hideousness and a thrill of horror passed over the country. The self-respect of India was deeply wounded and confidence in the sincerity and good faith of the British Government was rudely shaken. The resolution of the House of Lords tending to justify the action of General Dyer and the approval of his action by some members of the European community in India by publicly raising a fund to give a purse to him, still further embittered feelings.

Mr. Gandhi who, as observed above, had already started the cult of passive resistance and civil disobedience, declared his disbelief in the Reforms and preached the doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation. The public, owing to the feeling of great distrust of the British Government that had been created by the combination of the unfortunate events narrated above, accepted Mr. Gandhi as their idol and saviour and the Congress at his instance resolved upon non-co-operation with Government by resorting to the boycott of the Councils, the Law Courts and all Government educational institutions. Mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes were advocated and a wide campaign was started to carry out these measures. The avowed object was to paralyse the administration and make Government impossible, and thereby compel the existing Government to bend to the popular will.

IV.

How futile these measures were, has been demonstrated by the ultimate results. Mr.

Gandhi, no doubt, did a great thing in awakening the masses to political consciousness on a scale never done before. But idealist and impractical as he was, he failed to lead the forces that he had created into a proper channel for the good of the country and its people, but misdirected them into altogether wrong and mischievous channels. He and his coadjutors failed to grasp the simple fact that if you inculcate in the masses the belief that it is right to disobey laws and to resort to general non-payment of taxes you create such an atmosphere of contempt of law and order and disobedience of constituted authority that the inevitable result must be anarchy and negation of all Government. They forgot that, while on the one hand, they were demanding full responsible Government for India, they were creating at the same time by their preachings of direct action, forces subversive of any ordered and stable democratic Government. But Gandhism for the moment swept the country and the voices of the sane element in the community were not heeded.

Unfortunately, at about this time, the Muslims of India were agitated over the Treaty of Sevres and the position of Turkey and the Khalifa and, led by Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali who had just then come out from their long incarceration bitter against Government, joined forces with Mr. Gandhi, who in order to gather strength made the Khilafat controversy an Indian political question. The results of the whirl-wind agitation that was started were, as they were bound to be, disastrous. If, day in and day out, all throughout the country the existing administration is brought into contempt and is painted as wicked and satanic it is impossible to keep the ordinary man in the street non-violent and free of race hatred as Mr. Gandhi foolishly hoped could be done.

The effects of Mr. Gandhi's campaign were very soon realised in many tragic and deplorable happenings like those at Chowri-chowra and in Malabar in which infuriated crowds resorted to murder and arson with the name of Mr. Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, on their lips. No doubt, Mr. Gandhi time after time declared himself sincerely sorry for these unfortunate events and publicly acknowledged his Himalayan blunders and practised fasting by way of expiating the sins committed. But he still persisted in his cult of non-violent non-co-operation, mass civil disobedience and general non-payment of

taxes. It was under these conditions that the Government of India Act came into operation, and the first elections took place in October-November, 1920.

V.

During all this time the Liberal party had kept its head and its leaders had made every attempt to expose and combat the dangerous doctrines that were leading the country to disaster; but Gandhism for the moment was all-powerful and the Liberal leaders, who up to a little while ago were highly respected and had many years of public work to their credit, were denounced as traitors to the country and intolerance was so rampant that for some time it was almost impossible for any one speaking against the doctrines of Mr. Gandhi to get a hearing. The elections of November, 1920, were under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi boycotted by a large proportion of the electorate, but the Liberals, in spite of calumny and misrepresentation, came forward to work the Reforms and got elected to the Councils, and some of their prominent leaders at considerable sacrifice took offices as members of Councils and Ministers.

The Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils under the circumstances above stated entered upon their work with a great handicap. The elected members and the Ministers were unable to make their full authority felt as it was always flung in their faces that they did not represent the majority of the electorate: moreover, the elected members, in order to avoid misunderstanding as to their being in league with the bureaucracy, sometime offered unreasoning opposition to Government measures. The Ministers in the Provinces, instead of being regarded as the representatives of the elected majority of the Council and thus accorded full support by such members, were regarded with suspicion as part of the bureaucratic Government thus largely marring their usefulness and authority. The result was that the new constitution, especially in its transitional stage, never got a fair trial. Dyarchy was not in itself unworkable. With good-will and proper understanding it was capable of being worked smoothly and efficiently. But the very special and adverse conditions that had been created very much impaired its success. Even so, the Ministers in many Provinces did very good work and this was specially the case

in Bombay. The records of the Legislative Assembly and of the Provincial Councils for the years 1921-23 show a great amount of good solid and beneficial work. During a good part of this period this Gandhism and non-co-operation were still popular, although indications were not absent of their futility.

The great blunder committed by Mr. Gandhi and his following in attempting to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales and the deplorable disturbances resulting therefrom are common knowledge. Mr. Gandhi still persisted in his career of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes till a too indulgent Government, whose toleration was mistaken for weakness and whose inaction led people to believe that the British Raj in India was crumbling, prosecuted Mr. Gandhi for sedition and he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

As I have said, the work done by the Assembly and Provincial Councils had created such a favourable impression that in 1922 a Resolution was actually carried in the Assembly with the concurrence of the Government recommending to the Secretary of State that an enquiry be made with a view to see how far a further constitutional advance can be made earlier than 1929 when the Statutory Commission was to come out under the Government of India Act.

VI.

It was apparent that a certain section of the followers of Mr. Gandhi in his creed of non-co-operation were getting restive and were realising that it was hopeless to make Government impossible and that they could make themselves felt only if they came into the Councils. This section got their opportunity to carry out their views when Mr. Gandhi was incarcerated. Convinced though this section was that the only way to make an advance towards self-government was to work the new constitution, they were not prepared to break away from Mr. Gandhi and court unpopularity by acknowledging the failure of non-co-operation. They, therefore, pretended that they were going to the Councils for non-co-operating from within and declared that after entering the Councils they would there offer uniform, consistent and indiscriminate opposition to Government and all its measures. This was how the Swaraj party under the late Mr. C. R. Das came

into existence. The boycott of Councils was abandoned, the boycott of Law Courts was also abandoned, some of the non-co-operators resuming their practice in the courts, and similarly the boycott of educational institutions was also abandoned after thousands of young students throughout the country had been misled into giving up their studies and ruining their career. At the election held in November, 1923, many of the Liberals and Independents who sat in the first Council were unseated and the Swarajists came in large numbers. In the Central Provinces the Swarajists formed the majority in the Council, while in the Bengal Council and the Legislative Assembly they could make a majority when allied with the Independents.

It was, indeed, a great struggle between the principles the Swarajists believed in and the principles they had to profess in order to keep their popularity. Distrust of Government created by the events referred to in the beginning still persisted and the certification of the salt tax by the Viceroy over the heads of the Assembly accentuated that distrust which was exploited to the fullest advantage by the Swarajists. Pundit Motilal Nehru, after the manifesto of his party declaring uniform, consistent and indiscriminate opposition as their object in going into the Councils, at the very commencement, said in the Assembly that, non-co-operators though they were, they had come there to co-operate with the Government and if the Government made a proper gesture they were the men for Government. How in order to justify their election declaration and pledges the Swarajists made the demand for a Round Table Conference and how by inveigling the Independents to support them they threw out the Budget and the Finance Bill without considering the merits in recent history, what incalculable harm such action did in antagonising the British Government and the people, is now self-evident. In the Provinces the Swarajists took up the futile attitude of refusing to take office. They showed elementary ignorance of the principles of responsible government. Any party which can command a majority and which disapproves of the actions of the Government in power must be prepared to shoulder the responsibility of carrying on the Government. Swarajists in the Central Provinces and in Bengal refused to vote the salaries for Ministers and thereby brought about a deadlock

seriously crippling the proper administration of the transferred subjects, involving great damage to public interests and ultimately brought about the re-transfer of the transferred subjects to the reserved side.

It is very apparent how seriously detrimental to the interests of the country the Swarajist attitude has proved. If instead of wandering in the wilderness and ploughing the sands for six years, all parties had worked the new constitution to its fullest advantage, one makes bold to say that no power on earth could have prevented a further constitutional advance and the Statutory Commission would in all probability have come out by this time for making the necessary enquiries for such an advance. Instead, the Swarajists have supplied every handle and argument to those who want to urge that India is not yet ready and fit for further constitutional advance. It is noteworthy that though the official creed of the Swarajists was non-co-operation they have on many occasions not refrained from co-operation. It is remarkable how they moved Resolutions and introduced Bills in the Assembly and how they allowed themselves to be nominated on various select committees.

It is surprising how with the declared Swarajist principle of not accepting office, a prominent Swarajist, Mr. V. J. Patel, got elected as President of the Legislative Assembly which election in order to be legally effective required the approval of the Governor-General, and draws a salary of Rs. 4,000 a month paid by the Satanic Government out of the taxes raised by the Finance Bill which the Swarajists would not co-operate to pass. It is inexplicable how a member of the Swarajist party, which professes so entirely to disapprove the present constitution of the Government of India Act of 1919 that it wants to wreck it, and who himself only a few days before his getting into the Presidential Chair had openly preached mass civil disobedience, persuaded himself to take the chair of the Assembly and work the very constitution which the Swarajist party avows it is not prepared to touch with a pair of tongs. It was quite a sight to see Mr. Patel, who as President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation had refused to attend any functions in connection with the Viceroy's visit, declaring from the chair of the Assembly that he would fully co-operate with the Government and would visit the Viceroy ten times in a day if it became necessary and appearing in his white dress at

the Apollo Bunder the other day to receive the in-coming Viceroy.

The fact really is that in their heart of hearts the Swarajists were convinced that non-co-operation, civil disobedience, non-payment of taxes and making Government impossible was useless, and that the only way of securing further constitutional advance was by working the present constitution to the fullest advantage. But it is too much to expect them openly to acknowledge that they were all wrong in their heroics and that their election pledges and boasts were hollow. Therefore, although in the day-to-day work of the Assembly they for all practical purposes have co-operated (as Sir Charles Innes in the last Session acknowledged with regard to Railway administration), in order to keep up appearances they have continued to make theatrical gestures to show that they are still carrying out their avowed object to obstruct and make Government impossible. This pretence is all the more necessary to be kept up in view of the forthcoming elections, for it is only in that way that the electorate can be further misled and hoodwinked. This is the real genesis of the theatrical walk-out of the Swarajists from the Assembly and the Provincial Councils. By these tactics, all they have succeeded in doing is to raise prejudice in the minds of the British Parliament and the Home Government against making a further constitutional advance.

VII.

The Deccani Swarajists in the Maharashtra and in the Central Provinces never really believed in non-co-operation and civil disobedience. They always put their faith in the policy of Mr. Tilak which has now come to be described as responsive co-operation. They never believed in the unpractical theories of Mr. Gandhi and they laughed in their sleeves when Mr. Gandhi promised to the country Swaraj in a year, then in further six months, then in a further 2 months and so on, on condition that people took to the spinning wheel and practised non-co-operation. But these astute people kept their views to themselves and allied themselves with Mr. Gandhi in the first instance and then with the Swarajists next, because they thought their chances of maintaining their influences with the public were slender without such combination. But even their patience was exhausted

and they decided openly to unfurl their banner of responsive co-operation which definitely included the working of the present constitution for all its worth and the acceptance of offices under it. They had suffered too much under the disabilities imposed by the official Swarajist creed and realised that keeping up the pretence any longer was harming the best interests of the country. The orthodox Swarajists, however, were not prepared to throw off the mask and the responsive co-operationists were overruled at the last Cawnpore Congress which reiterated its belief in civil disobedience and resolved that measures should be taken to educate the country to practise it at some future time. The Deccani Swarajists in Maharashtra and in the Central Provinces thereupon definitely left the orthodox Swaraj party under the leadership of Messrs. Jayaker, Kelker, Aney, and Moonje and started their separate organisation.

The situation so far makes it clear that the Liberal party, throughout, took the correct view and consistently acted in the best interests of the country. The responsive co-operationist and even some of the orthodox Swarajists took six years to see, what the Liberal had seen from the beginning, that the only rational course was to work the present Reforms fully and agitate for more. The so-called Independents, although they believed the right course was to work the Reforms, had not the courage to come forward to do so and to seek election as the Liberals did in 1920. They pocketed their convictions and abstained from the elections of 1920 in order to avoid popular displeasure which the Liberals had the patriotism to face in the public interests. When they came into the Assembly and the Councils in 1924 when the boycott of the Councils was removed, they flirted with the Swarajists and joined hands with them in throwing out the budget and the Finance Bill in the Assembly. This action had the effect, even if it was not designed to that end, of securing for the Independents a certain amount of popularity as it showed that they were as much against the Government as the Swarajists. But the Independents soon found that they were dragged in the mire by their allies the Swarajists and their sense of public duty soon revolted against the unreasoning attitude of the Swarajists. Schism between the Independents and the Swarajists thereupon soon followed which culminated in open rupture in 1926.

When the situation developed like this, it

became apparent to all thinking minds that there was really no substantial difference between the principles advocated by the responsive co-operators and the Independents and the principles of the Liberal party. It was too much, however, to expect the former openly to acknowledge their mistake of six years and embrace the Liberal creed and the Liberals, who have always put the interests of the country before petty personal and party considerations, came to the conclusion that the possibility should be explored of uniting all parties and persons whose principles and programme were very nearly the same into one strong party. They strongly felt the necessity, on the one hand, of striving to counteract and foil the activities of those who were misguiding and misleading the public into futile and dangerous paths, and, on the other hand, of combating the reactionary forces that were working against further progress and of moving into desired action a Government much too cautious and insufficiently responsive to the sentiments, aspirations and desires of the people. With the object, therefore, of finding a platform and formula which could bring together all, more or less of the same thought, the Liberal Federation held in Calcutta in December last appointed a Committee to negotiate with some of the other parties. The result was the inauguration of the Indian National Party at Bombay in the end of April last. The formation of such a combination naturally created apprehensions in the mind of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swarajist party, and it appears he entered into negotiations with the responsive co-operationists for reconciliation. The Sabarmati Pact that was arrived at and its subsequent abandonment are recent history well-known to all. Mrs. Naidu, the President of the last Session of the National Congress held at Cawnpore, when she saw that the orthodox Swarajists and the responsive co-operationists were being again brought together, conceived the idea of bringing about a larger unity, if possible, by bringing all parties under the Congress roof. Some leaders of the Liberal party and the Indian National party went at Ahmedabad at the invitation of Mrs. Naidu, but nothing came out of it.

VIII.

The differences between the Congress on the lines in which it is at present run and those who have left it are so fundamental, as pointed out

by Sir Moropant Joshi at Ahmedabad, that no rapprochement is possible unless those who are in charge of the Congress machine are prepared to make the necessary changes in its creed, constitution, rules and programmes so as to make it really a national institution as it was at one time, instead of being a purely party caucus as it is at present. Unless the Congress is prepared to exclude mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes as the means to be adopted for attaining self-government, members of the Indian National Party and the Indian Liberal party, who have definitely excluded those measures from their activities as being entirely unsuitable and positively harmful, cannot possibly join the Congress. Further, the Congress has definitely set its face against working the present constitution. Unless this is altered those who believe in the wisdom and desirability of working the present Reforms and striving for more, cannot come within the Congress fold. Similarly, under the present Congress regulations the privilege of sending delegates to the Congress is confined to certain Congress Committees and organisations. Unless all parties are given proper representation in the Congress by giving the right to send the delegates to their associations and organisations, they can never have a proper and effective voice in the deliberations of the Congress. Lastly, the Congress requires all delegates to wear khadder at its meetings. Such a compulsory rule is conscientiously objected to by many people, and unless the wearing of khadder is made recommendatory instead of compulsory, that by itself presents an obstacle. It was apparent in the course of the recent discussions at Ahmedabad that those who are still controlling the Congress are in no mood so to reform and liberalise it as to bring it back to its original national character. Mrs. Besant may be willing to submit to the compulsory rule of wearing khadder and may be prepared herself, and may desire others, to join the Congress and then plead there for their views. It is impossible to expect a large body of people forming the Indian National Party to do so in view of the insuperable difficulties pointed out above.

The Swarajists and their methods have been discredited by the experience of the past six years. Their activities have been barren of any useful results and have only succeeded in dividing up the intelligentsia of the country into different conflicting groups. Mr. Gandhi has

ceased to be an effective political force and has wisely retired into his Saharmati *ashram*. It would be good for him and for the country if he refrained from dabbling any more in politics and devoted himself to the work of social reform and removal of untouchability in which sphere he can do a good work. To my mind, Mahatmas and Maulanas have made a pretty mess of Indian politics, and the sooner they are put aside, the better for the country.

It is high time that the Liberals, the Independents, and the Responsivists should join hands in combating the Swarajist politics and winning over the electorate to a proper appreciation of the political situation. The inauguration, therefore, of the Indian National Party by the active co-operation of these three groups is opportune and I only hope and trust that the new combination will immediately enter upon the active work of educating the electorate. They must not minimise the gravity and difficulty of the task before them. The Swarajists by their powerful organization and continuous work have acquired a hold on the electorate. It must further be remembered that the work of a party whose programme is destructive and who can appeal to passion and prejudice is comparatively easy before the ordinary uninformed population, while the task before those who have to appeal to reason and counsel caution is comparatively difficult. The new combination, therefore, must exert their utmost by creating a proper organization and collecting the necessary funds and pushing their propaganda. It is essential also that they must place before the public a definite and tangible programme of their work.

IX.

The present political situation is, however, overshadowed by the very deplorable communal tension, that has arisen between the Hindus and Mahomedans. It is not useful nor desirable to trace the causes of the present state of things or to apportion blame for it. The fact must be recognised that somehow or other the Muslims have come to feel that further political advance towards self-government in India may mean Hindu domination and their interests as a minority community may not be sufficiently safeguarded. Without attempting to investigate whether these apprehensions are well-founded or not, the fact of their existence must be recognis-

ed and steps should be taken to remove them. On the other hand, it must also be recognised that the Hindus are apprehensive that the Muslims are fired by the desire to restore Muslim domination in India. It cannot be gainsaid that as a result of the Muslims of India being affected by Pan-Islamic sentiment, the ambition has been aroused in the minds of some of them for the restoration of the historic glories of Muslim rule in India. It was unfortunate that the Ali brothers and others diverted the attention of the Muslims of India from purely Indian interests to international questions relating to Turkey and the Khilafat. They were led thereby to think and feel more about the position of Islam in the world instead of their own country and the immediate problems relating to its progress, socially, economically, and politically. The communal tension has been further emphasised by the unfortunate disputes regarding the playing of music by Hindus near Mahomedan Mosques. Once bitter feelings are roused among the ignorant portion of both communities the situation becomes unmanageable, but I feel convinced that if once the leaders of both communities are able to banish mistrust by arriving at an understanding about the political questions they will be able to allay the tension of feeling among the masses and find a satisfactory solution of the music question.

It must not be forgotten that, besides the Hindu-Muslim question, the controversy between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins is also assuming a threatening aspect in some parts of the country, and requires to be tactfully handled by a proper appreciation of the views and aspirations of the large non-Brahmin section of the population.

There is one aspect of the situation which requires to be emphasised. The Government, on their part, must not be slow to move and must avoid the impression that they do not make any advance unless they are constrained to do so by intense agitation. They must encourage and strengthen the hands of the sober and thinking elements in the Indian community by respecting and acceding to their suggestions and demands. The Government have unfortunately given too much importance to the Swarajists and have ignored the reasonable and correct attitude adopted by the other political parties. Neither in the Assembly nor in any of the Provincial Councils, except in the Central Provinces, have the Swarajists been

in any absolute majority by themselves. If Government had met the views of the Independents and other groups in the various Legislatures the temporary alliances between them and the Swarajists resulting in deadlocks could have been avoided. In various pronouncements Government have declared that a further advance was possible only if this comparatively active and noisy party of the Swarajists definitely would abandon non-co-operation. It is difficult to see why the attitude of the other political groups is to be ignored and further progress is to be

denied simply because this particular party has chosen to persist in still clinging officially to their creed of non-co-operation and civil disobedience, although even they have on many occasions practised co-operation. I venture to think that if even now the Government make up their minds to constitute the Statutory Commission of Enquiry earlier than 1929 and make an announcement to that effect, they will very much disable the Swarajist party and strengthen those who are for ordered constitutional progress and methods.

THE TERCENTENARY OF FRANCIS BACON

(1626—1926).

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.

The fragment of the effigy of Queen Elizabeth's first Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, to be seen in St. Paul's Cathedral, is one of the few relics of the previous edifice which was burnt in the great Fire. York House in the Strand, the property of the Archbishop of York, became the residence of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keepers and Chancellors, and it was there that Sir Nicholas Bacon in January 1561 became the father by his second wife Ann (daughter of Edward the Sixth's tutor, Sir Anthony Cooke) of Francis. York House has disappeared now, so that architectural relics of the greatest philosopher and writer who ever held high office in the English State are as rare as the remains of Old St. Paul's.

"As you walk westward from the City on the Thames Embankment, just before you come to Charing Cross", says Dr. Abbott, Bacon's best biographer, "you may see on your right, about a hundred yards or so from the river's edge, a low, massive, three-arched stone structure with two weather-beaten lions at the top and some apparently purposeless steps at the bottom. This was once a water-gate, designed by Inigo Jones for the Duke of Buckingham, as the entrance to an intended palace, after the latter had at last succeeded in gaining possession of the adjacent house and gardens, dis-

lodging from them their former owner, Viscount St. Alban, more commonly known as Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor. Of the palace that Buckingham proposed to build, no more than this was completed; but all the streets around have turned traitors, and sided with the usurper—'Buckingham Street', 'Duke Street', 'Villiers Street'; not a 'Bacon Street' among them! So this old crumbling gate (if we except the name of 'York Buildings', given to a neighbouring block of houses) is all that now remains to mark the site of the old York House, formerly the residence of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, where Francis, his youngest son, was born on 22 January, 1561. Sixty years afterwards, the disgraced and poverty-stricken Lord Chancellor passionately declared that to sell his father's house to Buckingham would be 'a second sentence'; and from that we may judge how he loved the 'ancient pile', as Ben Jonson calls it, and the gardens pleasantly sloping down to the Thames on the south, and looking to the Strand on the north, where the little Francis spent so much of his childhood as was not passed at his father's country residence in Gorhambury, Hertfordshire."

Milton is the only genius comparable with Bacon who took any active part in English politics and served the State more or less

directly when he was not serving his Muse. But Milton's temporal and spiritual biography, complicated at times though it is by personal passions, is fairly simple in comparison with that of the great genius who died on an Easter Sunday morning three hundred years ago, to be precise on 9th April, 1626.

The circumstances of Bacon's death are in keeping with what is, after all, the predominant side of his personality, the intellectual. Near the end of March 1626, when he is 65, he rides from London to Highgate, his head full of his experiments in physics. Seeing snow on the ground he decides suddenly he must test its effects in preserving flesh from putrefaction. To quote Dr. Abbott once more:

"He alighted from his coach at a cottage where, as the story goes, he bought a fowl, and with his own hands stuffed it with snow. A chill and sudden sickness supervening, forced him to resort at once to the neighbouring house of Lord Arundel, and there, in ignorance of his approaching end, he dictates a letter to the host whose hospitality he had been compelled to claim."

Only the year before, during the summer, when the plague was raging in London, and he is ill, this indefatigable servant of truth is writing to Father Fulgentio, a foreign correspondent, and his letter is as ardent and full of his philosophical schemes as any letter he ever wrote.

This man, whose writings are among the proudest possessions of English literature, and whose intellect remains, notwithstanding the limitations in his science and the defects of his philosophical system which have been recognized in the last hundred years, a monument of human ability, this man when he takes an active part in the affairs of his age, which was an age of self-seeking and duplicity in high quarters, makes us blush for his humiliation and seek anxiously for excuses to cover the revolting conduct of so great a genius.

It is not possible in a brief sketch to examine the details of the career of Sir Nicholas Bacon's younger son, or even to give a list of the chief dates in his life. But a few outstanding facts and dates may be noted, and before passing on to the literary work which has made him an immortal in the minds of men, these outstanding items in a very crowded and complicated life may be related to the troubling problem of his practical morality.

Bacon's mother Ann, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, who was tutor to Edward the Sixth, was not only one of the highly educated and accomplished women of that age which produced Lady Jane Grey, but in addition to a notable classical scholarship possessed a wilful personality and was a fervent Calvinist. Sir Nicholas was easy-going, clever, and had a humorous turn of wit which his sons Anthony and Francis both seem to have inherited. In 1576, three years before their father died, the boys, as sons of a Judge, were admitted as "ancients" of Gray's Inn. Francis had gone to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1573, at the age of 13. In 1577, the year after his admission to Gray's Inn, the ten year old Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, goes to Trinity. In 1579, when his father dies, Francis is with the embassy of Sir Amias Paulet in France, and returns at once on hearing the news of an event destined to prove so unfortunate to his worldly prospects. Although still but 18 years old, he has impressed many different kinds of people with his ability and learning. Paulet gives him a despatch for the Queen and recommends him to her as a youth of great promise. But he fails to obtain assistance at Court from Lord Birghley, who had married his mother's sister, and who had a son of his own, Robert, slightly younger than Francis. In this particular the intemperate Macaulay was probably correct in perceiving the motive of jealousy for his own son in the uncle's continued suppression of the ambitious and brilliant nephew. At any rate, Bacon is early disappointed in his expectations as his father's clever son, and studies law. In 1582 he becomes an "Utter Barrister" of Gray's Inn. Two years later, at the age of 23, he enters Elizabeth's fifth Parliament as member for Melcombe Regis. In this year he writes a brilliant *Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth*, reviewing the political questions of the day, chief of which was the quarrel of Roman Catholics, High Churchmen and Puritans. Here, as always, when not committed to the praise or the condemnation of a particular person, Bacon displays a serene detachment, a subtle discrimination in analysis and comprehensive imagination in generalisation. Here and in the *Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England* which he wrote a few years later, the only trace of his mother's influence is in the calmly discriminating preference for the Puritans' solid virtues.

which he reveals. In 1597 he publishes his first collection of *Essays*, and establishes at once a literary reputation, which is enhanced in 1605 by the publication of the *Advancement of Learning*. In the ten years preceding 1597 many events have occurred. He has been a member of Parliament for Taunton, Liverpool and Middlesex, and just after the appearance of the essays enters Elizabeth's ninth Parliament as member for Southampton. He has written one or two important political tracts; he makes an eloquent speech in 1593 opposing the Government on a question of subsidies, and it infuriates the Queen against him and weakens the power of his generous friend Essex, in an attempt to secure him the place of Attorney, which is ultimately filled by his enemy Coke. Essex even fails to get him the subordinate place of Solicitor-General. Among the historical events of this period are the execution of Mary Stuart, the assassination of the Duke of Guise, the destruction of the Spanish Armada, the destruction of the Spanish navy at Cadiz by Essex, and the rebellion of Tyrone. To console Bacon for not obtaining office, and to help him out of his financial difficulties, from which he seems never to have been free, Essex gave him an estate at Twickenham and interceded for him with the rich widow of Sir William Hatton. This lady ultimately married his implacable rival Coke but came to Bacon for help when her daughter by Coke was kidnapped, with her husband's connivance, in order that the girl should be married to a brother of the new favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. But this brings us to 1617, when Sir Francis Bacon is made Lord Keeper. In the following year Buckingham is made a Marquis and Bacon Lord Chancellor and then Baron Verulam of Verulam. The ten years between 1607 and 1617 have brought the death of Queen Elizabeth, (under whose reign Bacon was never given a more responsible task than the dishonouring one of pleading for the Crown against his friend Essex) and the succession of James, who has been summed up as a king who never attached himself to any man of greatness, but under whom a favourite like Villiers was able to advance a clever follower like Bacon. During this period also occurs the scandalous episode of the marriage of the king's favourite, Rochester, with the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex, a marriage graced by a *Masque* given by Bacon, who was at last Attorney-General.

In connection with this affair it is well to remember the subordinate and even servile position often thrust upon the real men of genius in that corrupt age, and that John Donne, while he was still anxiously seeking preferment, either in the Church or at Court, was also bought, and by mere promises of that rascal Rochester, to lend his legal skill to the cause of the Countess of Essex.

Before the year 1617 Bacon had published an enlarged collection of *Essays*; had written the *New Atlantis*, and a number of legal essays and State documents; he had also, although previously held in esteem in the Commons, become feared and suspected as a dangerous instrument of the royal policy of "divine right," which seems to have been accepted by Bacon as a sort of utopian and philosophical ideal to be enforced in practice.

Three years after being made Bacon Verulam, Bacon is created Viscount St. Alban's; but his enemies are growing stronger, and a few weeks later a disappointed suitor charges him with accepting a bribe. That miserable wretch King James, whom he has served only too faithfully, allows him to be made an example of, and he writes one of the most pathetic and shameful epistles ever composed by a great public servant, *The confession and humble submission of me the Lord Chancellor*, and he writes it to forestall closer investigation. Bacon in a subsequent review of his experiences wrote that he had been "the justest judge these fifty years", but even that moderate assertion must be regarded with doubt, unless we can prove that the ruthless fighter Coke, ever perverted justice for fear of falling out of favour. After his release from the Tower, Bacon, his never robust health now broken, retires to Gorhambury, the Shropshire seat inherited from his father, and from there sends the King, in a fresh effort to win royal favour, the "History of Henry VII."

It was but four years later that Bacon died. When we turn to his literary works—and it is the literary rather than the philosophical in his work which continues to claim our attention—we have not much difficulty in realising what a great writer Bacon was in the language which he did not consider good enough for immortality. His writings in Latin which he destined for posterity have been almost forgotten but his *Advancement of Learning*, his *New Atlantis* and the *Essays* will be read with

admiration so long as English is a living language.

What is especially remarkable about Bacon's prose style is the extraordinary versatility; it varies in accordance with the nature of the theme much more than is usual. The *Advancement of Learning* and *New Atlantis* have pleasant surprises in store for readers who know only the brief and sometimes too concise *Essays*, which, however, if we remember Bacon's own idea of the essay as a "dispersed meditation" and "brief notes rather significantly than

curiously set down," are almost perfect in their kind. I am afraid I have already taken up too much space on account of this important tercentenary, so that instead of quoting passages of the rich prose of *The Advancement of Learning* and *New Atlantis*, I must content myself with urging the reader who does not know these works to become acquainted with them. There is not much good in observing a great writer's tercentenary unless we are sent back to his work. I think it will be agreed that Bacon's *New Atlantis* is more vivid and also wiser than the better known *Utopia* of Sir Thomas Moore.

WORDS AND THEIR SCIENTIFIC CLASSIFICATION.

By MR. W. G. RAFFE.

Chief among the necessities of the greater number of Indian students and scholars, is the necessity to master the English language. Though the origin of this need may be found partly in historical reasons, its continuance is demanded from a quite different view-point. This is in the fact that the greatest part of the world's literature, as accepted by the modern world, is now accessible in works printed in the English language. Though there is much of the highest value in French and German and some other tongues, yet most of what is best in them has also been translated into English. And in India itself, it is a commonplace to find that a traveller from the North and another from the South, meeting in Calcutta, often find that they cannot converse except in the English they have both learned. That the language is difficult in many ways, that it has absurd rules and queer grammatical points and seemingly fantastic exceptions, is apparent to every learned of English. Yet it is used in so many lands and over so wide an area of the earth, that it is now almost impossible to get into a town or city of any size and not find it spoken.

Learning the language, to be able to read and understand it, however, is one thing, but writing in it is quite another matter. It is easy to

acquire a little fluency with any tongue, if you can converse with people who use it for some time. It becomes fairly easy to express your needs, and even to understand them when they speak quickly. Then it is next possible to read the language, especially the clear printed forms, which is easier than hand-writing. Last of all, it is possible to write and express your own thoughts in a foreign tongue. For this the greatest degree of mastery is necessary. Even those born in a given language feel their shortcomings in this respect, and hence there is not standard work more used, even by English authors, than Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*.^{*} This work is not a dictionary, which informs you of the meaning of a given word, and how to pronounce it in speech. Nevertheless, the valuable Index contains an alphabetical list, with some explanation of its meaning in relation to expression of thought. It was this that the learned Dr. Peter Mark Roget, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, had constantly in mind when he was preparing the first edition of his famous work.

^{*}*Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases.* (New edition, revised and enlarged by Samuel Romilly Roget, M.A.), Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1906. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The words and phrases are, according to his first title, "classified and arranged so as to facilitate the expression of ideas and to assist in literary composition" for the edition first published in 1852.

He had endeavoured, wisely, to ascertain if any previous works of this kind had been published, and among them he met with a Sanskrit work, which had "a systematic arrangement of ideas with a view to expression" which he supposed to be nine hundred years old. This was the famous *Amara Kosha*, or Vocabulary of the Sanskrit Language, compiled by Amara Sinha. An English translation by Henry Colebrooke, was printed in 1808 at Serampur. It did not meet with Dr. Roget's complete approval, but this, we may hazard, may have been due to inadequate translation as well as the probable lack of full comprehension of many of the ideas therein contained. It might be of value if some scholar were to look this up and perhaps bring out a modern translation, helped by a qualified pandit.

Dr. Roget's classification started off with abstract ideas—thus ignoring the much-boomed deductive method!—concerning existence, relation, quantity, order, number, time, change, and causation; next dealing with space, generally, in dimensions, form and motion. Matter is placed merely as organic and inorganic. Thence we come to Intellect, in the formation and communication of ideas; of volition in the individual and intersocially, and lastly, to affections, in general, personal, sympathetic, moral and religious.

The multifarious relations of ideas to and from all these various factors is then indexed by leading words, and from those we can rapidly locate that word with all its shares of expressive meaning, and also many synonyms, so that we may vary our meaning by the use of a slightly different word. Only those who have had trouble with composition can realise the value of such help. But the value of the *Thesaurus* is not only for those who desire to express their ideas in literary form. It is most useful for all who wish to acquire an idiomatic knowledge of English, so that they may by degrees come to select accurately the right word, even in ordinary speech, as, for instance, in addressing one meeting. The power to use the right word in the right place is of extraordinary value in such circumstances, especially if the speaker desire to win his audience to his views.

A wrong word or a clumsy phrase, may, even unknown to him, fail to inform his hearers fully on some important point, or may even set them against him through some slight misunderstanding.

Of a different nature is another valuable publication of the same firm, *Bellows French Dictionary*.† In this unique volume we have combined a French-English and an English-French dictionary, both phase being on the same page, so that immediate reference may be made from one to the other. This work has a literary record of importance, since its inception in the later years of last century by the original compiler, John Bellows of Gloucester, England. Some years followed to its completion and first publication in 1911, since when it has proved its value in a ready sale all the world over, over fifty thousand having been purchased by scholars and students.

It is a most compact and well-arranged work, full of additional items of value over and above the actual dictionary and not a word on all the seven hundred closely printed pages is wasted or out of place. More than an ordinary dictionary, it surpasses the famous *Larousse* in all but illustrations, which find no place in this volume. But it is an excellent guide to the French language, containing not a little of French grammar, with verbs, moods and tenses in full details, followed by metric tables of all kinds, monetary and otherwise, with maps of Great Britain, and of France with Switzerland.

Among the unique features of this very comprehensive volume are the typographical method of distinguishing between masculine and feminine gender by variation of type face; the indication by suitable marks of the liaison, or its absence, and the method of arranging verbal conjugations with numerical references. Also certain of the tables as are not found in other dictionaries, nor a number of words. In fact, this work comes closer to the ideal of Roget's famous work, in its aim to be of utility as a means of expression, than any other we have met with.

Bellows French Dictionary should be at the elbow of every student—we may even say scholar—who desires to read or to write in the French language. Much more than merely a

†*Bellows French Dictionary* (Students Edition) Crown, 8 vol. 689 pp. published by Longmans, Green & Company, price 10/- net.

commercial effort, it is the achievement of a very thorough and painstaking scholar, obviously one unusually familiar with both French and English, gifted with great patience and that orderly turn of mind without which no such undertaking could succeed.

The continual extension of his vocabulary is a task to which every serious writer should address his efforts, for this means that he attains one of two objects, or perhaps both. He first obtains the power to express his

current ideas in a greater variety of manners and modes, thus ensuring them reaching a larger audience, or of spreading them more lucidly and thus more effectively; and secondly, he acquires a larger stock of ideas by the act of using a greater number of words, which permits them to grow in number as well as in richness. Shakespeare as a writer is notable for the extent of his vocabulary, and compared with an ordinary uneducated man, he could express one single idea in a hundred different ways.

SO YOU'RE GOING TO INDIA: A SYMPOSIUM OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION*—II.

VII. THE PASSAGE TO INDIA. Steamers.

How to get to India is naturally the first point to be considered and there is an embarrassing choice of steamship services to India.

E. R. B.

Among British lines, the P. and O. Company no longer possess a monopoly of the Indian traffic, but now have to face several keen competitors. The British India, the Ellerman (City and Hall), and the Anchor have become popular. The newest steamers on these lines are admirably equipped, the catering is excellent, and there is little difference in the duration

of the voyage. The Bibby and Henderson lines are much used for Burma and Southern India. Among foreign lines the Messageries, Maritimes boats sailing from Marseilles, and the Lloyd-Triestino and the Marittima Italiana steamers sailing from Venice and Genoa have a high reputation and receive a constant share of patronage.

The Times.

CABIN.

In selecting a cabin, choose, if possible, an outside cabin, and one as much amidships, as possible, and not too near the baths and lavatories. In the large liners the first-class cabins are arranged with due consideration to the unpleasantness of proximity to the engines or cooking galley, but in the smaller ships the passengers should be particularly careful to study the steamer chart before booking.

E. R. B.

*Compiled from the writings of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, Mr. D. C. Boulger, Mr. Reynolds-Ball, the late Mr. William Caine, Mrs. Flora Steel, Mr. A. R. H. Moucrieff, and the special Indian numbers of the *Times* and some other sources.

Comparative Table of Steamship Services.

Lines and Date of Sailings	Tonnage of Steamers	Length of Voyage	Fares	
			1st Class	2nd Class
To BOMBAY AND KARACHI.		days	£.	£.
<i>P. & O. :</i>				
From London every Friday ...	8—21,000	21	70—80	54—60
From Marseilles do. ...	...	14	62—82	50—56
<i>B. I. S. N. CO. :</i>				
From London, alternate Fridays	7—9,000	23	62—66	52
<i>Anchor Line :</i>				
From Liverpool fortnightly ...	5—6,700	22	60	...
Ellerman's City and Hall Lines, from Liverpool about twice monthly ...	6—10,000	23	60—64	46—48
<i>Lloyd Triestino :</i>				
From Venice, 2nd of each month ...	7—9,000	16—17	62	52
<i>Marittima Italiana :</i>				
From Genoa, 15th of each month	7—9,000	17—18	62	52
To CALCUTTA				
<i>P. & O. :</i>				
Every second Saturday from London ...	8—9,000	32	66—70	56
<i>B. I. S. N. CO. :</i>				
From London, alternate Saturdays	7—9,000	33	66	56
<i>Ellerman's City Line :</i>				
From Liverpool, about twice monthly ...	7—10,000	47—30	64—68	50—52
To MADRAS				
<i>B. I. S. N. CO. :</i>				
From London, alternate Saturdays...	7—9,000	29	62—66	52
To RANGOON				
<i>Bibby Line :</i>				
From Liverpool, alternate Fridays	...	30	76	...
From Marseilles, alternate Satur- days ...	7—10,000	32	68	...
<i>Henderson Line :</i>				
From Liverpool, alternate Fridays	5—8,000	32	65	...

Murray's India.

VIII. COST OF THE JOURNEY.

One merit of the Indian tour is its cheapness; once you get there, you may, of course, spend a fortune on the shawls, jewels, silver or brass-ware, and so forth, which your friends

expect you to produce on your return, but among necessary expenses the most formidable item is that of the voyage to Bombay. There are many British and foreign lines with lower rates; but the P. & O. is still the leading one for the Indian voyage though its best steamers

seem rather reserved for the competition of Australian traffic, from which it is necessary to change at Aden, for the crossing of the Arabian Sea (to Bombay). The other boats, however, are often in some ways the more comfortable. The Indian boats are, in autumn, apt to be crowded as far as Bombay, where most of their passengers land to continue the journey more quickly by rail. Those who are not in a hurry should remember that they may go on to Madras or Calcutta for the same fare. Intending travellers will consider the terms offered by the P. & O. and other lines for cheap return tickets, at a reduction varying according to the time for which they are available. In spring, just when the cold weather tourist will want to take ship, comes the homeward rush also of Anglo-Indians, requiring good berths to be engaged long beforehand and sometimes making a small purgatory of the best steamers. Many, having come so far, decide to go round the world while they are about it by Japan and Canadian Pacific in connection with the P. & O. steamers. Others may prefer to try any of the "foreign" lines that will land them on the Continent for resorts where may be broken the great change from the Red Sea to the English Channel.

As to the cost, the three and half months' travel in India will amount approximately to about Rs. 5,000. But of this Rs. 500 are allowed for an Indian servant or "boy," and I have allowed a very wide margin (nearly £50) for carriages, horse hire, excursions and incidentals. Hotels and railways are (comparatively speaking) cheap, so that with reasonable economy an independent traveller can "do" the grand tour for an inclusive expenditure of some £350 (including steamer fare), or if two are travelling together (when one servant would suffice for both, and the carriage expenses would be halved), there would be a joint saving of some £50. To this must be added £80 to £100, inclusive cost of journey out and home. It will be seen that, in spite of cheapness of locomotion and low hotel tariffs, travel in India for the ordinary tourist or globe-trotter, as opposed to the Anglo-Indian, is only suited to those of ample means. As a rule, for all extras and incidentals—carriage hire, guides, bazar purchases, curios, photographs, etc., the tourist will have to pay—and not unnaturally—considerably more than the resident.

It is, however, possible to manage a holiday

trip to India and back of about two and a half months' duration at a cost of no more than £100. But, of course, this means second class by steamer, no servant and a very limited itinerary, keeping strictly to the railway during the fortnight's stay on Indian soil. Such a tour should, of course, be regarded mainly as a holiday voyage and only nominally as an Indian tour, the fortnight between steamers being utilized for hasty glimpse of a few of the great sights of India, easily accessible from Calcutta. The tourist will, at all events, be able to see something of Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Lucknow, Agra, Delhi, Amritsar, and perhaps Lahore; and, after all, the Taj Mahal alone is almost worth the voyage from England.

As to travelling second class by the P. & O. there is much to be said in its favour as the saving is considerable, and as there is little to choose between the accommodation of first and second class except lack of space. Till lately the great drawback in the second class was the early dinner instead of lunch, but now late dinner is served in the second saloon also. It may be added, that second class on any other lines is not advisable.

A. R. H. M.

IX. INDIAN RAILWAYS.

The observant traveller will notice many points of interest in Indian railway travel, compared with those with which he is more familiar in Europe. The first class carriages—and few tourists would care to travel second—are certainly more comfortable and spacious than the ordinary carriages of the European lines. They are not, it is true, so luxuriously equipped; but in view of the great heat and the penetrating dust, luxury, as exemplified by the *trains de luxe*, with their wealth of padded seats and thick carpets, would be absolutely opposed to comfort in India. All decorative accessories must be sacrificed to coolness and the necessity of excluding dust. Each first class compartment (which is meant for four) contains two long seats, with racks, pegs, etc., while overhead are two movable sleeping berths, which are let down at night—for there are no especial sleeping cars on Indian railways. Each compartment has a lavatory, while on the trunk lines a bath is also found. There is no excuse for mistaking the classes, as each

carriage is painted in distinctive colours according to class. Aerated waters and ice (in the hot months) can be had in all the mail and express trains, at cheap rates.

E. R. B.

The railway carriages, but for the noise and dust, are comfortable enough, constructed as they are with movable upper bunks, to afford sleeping accommodation for four. Each compartment is supplied with a lavatory, sometimes with a bath, with sun-blinds and coloured glasses. There are dining cars in the mail trains and at important stations there are refreshment-rooms where the trains stop for meals. Without such conveniences, the long railway journeys would indeed be a weariness. Carriages are usually set apart for ladies. The fares on Indian railways are certainly low. Driving, too, is a cheap luxury, in which the globe-trotter largely indulges, as nobody walks in India who can help it. Every city has its variety of cabs, to be hired at low tariffs.

A. R. H. M.

X. ACCOMMODATION.

Speaking generally, India is lamentably deficient in good hotel accommodation. It is hardly overstating the case to say that (with the exception of the presidency towns and important hill stations), there are not a dozen hotels in the whole of India which would rank as first-class according to the European standard. About the only thing that can be said for them is that usually bedrooms have a separate bathroom and the charges are moderate. Even Calcutta, until recently, used to have the reputation of being the worst off for hotel accommodation of any city in India. There is a story told of a well-known traveller, newly arrived in Calcutta, who was told by Lord Curzon that he ought certainly to go and see the site of the Black Hole. "Oh I have seen it," was the reply. "In fact, I am living there—room No.—Hotel—". Probably the recent marked development of tourist traffic will sooner or later effect a change in this respect. It has already done so at Bombay, where there is an enormous *hotel de luxe*, the Taj Mahal, the largest in the East. This hotel is a magnificent building, and one of the finest modern architectural features of Bombay. It is perhaps the only hotel in the East worthy to be compared

with the great hotels of London. The charge at nearly all hotels is based on that of the continental *pension* system, and three solid meals, plus *chhota hazri* and afternoon tea, quantity taking the place of quality, are given. But attendance is a negligible quantity. It is not even included in the bill, as it is usual for each visitor to bring his own servant.

E. R. B.

Good though the hotels at the presidency towns and in some of the larger cities of India may be now-a-days, there is still much left to be desired in those of the smaller places, while the dear old *dak-bungalows* in the more remote spots remain untouched by Time.

F. A. S.

The "civil station," of an Indian city, is usually an open suburb of bazar, barracks, and bungalows, standing perhaps as much as two or three miles distant from the town. In the former, at the chief places, will be found hotels "of sorts," more or less adapted to the needs of the tourists. Where such accommodation is wanting, the *dak-bungalow* affords the elements of shelter and entertainment; or occasionally the traveller must put up with what rest he can take, on his own bedding, at the waiting rooms of a railway station, where, however, the refreshment department sometimes offers comfortable enough quarters for a night. Indian hotels are (comparatively speaking) cheap, and that is the best to be said of them. The guest is boarded on the American plan, getting at least, plenty to eat for his money. Three solid meals, besides early morning and afternoon tea, are the Eastern Boniface's strong point. But so long as he is well-fed, the Anglo-Indian seems not very exacting in the matter of accommodation. Calcutta itself was until recently notoriously ill off in this respect, though it had first-class shops. Not a few of the travellers in India now-a-days are Americans, whose comments on the state of things should be unanswerably disagreeable. Somehow or other, as the number of tourists increases, an improvement may be looked for, and meanwhile the stranger cannot do better than put himself into the hands of Messrs. Thomas Cook's agencies in Bombay or Calcutta, who in India are almost indispensable assistants, and will advise him, as on other points, of the

most tolerable hotels. The main fault of the hotels lies in the servants, their quality by no means equal to their quantity. At table can sometimes be seen more waiters than guests, and yet the latter may go hungry away, unless each man has his own private servant.

A. R. H. M.

XI. THE "BOY".

The stranger will find it almost necessary to travel with an Indian attendant. Though couriers of the kind are highly paid, as pays go in India, getting as much as from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 a month, the demand for them has of late been greater than the supply, and the tourist perhaps finds himself saddled with a stupid fellow, having a mere smattering of English and little experience in travel. You are lucky if your servant be reasonably honest. But he is of real use in sitting at the door of your room to guard your property against light-fingered intruders, and especially in procuring you some little service from the mob of hotel menials, whose attentions are apt to be oppressive only at the hour of departure. The slightest service has to be paid for to as many assistants as can lend a hand in the business; then your servant is supposed to protect you against imposition. Experienced residents tell you it is best to make up your mind to be cheated by him, in reason, leaving him to see that no one else gets too much the best of you. A painful fact is that, almost on all hands, one will be advised never to engage an Indian Christian as servant. The choice of a "boy" is, above all, a point on which the stranger must take the counsels of experience.

A. R. H. M.

An Indian servant is indispensable when travelling in India. Not only does the stranger lose dignity if he has no servant, but he will find himself in frequent difficulties owing to his lack of knowledge of the language. A servant is best engaged through one of the tourist agencies, and the men who hang about hotels with sheaves of certificates should be avoided. It is a good plan—to arrange for a servant through an agency some weeks in advance. The correct wages for a travelling servant are from £2 to £2 10s. per month, and a small gratuity may be added at the end of the journey if he has given satisfaction. He will also expect eight annas a day for

his food. It is usual, on commencing a long trip, to give a servant a round sum to purchase clothing and bedding. This sum should under no circumstances exceed £2; the man should be made to produce receipts and to show the articles purchased, which should include a thick coat.

The Times.

An Indian attendant is an essential encumbrance of the traveller. The traveller should engage an Indian servant at Bombay, preferably through some friend, but failing that through Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son. He will be of appreciable service to the novice in Indian travel on the railways and at hotels and dak-bungalows. It is a good plan to retain the chits (testimonials) till the engagement is concluded, otherwise the employer will have little hold on his attendant, who might otherwise incontinently leave him, for example, should he find, that his perquisites, commission from traders, etc., fall much below his expectations.

E. R. B.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

The Dishes of India.

The national dish of India is, of course, curry, and the stranger should note that if he wishes to be orthodox he will eat it with a spoon, never with a fork. Curry is protean in its varieties. On the Bombay side it is eaten wet, on the Madras side the dry curry reigns supreme. The very best curry in the world is probably a good prawn curry. Next to this come egg, chicken, or mutton curries, while sardine curry may be noted as very good. The other famous dish of the East is *pillau*, into the composition of which rice enters as largely as in curry. A really good chicken *pillau* is a most appetizing dish, but the stranger should get an Indian friend to provide it. India has many vegetables of its own, and among these the brinjal, or egg-plant, is most favoured by Europeans. If in India during the mango season, the visitor should not fail to try mango food. The mango itself is best eaten iced. Among Indian fishes the Bombay pomfret has a great reputation, and it is sometimes called "the Indian sole." The black pomfret should be broiled. Capital oysters are obtainable in India, particularly at Karachi

and on the coast of Kathiawar. As to soups, *mulligatawny* is the special soup of India; for delicacy of flavour it should be eaten clear, but the full effect is only obtainable in the thick variety.

"Bombay Duck."

The "Bombay Duck" is a fish called the *bummelo*, caught in large quantities outside Bombay Harbour, though it is found on all the coasts of India. Fried when fresh caught, it makes very delicate eating, and in the opinion of some epicures is superior to the more famous Bombay pomfret. When dried in the sun, after being split open, it is broken up and eaten with curry or *kedgeriee*, and it is only in the dried form that it is known as "Bombay duck." The origin of the expression is quite unknown. Unless mixed with curry, Bombay duck is a most unattractive article of diet. It is now obtainable from many provision dealers in England.

What to Drink in India.

The golden rule about beverages in India is to drink no alcohol until after sunset. The most popular drink among Anglo-Indians is weak whisky and soda. The "peg" measure, a kind of double egg-cup, is universally used, and small and large "pegs" are poured with great exactitude. Cocktails are not very popular, but the "Byculla cocktail," a compound which has ginger wine as its principal ingredient, has long made the name of the Byculla Club famous throughout the East. Champagne is usually served at *burra khanas* (big dinners). The climate is not very kindly to clarets, and among lighter wines a still moselle is probably best suited for an Indian cellar. The popularity of beer has greatly diminished, except among the rank and file of the army. Anglo-India is old-fashioned in its adherence to the after-dinner glass of port, but the bibulous tendencies of the early days have vanished for ever. An increasing proportion of Anglo-Indians never touch alcohol at all, and by long experience the community has learned the peculiar dangers of the slightest excess in the tropics. The most welcome drink in India is the cup of scalding hot tea on awakening.

Cycling in India.

It is rather surprising that more travellers do not take bicycles with them to India. They are a great convenience in a land where the dis-

stances in the straggling towns are great. The best plan is to spend £10 or £12 on a cheap bicycle on reaching India, and to sell it again on leaving. The roads near the towns are generally very good, though inclined to be dusty. The chief tribulations of the cyclist in India are fowls and pariah dogs, and the inveterate tendency of the people to walk in the middle of the road. Tyre troubles are not more frequent than in England, but inner tubes perish more rapidly, and in the hot sun over-inflated tyres are more liable to burst.

Golf in India.

Golfers visiting India should not omit to take their clubs with them. Most of the courses will seem very rough to those accustomed to the pampered English links, but good games are obtainable in many places. One of the oldest courses is that on the Bombay *maidan*, which courses is that on the Bombay *maidan*, which The Bombay course is flat as a billiard table, and bunkers are furnished by canvas screens. Most "greens" in India are really "browns," which make for fast and accurate putting, but grass greens are found in some of the hill stations. Calcutta has an excellent course at Tollygunge. The headquarters of the Western India Golf Club are at Nasik, above the Ghats, and it is a favourite weekend resort in the rains. One of the best courses in India is at Gulmarg, the hill station of Kashmir.

Tips.

Inquiries are always being made about tips. On the Indian run there is a regular though unwritten scale, to which most Anglo-Indians adhere. A first class passenger embarking at Marseilles will usually give, on arriving in Bombay, £1 to his cabin steward, 10s. to the waiter at table, and small gratuities to the deck steward, smoking-room steward, and bath. On some foreign lines all tips are pooled. It is a great mistake to give large tips ashore in the East. The Indian porter or table waiter probably receives considerably less than 1s. a day in wages, and thinks himself in comfortable circumstances. Four annas goes a long way in India; eight annas at a railway station is a princely tip; two annas suffices for most small services. An anna is the equivalent of a penny. The tip to a hackney carriage driver should not exceed four annas, unless he has been engaged for a long time.

—The Times.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

THE RIDDLE OF INDIA.

By SIR SIVASWAMY AIVER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
M.L.A.

The object of the series now being published under the title of "The Modern World" is to provide a balanced survey of the tendencies and forces which are moulding the lives of contemporary States. The publishers have been fortunate in their choice of Sir Valentine Chirol to carry out and present such a survey of India*. A distinguished publicist with long experience of public affairs in different countries, he is especially qualified for dealing with the subject by the numerous visits which he has paid to this country during the last several years. Though his visits have been largely conducted under official auspices and he has spent the greater part of his time as an honoured guest of Viceroy and Governors, he has kept his ears and eyes open to impressions from all quarters and has endeavoured to study the non-official views of current questions. If he cannot claim the intimate knowledge of a permanent official or of an Indian resident, he has the advantage of having brought to bear upon his studies a spirit of detachment and an extensive knowledge of the conditions of other countries. He is one of those public men whose judgment improves in mellowness with age and is informed by sympathy and understanding. He has travelled far since the day when he wrote his "Indian Unrest" and his new book is marked by an absence of asperities, a wider outlook, a deeper sympathy and penetration and a riper judgment.

To make a forecast of the future development of any country exposed to the play of the numerous forces—political, social and economic—which under modern conditions of communication and intercourse operate with a quickness and an intensity previously unknown, is a sufficiently hazardous task. But, in the case of a country so vast as India and with such a diversity of languages, races, creeds and civilisations and with so many different levels of culture and social conditions, the task

becomes immensely more difficult. With the streams of two diverse civilisations running in her midst, one of immensely greater antiquity than the other, and both endowed with great vitality and strength, India has been abruptly brought into contact with the surging forces of European civilisation and culture. There is no institution which has escaped the shocks and disintegrating influences of Western thought and Western science, and Western culture. What will be the resultant of these various and complex forces and whither India will drift, socially, economically and politically, is the problem which confronts every one who is interested in the country. Will India become a strong and united nation able to stand on her own legs and defend herself in the international struggle for existence? What will be the line of her political development and what transformation will her social institutions undergo? No answer can be furnished to this question without a study of the forces which have moulded the past history of India and the forces which are assailing her at present.

II.

The influence of Hinduism in moulding the life of the people is dealt with in a discriminating and not unsympathetic manner in the chapter on "The Bedrock of Hinduism". The vitality, which has enabled Hinduism to endure for thousands of years and to stand the shocks of foreign invasions, has been rightly ascribed to the social organisation built up by it and to its fluidity in the matter of religious dogma. The caste system, which was originally built up for the maintenance of racial purity or on the principle of economic division of labour, has been carried to lengths undreamt of even in the ancient codes. It has served its purpose and its evils are now more apparent than ever. While it was able to withstand the frontal attacks of alien conquerors, it is being slowly but steadily sapped by the influences of Western civilisation and Western education. Those who are in Hindu society are in a better position to perceive the process of erosion that is ceaselessly going on. The restrictions imposed by caste in the matter of interdining are being silently

*The Modern World: India. By Sir Valentine Chirol. 15/- net. Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.

ignored. The restraints on marriage are now still operative, so far as the main divisions of the community are concerned, but Sir Valentine Chirol is not aware that there is a growing tendency to disregard the conventional barriers against intermarriage between sub-sects. The talented author regrets that in an essential matter like marriage the restraints imposed by caste still retain their hold. It is only natural that in a matter of such vital importance to the fabric of society as marriage, reform should be slow in coming. If colour prejudices are still deep-rooted against mixed marriages in countries like the United States or the African Colonies in spite of the boasted progressiveness of European culture, it is no wonder that objections to inter-caste marriages should still retain their force among the Hindus. It must also not be overlooked that in the absence of education the fear of displeasure of the caste is very often a useful ally of the law in the regulation of conduct and in the enforcement of social obligations, as illustrated in the Calcutta case quoted by the author himself. The untouchability of the depressed classes, which is one of the saddest features of Hinduism, is also giving way under the stress of Western education and modern conditions of life. The educational and economic uplift of the depressed classes furnishes the surest means of overcoming this evil. Instances of this process are known to every one. Formal resolutions from public platforms on the necessity of removing this evil can accomplish little in the absence of education, especially of women whose co-operation is essential to any real advance.

The caste system was the strength of ancient and medieval India but is the weakness of modern India. Is it however so irreconcilable with political aspirations as suggested by Sir Valentine Chirol? Necessary and desirable as its abolition may be, its disappearance need not be considered an indispensable foundation for political aspirations. The colour prejudice, which runs so deep in the Southern States of America and in the British Colonies of Africa, has not been a barrier to responsible government in those countries. If colour prejudice is compatible with the imperial aspirations of the British, the existence of caste need not be fatal to the political aspirations of India.

In his discussion of the beliefs which are bound up with Hinduism, Sir Valentine Chirol attributes to the doctrine of *karma* an influence

which it does not possess. His notions of the significance and scope of the doctrine are wanting in accuracy. The doctrine of *karma* is generally resorted to as an explanation *ex post facto* of happenings which are apparently opposed to our conception of the moral order of the universe. It reconciles humanity to its misfortunes and is an incentive to good deeds. Rightly understood, it does not and should not paralyse action. If deeds in a former birth must bring forth their fruit, actions in the present life are equally productive of their appropriate fruit. The treatment accorded to a Hindu widow or the supersession of a barren wife is not justified by the doctrine of *karma*. In the first case, it is due to the higher standard of life-long fidelity set by man for woman and the consequent necessity for imposing a life of austerity upon a Hindu widow as a safeguard against temptation. In the second case, the supersession is due to the necessity for the continuance of the family and the fulfilment of the pious obligation to one's ancestors.

One serious charge brought against Hinduism by Sir Valentine Chirol is that it has failed to build up an Indian nation. He forgets that the idea of nationality and the sense of nationalism are of comparatively recent growth and that it is hardly possible to realise the one or to cultivate the other in a country so vast as India, when it was not equipped with the facilities for communication provided by modern scientific inventions. Remembering that India is as large as Europe minus Russia, it may be fairly asked whether Christianity has built up a single nation out of the populations occupying Europe, or Islam has built up a single nation out of the Moslem inhabitants of adjacent countries like Arabia, Persia and Turkey. If India succumbed to Mahomedan invasions, so also were portions of civilised Europe unable to withstand the invasions of the barbarians and the Saracens.

In the chapter on Hinduism and, in fact, throughout the book Sir Valentine Chirol has been obsessed by the menace of Mr. Gandhi's cry of "back to the Vedas" and his appeal to return to the fundamental principles of India's ancient civilisation. But the teaching of Mr. Gandhi as to the principles of the ancient civilisation of India are not supported by evidence with reference to what are considered the glorious epochs of ancient Hindu history. The principles of Hindu civilisation nowhere

prescribe universal spinning and weaving as a spiritual or economic panacea. The state of society and civilisation described in the great classical epics of India is as far removed as possible from the Arcadian simplicity imagined by Mr. Gandhi. In the ancient kingdoms, of whose life a picture is presented to us in these poems, there were organised governments, kings who maintained armies and carried on wars, and peoples who were engaged in trade and commerce adding to the wealth of the country. Arts and crafts were highly cultivated and people cared for wealth and the luxuries and refinements of life just as much as any other people in the world. The economic life of a continent cannot be regulated on the principles of a small self-contained village or of an island cut off from intercourse with the world. There is no one in India who would not like to see India hold her own in the economic struggle of the world. The reversion to an imaginary prehistoric past is impossible. If the great war has demonstrated one thing more than another, it is that the whole world is inextricably interlinked and that no country can maintain an attitude of isolation. India will not return to the past, if she can, and she cannot, if she will. The reactionary cries of preachers like Mr. Gandhi are bound to fail and signs of failure are already apparent. There is no disposition on the part of any sane man to close the mills of Bombay or Ahmedabad or any of the great industrial concerns which are engaged in adding to the wealth of the country. These reactionary cries are set up not because the people who raise them believe in them, but merely with the intention of fomenting that race hatred that is considered to be necessary for the purpose of supplying the motive power to get rid of foreign rule.

III.

Sir Valentine Chirol's account of the condition of India during the period of Mahomedan domination is an accurate picture of the times. With reference to the invidious comparison often made between the attitude of the Mahomedan rulers towards Hindu aspirations and the attitude of the British Government, Sir Valentine points out that in the course of 40 years, the Emperor Akbar appointed only 21 Hindus altogether to the higher commands in the army. One is tempted to ask, how many Indians have been appointed to the higher commands in the

army during the 70 years that have elapsed since the assumption of the control of India by the British Crown? So far as the Mahomedan population of India is concerned, they have no desire to hark back to primitive times. While some of them may indulge in vain regrets for the days when noblemen were languidly lolling in luxury, in pleasures surrounded by fountains and flowers and damsels, they realise that those days are past recall and that they must join in the stream of modern progress and education.

The chapters on "The Flowing Tide of Western Influence" and "The First Wave of anti-western reaction" are fair and impartial. These chapters in which Sir Valentine Chirol deals with the flowing tide of Western influence and the subsequent anti-Western reaction and the growing estrangement between the British and Indians culminating in the non-co-operation movement are some of the happiest in the book and bear witness to his conscientious impartiality and his large sympathy. He is as ready to apportion blame to his countrymen and to the policy of the Government as he is to the Indian agitator. He extenuates nothing and sets down naught in malice. He dwells with impartiality upon the disappointment caused by the failure to carry out the pledges in the Queen's Proclamation, upon the change of temper in Englishmen when the Indian aspired to equality and claimed emancipation from leading strings, upon the mutinous opposition of Englishmen in India to the Ilbert Bill, upon the failure of Englishmen to recognise the Congress as the inevitable outcome of Western education, upon the unfortunate racial classification of the services by the Public Services Commission of 1887, upon the failure of the Government to heed the warnings of Mr. Gokhale whom they regarded as a disaffected agitator, on the imposition of the Cotton Excise Duty at the dictation of Lancashire, upon the treatment of Indians in South Africa, upon the rougher type of the Briton who came out later to India with little regard for Indians' susceptibilities and little desire to understand them, upon the partition of Bengal in the teeth of popular opinion by that obstinate and self-opinionated Viceroy, Lord Curzon, who with all his intellectual gifts lacked the spiritual vision which is of the essence of real statesmanship, upon the absence of any coherent policy of education and the paralysing parsimony of Gov-

ernment in matters of education, upon the opposition of the Government to Mr. Gokhale's resolution for free and compulsory primary education, upon the horrors of the martial law regime in the Punjab and the massacre at Amritsar and upon the harsh treatment of Indians in the Crown Colonies like Kenya.

The period when Western influence exercised an ascendancy over the minds of the educated Indians was marked by a neglect and depreciation of India's own heritage of culture. It was only natural when they prided themselves not merely upon thinking but also upon dreaming in English, that a reaction was bound to follow the excessive adoration of Western civilisation. In his account of the tide of Western influence Sir Valentine hardly does justice to Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Sir Pherozshah was a man of remarkable gifts and his services as the father of civic life in Bombay and the part he played in building the Congress and guiding its activities for a period of 30 years and in quickening the national life of India have earned for him the grateful admiration of the country. He is dismissed by Sir Valentine Chirol with the remark that he was a very militant figure in the public life of Bombay. So also the reference to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as one of the Parsi intellectuals who dwelt in a dreamland of constitutional theories is unjust to the memory of that sane, sagacious and far-seeing patriot. The character to whom, by reason of his intimate familiarity, Sir Valentine Chirol pays a full and unstinted meed of appreciation is Mr. Gokhale, who is justly described as the sanest and finest character that India has produced blending accurate knowledge of Western history and Western thought with a profound understanding of Indian mentality and of the ancient civilisation that has moulded it. In the account of the influences which brought about an anti-Western reaction, the author fails to notice the important part played by the Theosophical Society in promoting an appreciation of Indian culture and in helping to bring about an Indian renaissance.

IV.

There are many Englishmen who consider that Macaulay's policy of introducing Western education into India was a blunder and that if India had not been brought into contact with the heavy wine of English literature, history and

politics, she would have been saved from those ambitions and aspirations which have stirred her breast and have contributed not a little to the unrest in the country. It is worth pointing out that though this policy of the prohibition of the teaching of European languages has been followed by the Dutch in Java, it has been overtaken by nemesis in that even the Javanese have begun to feel a throbb of nationalism and agitate for Swaraj. It is greatly to the credit of the British in India that they have disdained to follow such a selfish policy and have been anxious to bestow upon their fellow-subjects the blessings of Western education and culture which they themselves have enjoyed and prized. Sir Valentine Chirol is not one of those who consider that the introduction of Western education in India was a political blunder or a failure when it has produced an intellectual *elite* capable of playing such a part as it does to-day in modern India. His sympathetic description of the silent masses of India and the changes which have been brought about in their mentality by the economic pressure of the war, by the rise of prices and by a system of agriculture, for the scientific development of which no policy has yet been co-ordinated, furnishes the appropriate background for the picture of the unrest and the disturbances in 1919. The land of the ox-cart has begun to feel the vibrations of the motor bus and the rustic in the village listens with interest to the out-pourings of the vernacular press and the denunciations of the fanatical stump orator. The state of mind of the silent masses before the great war was hardly one of placid contentment.

In his treatment of the Khilafat movement, Sir Valentine Chirol's references to Mr. Montagu and the treaty of Lausanne are coloured by his prejudice against the religion of the Turks. The work of the first Assembly after the constitutional reforms is on the whole fairly described, though he fails to appreciate exactly the position of the Liberals who were willing to work the Reforms. The Indian Moderates had never agreed to accept the Reforms as adequate or to support the Government through thick and thin in whatever they might choose to do. He is in error in supposing that Lord Reading should have spoken with a less uncertain voice and formally reminded the Assembly of its statutory limitations. In accusing the Indian members of the first Assembly of failure to educate their electorates in favour of the new constitution,

Sir Valentine forgets that in the very nature of things it was not possible for the Moderates to represent the constitution as a piece of perfection or as an adequate instalment of Reforms and that, even if they did so, they could not obtain a hearing against the propaganda of the extremists who denounced the Reforms and promised the goal of full Swaraj. The Indian Moderates were in the unfortunate position of being unable either to please the Government or to fool the country. The constructive work which was done by the first Assembly and Councils deserves a larger measure of appreciation than is given to them by Sir Valentine Chirol.

V.

Perhaps the most important chapters of the book are those in which Sir Valentine deals with the difficulties to be surmounted before full Swaraj can be obtained by India. He points out the danger of friction between a popular and responsible system of Government in British India and the autocratic systems of Government in the Indian States. The Princes' Protection Bill is referred to as a graphic illustration of the difficulty of the supreme government in running in double harness, a democratic India direct under British administration and a more or less despotic and often very mediaeval India in the Indian States. That there is such a danger of friction must be admitted, but what is the inference to be deduced therefrom? Is it that British India should wait for constitutional reforms until the numerous Indian States are brought up to her own level, or that the relations between British India and the States should in certain departments and for a certain length of time be left in the hands of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State? The former conclusion is obviously inadmissible and the latter partakes of the unsatisfactory character of all temporary compromises. But the world is not governed by absolute logic and a solution in the nature of a compromise must necessarily be found, and we hope that it is not beyond the capacity of statesmanship to arrive at a sensible and workable compromise. It is because they are aware of the difficulties that bristle round this subject that Indian reformers have not advocated any interference with the status of the Indian States or the inclusion of foreign relations among the subjects to be brought under the control of the Indian Legislature.

Another difficulty emphasized by Sir Valentine Chirol is that while Indian reformers would eliminate diarchy in the Provinces they are prepared to introduce it in a form still, purposefully no doubt, elastic in the Central Government. If diarchy is turned out of one door, it reappears at another. The fact that owing to certain temporary causes diarchy is inevitable in the Central Government is not an argument for retaining it in the Provincial Governments. The system of diarchy is an anomaly and an evil unless it is absolutely unavoidable. The objections of Indians to diarchy in the Provinces rest not upon an abstract dislike for the theory of diarchy, but upon the serious practical difficulties created by it and upon the belief that it is not in the interests of good government of the Provinces. Another poser propounded by Sir Valentine is the difficulty of regulating the relation between an autonomous Provincial Government and a Central Government responsible to the Secretary of State. The words 'provincial autonomy' are only a compendious label and do not imply, as Lord Olivier put it, that every Province should have its own customs duties, its own army, its own marine if a coastal Province and its own railway system. No sane politician has ever put forward such a silly proposal. In every federal government there is a demarcation of the spheres of the Provincial and Central Governments and to a certain extent every citizen is subject to the control of both the Governments. But it has nowhere been regarded as an objection to a federal constitution. Cases of friction between the Central and Provincial Governments may be removed either by the creation of a judicial tribunal to settle such conflicts or by the reservation of certain power to the Central Government. But, this is a matter which would have to be considered when a fresh constitutional advance is decided upon and it is not necessary for us to go further than point out that remedies have been found by other countries to guard against the dangers of such friction.

The control of the army is another thorny question and as pointed out by Sir Valentine Chirol, it is all the harder to deal with it now because the British military authorities never seriously approached it until it became a political as well as a military question. Our suspicions as to the origin of the 8 Units' Scheme of Indianisation are corroborated by the observation of Sir Valentine Chirol that the Army

Department has to reckon with the strong social objections of officers to being placed in the position of ever having to take orders from Indian officers. Sir Valentine Chirol very justly observes that the whole question of the Indianisation of the army is further aggravated by the fact that military expenditure is itself much the heaviest of all the burdens to be borne by the Indian tax-payer who has no means of controlling the amount or the purpose to which it is applied. One generous suggestion made by Sir Valentine is that a portion of the military expenditure should be borne by the Imperial Government. But, we are afraid it is too good to be accepted by the Imperial Government.

The last chapter is the most eloquent chapter in the book and though Sir Valentine is oppressed by a doubt as to whether India has developed an instinct of hostility to Western civilisation, he concludes with a note of idealism and sober optimism. We commend this chapter to Britons and Indians alike and let us hope that British statesmanship and Indian patriotism will be equal to the task of solving one of the most complicated problems in the history of the world.

In the case of a book of such great merit, it may be allowed to us to wish that apart from a few inaccuracies of spelling like *Bandralog* for *Bhadralog* and *Panchamas* for *Panchamas*, a few inaccurate statements of fact had been avoided. For instance, the *Durian* fruit which is grown in Burma and Malaya is not to be found in Southern India and the author probably means the jack fruit. A somewhat more important mis-statement is that the *Nambudri* (not *Nampudri*) Brahmins of Malabar are governed by the system of matriarchy, whereas they are really governed by the Hindu law which applies with the added incidents of primogeniture and impartibility.

THE EVOLUTION OF LEGAL CONCEPTIONS.*

By MR. C. M. AGARWALA, *Bar-at-Law*.

If it could be shown without any reasonable doubt that the human race started at one particular place and that from that place the race gradually spread over the surface of the

earth, it would be an interesting line of research to trace the stages by which each branch of the race evolved the habits, customs and institutions peculiar to its own environment and necessities; to mark the difference between the time taken by one branch to reach a certain standard of culture as compared with the period of time taken by other branches; to appraise correctly the reason why some branches of the race either never attained a very high cultural development or attained and then receded from the point it had reached. But even in the absence of a common cradle for the whole of humanity, investigation into the customs and institutions of different branches of the race reveal that although moving along totally different routes, the various branches of mankind strive for and attain much that is common to all.

The seed of the Science of Sociology, sown by Comte and nurtured to sturdiness by Herbert Spencer, has flourished and the work of the latter has done much to define the channels along which inquiry into the fundamental laws of evolution may be most profitably pursued. The social history of primitive peoples is revealed in their custom, institutions, drawing and architecture. The ancient history of civilised nations is to be found with greater certainty in the written accounts left by the people themselves and by foreigners who visited them, and in their codes of law. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *Mahabharath* and the *Ramayana*, the Norwegian and Icelandic sagas, Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, the writings of Cæsar, Tacitus and Herodotus, are mines from which ancient history has been extracted in abundance. But the most reliable source of information regarding ancient societies are the codes of law. As Maine pointed out, they are the unconscious records faithfully kept of the ancient institutions of the race. They are made not for the purpose of being passed on to posterity as a picture of the society of the time, but with the practical object of regulating contemporary society. They are, therefore, absolutely free from bias. Hence the importance of ancient law in studying the social history of the human race and the history of the evolution of society.

The credit for drawing the attention of the English-speaking world to the importance of a study of laws on the genetic method belongs to Sir Henry Maine. The line of study which

*The Evolution of Law. By Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta. (Calcutta University, Calcutta).

he initiated was full of promise although the materials at his disposal were scanty. By his researches, however, he established the new school of historico-comparative jurisprudence. Simultaneously, Rudolph von Ihering in Germany was engaged in a critical study of historical facts and in his *Geist der Römischen Rechts* he points out that the object of the historical jurist is not to study the external history of legal institutions but their inner chronology, that is to say, their inner evolution—to interrogate historical facts critically for the purpose of arriving at the inner motives of their being. Following Maine and von Ihering came Fustel de Coulanges, Letourneau Kohlen, Tarde, and many others, who devoted themselves to the study of juristic evolution. Many of Maine's conclusions require revision now. His works must always be studied as source-books, but they can hardly be regarded as authoritative at the present day. Even Pollock's valuable notes to Maine's *Ancient Law* have not made it absolutely adequate as a present-day introduction to the subject. Indeed, until the recent publication of Vinogradoff's *Historical Jurisprudence*, it would have been difficult to find another work in English which furnished an up-to-date treatment of the subject from the student's point of view. Vinogradoff's great work, however, leaves plenty of room for others who have anything to say on the subject, and is, possibly, not quite the ideal introduction to the subject for an Indian student with his own special equipment and his special intellectual and moral environment.

Fortunately, however, an elementary work on the subject specially designed for the Indian student has just made its appearance. The book, *The Evolution of Law*, is founded on lectures delivered by Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta to students of the Dacca University, who had completed a course of studies in Hindu law, Roman law and the outlines of the history of English law, and the book assumes on the part of the reader of a fair acquaintance with the outstanding facts of the legal history of England, Rome and Ancient India. With regard to Ancient India the author has referred in greater detail to the history of its laws than in other cases. This is all the more desirable as a systematic study of the evolution of law in Ancient India has not yet been made. The author claims to have discovered evidence not

available in the ordinary text-books of Hindu law and has not hesitated to express his own opinion when he differs from accepted notions on the history and character of the ancient legal institutions of India. Many of his conclusions cannot be accepted without stronger evidence in support of them than is at present available, but the book is thought-provoking and deserves a place on the library shelf. The author has wisely provided a useful index to the subject-matter.

MR. DENNIS BRADLEY AS A SPIRITUALIST.*

By DR. H. E. H. TRACY.

Mr. Bradley, the latest arrival among the cynical essayists, has now entered the spiritualistic fold. And with the fervour of the new convert, he passes on the revelation with all his fierce brilliance.

To one who has studied his world-weary cynical writings, he would seem a strange prophet. But the amazing story of his casual haphazard introduction into the possibility of communion with the departed is far more convincing than anything we have read. His accounts of seances shock neither the reason nor the taste.

For he was without the desire to pierce the veil that is born of the desolation of a recent bereavement. He went to a seance in America for entertainment only. He was at once placed in communication with a sister who had died ten years previously. He assures us that his hosts and recent friends must have been unaware of the existence of this sister, and that, for himself, he had placed her among the things of the past. Other manifestations seemed to prove the genuine nature of the messages that came through to that modern American drawing-room.

Then followed a pilgrim's progress along the misty devious tracks that lead towards the stars. The first adventures among British mediums proved unfruitful. But perseverance had its reward. He came in touch not only with the beloved sister, but with a relative whose communications proved far more evidential, as there was not the same emotional link.

*Towards the Stars. By Dennis Bradley; pp. 337, XVII. (T. Werner Laurie, 30 New Bridge Street, London, E. C. 4.)

And so success was mingled with failures and disappointments. The accounts are given of numerous seances where the results were amazing in their evidential value.

But the affair was for Mr. Bradley in its opening phases only. Various spirits informed him that they were endeavouring to help him in his literary work. One Johannes, a Jew, who lived centuries before Christ, placed the wealth of his accumulated knowledge of the affairs of life and death at the neophyte's disposal through the agency of automatic writing.

Book 3 which contains the results of these revelations is evidently supremely important in the author's eyes. To the reader it is disappointing. The views of Johannes are the views of Dennis Bradley: the same hatred of warfare, the same girding at modern materialism, the same oversight of the fact that war destroys much materialism in the hour when men offer their all. The profiteer is but an ugly incident.

Johannes gives us a spirit's view on various forms of manslaughter. Surely to those who see both sides of the veil, the mere blotting out of human existence is not a matter of paramount importance.

But the critic must hold his peace. In book 4, Mr. Bradley makes it clear that those who do not at once agree with him are worn out minds to whom he will "concede only the spittle of my scorn." He has a rough way with the disbelievers. "Their bird-like aggression would not stimulate the saliva of a castrated cat."

One would say that Mr. Bradley was unacquainted with "The Road to End on" or the numerous exposures of spiritualism which lay across the path of the enquirer. And yet he shows up Sir Conan Doyle as a credulous and bungling fellow. The eminent writer is merely endowed with an extra share of faith, that quality which enables us to believe what we know is not true.

So we await the next volume with interest, and with the hope that Mr. Bradley will have lost a little of his rancour. The convert of nine months might study the question of automatic writing as a phenomenon of the subconscious mind. The strong and weak parts of this volume must be found by the reader. He will traverse the work more than once, which makes it a pity that such an important book be furnished with a flimsy paper cover.

TRUE TRAVELLER'S TALES.*

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.

It is a rich book, with 65 chapters, illustrated by 168 drawings by the author, and the drawings are as alluring as the vivid narrative of the famous explorer's adventures from boyhood until after the great war, when he visits the United States. He reserves as he well may, for a future volume an account of this journey, having returned to Sweden by way of the Pacific, Japan, China, Mongolia, Siberia, Russia and Finland. The evident joy in travel for its own sake which prompted him to go home in this somewhat round-about course, is exemplified at the beginning of his crowded story. He is still a school-boy in Stockholm when "one spring day in 1885, shortly before I left school, the Principal asked me if I would like to go to Baku on the Caspian Sea, to serve for half a year as tutor to a boy in a lower class, whose father was Chief Engineer in the employ of the Nobel brothers." Unable to resist this chance of fulfilling a boyish ambition to travel, he crosses on a steamer to the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland, and then has a four days' train journey through European Russia to the Caucasus. At Vladikavkaz his pupil's father takes him in a carriage across the Caucasus, making 120 miles in two days. From Tiflis they resume the journey by rail, in the company of Persian, Tartar and Armenian merchants, with their wives and children. At last, after several exciting incidents and many memorable scenes, all vividly sketched, he finds himself in the midst of a strange forest of derricks, at Balaklany, the centre of the oil industry on the peninsula of Apsheron which the Nobel brothers had developed. After seven months' teaching there, during which time he has contrived to learn Tartar and Persian, he decides to spend the 300 Roubles he has earned as tutor, on a horseback-journey through Persia to the sea. Space forbids us to describe even in outline the eventful journey of the youthful traveller, first to the Persian Gulf, then up the Tigris, visiting many a history-haunted desolation. The result of all these youthful adventures was that he wrote a book; for some time studied geography and geology at the Universities of Upsala and

*My Life as an Explorer, by Sven Hedin. [Casell & Co., LaBelle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, London, R. C. 4.]

Berlin; and finally accompanied an embassy to the Shah of Persia. As an example of his vivid and well-packed style, take only one brief paragraph in the chapter describing his very interesting second visit to Persia:—

"Finally, one day, we rode out to the ruins of Rages, the ancient city that flourished in the days of Salmanasar, and is mentioned in the Book of Tobit. Alexander the Great rested there when he was a day's march from the 'Caspian Gates.' More than a thousand years later the city was beautified by the Caliph Al-Mansur. Within its walls Haroun-al-Raschid was born and the Arabs sang of its glory, calling it 'The Gate of the Gates of the Earth.' In the thirteenth century, Rages was totally destroyed by the Mongols; and now only a well-preserved tower rises above the ruins."

As the story of his life progresses the journeys become longer and more adventurous. Besides the famous entry of Tibet, he describes here also a journey from Tibet across Mongolia to Peking. It is Russian and Chinese Turkestan, and the neighbouring deserts and mountains of Central Asia, however, which he seems to have explored most laboriously and at the greatest peril, on one occasion—in Chinese Turkestan—losing the whole of his caravan after a sand-storm through the drying-up of all the water sources in the dead desert.

A CZECH-SLOVAKIAN ON MODERN ENGLAND.*

By Miss MURIEL KENT.

There is a special and piquant interest about the impressions of ourselves which are published, from time to time, by the stranger within our gate. They come from such diverse sources as Walter N. Page's keen intelligence; the mystical insight of the Sadhu; and now from a Czech-Slovakian writer who brings to his study of England a philosophic humour and

the frankness of a child. His letters make a most engaging picture-book of the country and the people—for our own instruction, or for any foreigner who is not a pronounced Anglophobe. For this is a sympathetic commentary, and only the very thin-skinned English reader could resent such delicate irony and criticism as the author gives us.

Conscientiously, observantly, he "goes everywhere" (except to Ireland, of which he provides a delightful map from imagination)—to the London Museums; to the Zoo and Madame Tussaud's—before its destruction—to the West End Clubs, where he discovers that "a man from the Continent gives himself an air of importance by talking; an Englishman by holding his tongue." He visits the countryside; Oxford and Cambridge; Scotland and Skye—and perhaps the lonely island satisfies his soul more than any other place.

He tells us what he has seen and what he thinks about it in phrases which may easily become classic because they are so fresh, so charming or so incisive. His pen-and-ink illustrations are almost superfluous, but they remind us of the quaint sketches which Burne-Jones produced half-consciously. There is a further likeness in the whimsical letters written by both men.

Now and then, Capek's nostalgia provides us with a sudden glimpse of his own land and his own city of Prague—where "the street is a sort of large tavern or public garden...an extension of home and doorstep"; while the London streets "are just a gully through which life flows to get home." At Liverpool, he consoles himself for his country without a sea-board by the thought of unlimited mental horizons: "Yes, it is needful to keep on sailing forth; the ocean is in all places where courage is."

Finally, our fascinating visitor makes thumb-nail portraits of some notable literary men—G. K. Chesterton, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, etc.—before he escapes to his "small and imperfect corner of the world," there to meditate on all that he has seen and enjoy the company of a less "joyless and reticent race." That is his worst indictment against the English—and he balances it by very graceful appreciation.

**Letters from England.* By Karel Capek. Translated by Paul Selver (Geoffrey Blen, 22 Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, London, S. W. 1).

RECENT HINDUSTANI LITERATURE: A CRITIQUE.

Gul-i-Rana. By Maulana Hakim Syed Abdal Hai (The Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh).

Sher-ul-Hind. (Vol. I). By Maulana Abdussalam Nadwi (The Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh).

Both these books are histories of Urdu Poetry—written in imitation of Azad's masterpiece *Ab-i-Hayat*, though in some respects they differ from their model. The authors of both, for instance, deal in a more or less satisfactory manner with that period of the development of Urdu when the Deccan was its centre, which, as modern research is showing, extended to some hundreds of years before Wall, whom Azad calls the Chancer of Urdu poetry, though their treatment shows that they have depended mainly on *Tazkiras* and compilations, and have not studied the materials of this early period at first hand. And both bring their accounts down to a later period than Azad, who closes his book with an account of *Anis* and *Dabir*—Maulana Abdal Hai bringing his account to Akbar of Allahabad, and Maulana Abdussalam even including some of the living moderns like *Hasrat*, *Aziz* and *Josh*. Yet one is constrained to say that there is not much of genuine, living criticism in either of these two books, nor do they enable a student, who is acquainted with the canons of western literary culture, to value and appreciate the great writers of Urdu at their true worth. For one thing they are concerned too much with "form" and do not give sufficient attention to those social and political forces which influenced, in no small measure, the development of Urdu poetry and which constituted its environment and momentum. It has become the fashion with a certain class of writers to decry Azad, and our authors are not above indulging in cheap sneers. But Azad, though he may have made mistakes of fact and fallen short of the standard of western literary criticism, gives us real and convincing pictures of his various periods and makes us realise and appreciate the life and thought of the times in which his poets lived, moved and had their being. And he is a master of a style natural, easy and unforced as a bird's song and clear as the thought which it expresses, which at its best attains almost classic perfection. Neither *Gul-i-Rana* nor *Sher-ul-Hind* approaches high level, and the *Ab-i-Hayat* in spite of its defects, though written fifty years ago, still remains unsurpassed.

It was one of the misfortunes of Urdu that when in the reign of Mohammad Shah the centre of its

culture was shifted from the Deccan to Delhi it fell in the hands of a literary class which was steeped in Persian. This was not the fault of that class; historical and political causes made it so; but it was a misfortune nevertheless. It was a misfortune of the same kind, though on a much larger scale, as of the very same language falling in the hands of an "anglicised" class in the latter half of the 19th century. Urdu is an Indian language, and though no objection can be taken to one living language borrowing freely from other living languages, it would have been much better if Urdu in its earlier days had been nourished on Indian ideals, Indian traditions and Indian modes of thought. But it was not to be: Urdu was nurtured on Persian,—and that too on the dead Persian of India, not on the living Persian of Iran—and its poets talked of *Rustam* and *Isfandayar* instead of *Bhim* and *Arjuna*, of *Oxus* and *Jaxartes* instead of the *Ganga* and the *Jumna*, of *Alburz* and *Besitun* instead of the *Himalayas* and the *Vindhya*s, and of *Qamri* and *Bulbul* instead of *Koili* and *Papiha*. And the Persian poetry which it did imitate was the poetry of decadence, not the poetry of *Hafiz* and *Sadi* but of *Nasir Ali* and *Bedil*. No doubt, Urdu has produced poets like *Mir*, *Atash*, *Ghalib* and *Anis*, who by sheer force of genius have risen above their surroundings and have given some brilliant specimens of true poetry, the poetry of "the passion and the life whose fountains are within," but Urdu poetry as it was cultivated by the bulk of writers was imitative, exotic and artificial and its worst faults culminated in *Nasikh* and his school, who wrote for the "town" and reduced their art to an artifice. Poetasters became as common as blackberries but their verse went lame in every foot and they degraded poetry to word-kneading. And if their poetry contains ignoble, unmanly and immoral sentiments, it is because the society in which they lived and the courts for which they wrote were saturated with them. From the very first Urdu poetry was connected with courts and courtiers and the period of its rise was the period of *Mohammad Shah* and his successors at Delhi and of *Asafuddaula* and his successors at Lucknow. In Upper India, which was the centre of Urdu, it was an age of decay, an age of insecurity and fear, of political degradation and of social license and immorality. The ruling class connected with the court was steeped in these vices and it is no wonder that Urdu poetry, written for and by that class, reflected them. As in

so many other departments of life, so also in this, the awakening came after the rude shock of the Mutiny and both Azad and Hali protested against the wooden artificiality, the false sentimentality and the yet vulgar morality of their contemporaries, and did not protest in vain. The twentieth century school led by Iqbal, Chakrabarti, and Hastrat has adopted a more natural, healthier and manlier tone, and the false heroics and purple chatter of literary coxcombs are being replaced by purer sentiments and real passion.

There are a few omissions in these books which appear inexplicable. In *Sher-ul-Hind* even the name of Daya Shankar Nasim, the author of the *Gulzar-i-Nasim*, is not mentioned, and though Maulana Abdul Hai mentions his name in *Gul-i-Rana* among the well-known pupils of Atash, he says nothing more. *Gulzar-i-Nasim*, in spite of its faults, has become an Urdu classic and no historian of Urdu poetry can afford to ignore its author. In literature, at any rate, there should be no distinction of race, religion and creed, and literary history and literary criticism should be above religious and communal bias. There is no mention either of Nazir of Agra in *Gul-i-Rana* and he is only casually mentioned in *Sher-ul-Hind* as the author of a poem on *Barsaf*. It is true that Nazir made the mistake of selecting certain unfit subjects for his poetry but that does not mean that he should be excluded altogether from the list of Urdu poets. Take him at his best and you will find that his poetry rings true, and there are not many poems in Urdu which excel in passion and in pathos his famous lyric of the *Hans Bichara*. One can only hope that omissions like these are not deliberate but are due to mere inadvertence.

II.

Sair-ul-Munannifin. Vol. I. By Muhammad Valiya Tanha (Darul-Ishaat, Ghazipur).

The author has in this book attempted to give an account of the writers of Urdu prose. Several books containing accounts of the Urdu poets are extant but this is the first book in which the prose writers are dealt with and as such it deserves encouragement and support. The author has divided the history of Urdu prose into four periods and deals with the first two in the first volume.

The first period ranges from 1795 to 1835 and is concerned mainly with the writers of the Fort William school like Ata Husain Tahsin, Mir Anuman, the author of *Bagh-o-Bahar*, Mirza Ali Latif, the author of *Gulshan-i-Hind*, Mir Sher Ali Afsoos, the translator of Sadi's *Gulistan*, Nihal Chand Lahori, who narrated the story

of *Gul Bakhshi* in Urdu prose and called it *Mazhab-i-Ishaq*, Lalla Lal, the author of *Prem Sagar* and Ikram Ali, the translator of *Ikhwanussafa*, though Shah Abdul Qadir, the first translator of the Quran into Urdu and Maulvi Ismail Dehli are also mentioned. In this connection the attention of the author may be drawn to Mohommad Bakhsh Mahjoor, who wrote several stories in Urdu prose in the reign of Ghazuddin Haider of Lucknow, of which perhaps *Nauratan* is the best known. The writers of the Fort William school translated books under the direction of Dr. Gilchrist chiefly for the use of the British officers of the East India Company and their style, which reaches its high water mark in Mir Anuman's *Bagh-o-Bahar*, is simple and easy, though its occasional crudities bear witness to the fact that Urdu prose was still in the making.

The second period from 1835 to 1857 is practically dominated by Rajab Ali Sumor, the author of *Fisail-i-Ajaib*, whose style is based on the high-flown, artificial and complex diction of latter-day Persian, and was in its turn imitated by writers like Gulam Ghous Bekhabar and Ghulam Imam Shahid. Ghalib, however, with the force of genius, broke through this pernicious tradition and wrote his Urdu letters in a style, simple, chaste and supple which compels admiration and fills people with envy and despair.

The book is marred by two defects. The author has not taken sufficient pains in the collecting or the sifting of material and though the history of early Urdu prose inspires research, has not done anything important in that direction. And he has incorporated without acknowledgment not merely sentences but sometimes even whole pages from such well-known books as *Ab-i-Hayat* and *Yadgar-i-Ghalib*. And so while it is creditable to M. Muhammad Vahya Tanha to have broken new ground and made this first attempt at a history of Urdu prose literature, his book would have been more useful had he taken the trouble to collect, sift and digest his material better. We expect better results in his second volume.

III.

Natak Sagar ("The Ocean of Drama") by Nur Iqbal and Muhammad Zafar. (Sheikh Mubarak Ali, Lohari Darwaza, Lahore).

Natak Sagar is a history of dramatic literature and is the first book of its kind in the language. Urdu literature in its earlier days was based mostly on Persian models and so, like Persian, it had no drama. The first drama in it called *Indar Sabha*, was written by Amanat in the days of Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow. Parsi theatrical companies, which in the seventies of

the last century began to tour in Upper India, had to adapt dramas in Hindustani for the stage and they employed writers like Vinayek Pershad Talib of Benares and Syed Mehdi Hasan Ahsan of Lucknow for writing their plays, based sometimes on the plays of Shakespeare, and these writers have been succeeded by Agha Hashr and Narayan Pershad Betab. But their plays were written mostly on commercial lines and to please an uncritical audience and hardly possess any literary merit. Public means breed public manners and their natures were subdued to what they worked in. It appears however, that Talib wrote a drama called *Lail-o-Nihar*, based on Lytton's *Night and Morning*, and the authors of *Natak Sagar* as well as P. Braj Mohan Dattatriya Kaifi, who has contributed to it an excellent introduction, speak very highly of it. The Urdu writers of recognised merit who have cared to write dramas are few, very few, indeed, and among their productions may be mentioned the *Shahid-i-Wafa* of Abdul Halim Sharar, *Zood Pashaman* of Abdul Majid, the translation of *Vikram Urvasi* by Aziz Mirza and *Raj Dulari* of Kaifi. The late M. Jwala Pershad Barq of Lucknow, one of the prominent writers of the *Oudh Punch* school, translated several plays of Shakespeare, but of these only three, have been so far published. The translations of several others, e.g., *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Tempest*, *The Winter's Tale* and *Macbeth*, could not be published and their manuscripts are lying in manuscripts with his sons. The late Pandit Braj Narayan Chakbast some years ago wrote a social drama called *Kamila*, but it was not worthy of his genius.

The *Natak Sagar* gives a succinct account of the revolution of drama all over the world and enables those who are not acquainted with any European language to obtain a bird's-eye-view of the development of the dramatic art from Ancient India and Ancient Greece to Modern Europe and Modern India. The account of Urdu and Hindi drama given in the twelfth chapter is very interesting, for I do not think that the information which it contains can be found anywhere else. *Natak Sagar* will prove useful to the historians of modern Indian literatures later on and its authors deserve well of the Indian reading public.

IV.

Jalaluddin Khwarazmshah: Translated by Syed Sajjad Haider (Muslim University Book Depot, Aligarh).

As usual in the history of empires the decay of the

Abbaside Khilafat gave rise to a number of dynasties—the Tahirids, the Saffarids, the Buwaidids, the Seljuks etc.—in Persia, Khorasan and Central Asia. In the beginning of the 13th century, one of these, the Khwarazmshahs, or Kings of Khiva, were in the ascendant, and the reigning monarch, Alaaddin Muhammad, ruled over an empire which extended from the Ural to the Persian Gulf and from the Indus almost to the Euphrates. His relations with Nasir, the Khalifa of Baghdad, were hostile, so much so that not content with crushing his temporal power Alaaddin wanted to set up a rival Khalifa. This so exasperated Nasir that he appealed for help to Chingiz Khan, the Mongol chief, who advancing from his native wilds with his barbarian hordes overwhelmed the empire of Khwarazmshah. Later on Halaku, the grandson of Chingiz, subverted the Abbasid dynasty in 1257 A.D. killing Al-Mustasim, the last Khalifa of the house of Abbas, and making the streets of Baghdad run with blood. It was to commemorate this tragedy in the history of Islam that Sadi of Shiraz wrote his famous *marsia*. When Chingiz invaded the realm of Khwarazmshah's, Alaaddin Muhammad fled before him, abandoning his people to their fate and died a wretched and hunted fugitive, in an island of the Caspian Sea. He was succeeded by his son Jalaluddin, who though he was unable to avert the disaster, yet by his gallant deeds saved from ignominy the memory of the once mighty house of Khwarazm.

The drama of *Jalaluddin Khwarazmshah*, has been translated from the original Turkish into Urdu by that well-known writer Syed Sajjad Haider, B.A., Registrar of the Aligarh University. The plot is stirring; it deals with the heroic efforts of Jalaluddin to rouse the Mussalmans to resist the Mongol invaders. The sympathy of the reader goes out to the hero, who with daring and skill tries to circumvent the intrigues of traitors and to beat back the Tartar hordes. Jalaluddin fails but he fails gloriously and the story of his failure lives in the memory of posterity to point a moral and adorn a tale.

The book is not free from defects. It is too long to be staged and is meant evidently for the closet, while now and again the dialogue ceases to be dialogue and lengthens out into a lecture. Here and there the language of the translation needs careful revision. Still we have no hesitation in saying that all lovers of Urdu should be thankful to the translator for his contribution, specially because that language is so poor in dramatic literature.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

Outlines of Indian Constitutional History (British Period). By W. A. J. Archbold, M.A., LL.B. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., Orchard House, Westminster London) 1926.

In his *Outlines of Indian Constitutional History* Mr. W. A. J. Archbold has successfully traced, in broad outline, the constitutional development of British India from the foundation of the East India Company to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. Such a book was badly needed, since Cowell's work—covering more or less the same ground—has been out of date for years. It will, therefore, prove useful both to students of the constitutional history of India and to those who wish to be familiar with the recent and important changes which have been made in this country. It may also help Britishers to form an opinion as to the desirability of further changes which it is certain will be suggested in the near future, as they are being demanded persistently by the representatives of the people. It is an excellent text-book of the subject it deals with. The exposition is lucid, the facts are accurately recorded, and opinions are expressed without any trace of partisanship. It is well-documented and enriched with a number of appendices containing very useful information on the origin and growth of the Indian constitution. Altogether Mr. Archbold's treatise deserves a warm acknowledgment and a cordial welcome—as it will prove of great utility alike to the student and the reformer.

Offences Against the State in Roman Law. By Dr. P. N. Schisas (University of London, Press, Ltd., 17, Warwick Square, London E. C. 4) 1926.

In his treatise called *Offences Against the State in Roman Law and the Courts Which Were Competent to Take Cognizance of Them*—to give it its full designation—the author practically breaks new ground, and Mr. S. H. Leonard (who contributes a Preface) is fully justified in commending "both capacity and enthusiasm for original research," on the part of Dr. Schisas, the author of the book. His volume is, as its name implies, a systematic study of the Roman laws of sedition and treason—i.e., those which dealt with offences against the Roman State, and also of the courts which were competent to take cognizance of these crimes. It should prove useful

alike to students of Roman law and history, as it throws much light on the writings of Cicero, Tacitus, Plutarch, Dionysius, Polybius, and others. It should make a special appeal to students of the law of sedition in India, as that branch of our law is not regarded, by enlightened public opinion, as being in a satisfactory condition. This work which has been very carefully put together by the author and is marked by scholarship, legal acumen and critical judgment, is a notable addition to the literature of the Roman law, in the English language.

Cases on the Law of Tort. By C. S. Kenny, LL.D. Fourth edition (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1926.

We welcome the fourth revised edition of Dr. Kenny's *Cases on the Law of Tort*. The fact that since its first appearance, in 1904, it has passed through four editions, is conclusive proof of its success. Nor is it surprising, for Dr. Kenny's work contains decisions in about two hundred cases upon important points in the law of tort, with elucidative annotations by the editor. Although some of the cases have been abridged, yet everything essential in the way of facts and argument is carefully recorded. The collection has, therefore, been found invaluable by the student, as the arrangement of the topics illustrated by the cases leaves nothing to be desired. The Indian law of Tort being yet uncodified, our judges and lawyers have to depend on case-law on the subject. Dr. Kenny's book will, therefore, be found highly serviceable both by occupants of the bench and by legal practitioners in India.

The Code of Criminal Procedure. By Sir John Woodroffe (Thacker, Spink & Co., Rispalade, Calcutta) 1926.

At last—at long last—after a weary waiting for years, we have the pleasure of extending a cordial welcome to Sir John Woodroffe's commentary on the *Indian Code of Criminal Procedure*. So far as one can gather from a cursory perusal of this legal tome the author's aim has been not merely to collect but to select, from the constantly increasing mass of material, what is necessary. This qualification implies

a selection without sacrifice of what is essential. He has then sought to present his material in an orderly and compendious manner. Acting on the principles of intelligent editing—as distinguished from mere assiduous collection of cases—the author has in the instance of conflict of decisions expressed his own opinion unambiguously on the points in dispute. He has also dealt with the effect of the recent amendments of the Code. Lastly, in the presentment of his subject he has had in view not only the requirements of legal practitioners, but also those of students. The well-known publications of the author in other branches of adjective law are a guarantee of the utility of the book for the two classes of readers for whom it has been designed, as his *Law of Evidence* and *The Code of Civil Procedure* have been designed in pursuance of the same ideal and have been highly successful. This is just to record our sense of satisfaction at the appearance of Sir John Woodroffe's latest work on our adjective criminal law, which is worthy of his great reputation as a jurist and a successful expounder of Indian law. A critical appreciation of the book may appear in due course.

Pleadings in India with Precedents. By (Sir) Cecil Walsh, K. C., M.A. and J. C. Wier, B.A., LL.D. (Rajn Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad) 1925.

The Law of Pleadings in British India with Precedents. By P. C. Mogha, (Subordinate and Assistant Sessions Judge, Mumsfernagar, U. P.) 1926.

Last year we noticed in terms of appreciation Mr. Justice Walsh's and Dr. Wier's *Pleadings in India* as the best introductory text-book on the subject. Now we are presented by Mr. P. C. Mogha—of the Agra and Oudh Provincial Judicial Service—with an able and exhaustive treatise called *The Law of Pleadings in India*. The main interest of both these books lies—apart from their text—in the introductions contributed to by Sir Grimwood Mears, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. He justly complained in the introduction to the first book that "there is in this country a singular absence of text-books on this subject." He repeats this complaint in the introduction to the second and writes that "until recently at least no work of pleading of an authority was in existence." The two works under review have, however, removed the reproach, and Mr. Mogha's work—which is comprehensive and puts together with skill and knowledge—will constitute a notable addition to the literature of Indian adjective law.

RECENT BOOKS OF REFERENCE

Who's Who 1926. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd. Soho Square, London) 1925.

A highly meritorious work of reference is the well-known annual, called *Who's Who*. Of the current books of reference, perhaps none is more useful to the journalist than this annual biographical dictionary—with which is incorporated the defunct *Men and Women of the Time*. This is the seventy-eighth year of its issue, and it is correct down to June, 1925. So great is the labour of compiling and printing this vast work, which comprises over three thousand pages of close double-column type, that printing had to begin as early as June. The work opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year. This is followed by an account of the Royal Family, and then come 30,000 biographies. The biographies, though generally exceedingly condensed, are accurate and informative. They give, besides, useful and interesting information about the habits, tastes and hobbies of the large number of persons whose careers are sketched. The book is thus indispensable to a journalist. Indian names appear in *Who's Who*, but the sketches of eminent Indians need careful revision by experts and specialists in current Indian affairs. Additions are also required to make the Indian list comprehensive and more useful than it is at present.

The Liberal Year-Book 1926. (The Liberal Publication Department, 42 Parliament Street, London, S. W. 1) 1926.

The three great parties in Great Britain have each their organs in the press and an annual work of ready reference—the Labourites their *Labour Year-Book*, the Conservatives their *Constitutional Year-Book* and the Liberals their *Liberal Year-Book*. The edition of the last, for the current year, is the twenty-second of the series and it has thus passed its majority on which its compilers and publishers deserve felicitation. It is carefully revised from year to year—all obsolete matter is judiciously pruned off and information, which may be reasonably looked for in an annual reference book of this kind, is inserted and the whole text is studiously revised and overhauled. The result is that each new edition is not only thoroughly up-to-date and abreast of the latest political data, but replete with a vast store of information about British politics, not easily accessible to students of public affairs in India. The book, though primarily compiled for the use of the members of the Liberal party, is of great utility to public men even in this country.

Two of its most attractive features, of special interest to Indian publicists, are the excellent sketch of parliamentary procedure and the fairly comprehensive bibliography of current books of political interest. Altogether the *Liberal Year-Book* is one of the most valuable works of reference. The current edition is fully abreast of the latest events and incidents.

Government of India Directory 1926. Simla edition. (Government of India Press, Simla) 1926.

For some years past the Central Government used to issue from Delhi in December and from Simla in May what was called the *Government of India List* containing the names and addresses of their officers, including also of those of heads of local Governments and administrations and also of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The last of the lists was issued from Simla in May, 1924. The issue from Delhi in December, 1924, appeared in better form under the more convenient name of *Government of India Directory*. The first Simla edition appeared in May last year. We welcome this useful publication to the list of reference works dealing with India, and it ought to have a wide circulation in circles connected with the Central Government at Delhi and Simla. The personnel of the Central and Provincial Governments changes with kaleidoscopic rapidity and, in the circumstances, the Delhi and Simla editions of the *Government of India Directory* are useful additions to reference literature concerning this country.

Willing's Press Guide 1926. (James Willing, Ltd., 30 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2.) 1925.

Messrs. Willing's *Directory and Handbook*—which is now in its fifty-third annual edition—is an excellent compendious record of the press of the British Isles. It also gives lists of telegraphic news and reporting agencies, of the principal colonial and foreign journals and a variety of useful and instructive information about the fourth estate of the realm. It thus forms a concise and comprehensive index to the press of the United Kingdom in particular and that of the British Commonwealth in general. Altogether, it is a capital work of reference for the journalist and the advertiser. The current edition is thoroughly up-to-date and is abreast of the latest changes in the world of journalism.

Social Progress: A Handbook of the Liberal Movement. ("The Arbitrator" Office, 114 East 32nd Street, New York, U.S.A.) 1925.

Social Progress is an American handbook giving the fullest information about the liberal and progressive movements in the United States. It carefully analyses and epitomizes actual conditions in that country and the struggle going on to-day for a higher and better social order. The book—which has been put together by the Editor assisted by an advisory board of competent persons—is a unique production and its study brings into prominent relief the long strides which America is taking in her advance towards the goal of social progress. It should appeal to our social reformers as a help and guide.

The Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, No. 18. (The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Melbourne, Australia) 1926.

The Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia—which is in its eighteenth issue—has been compiled by the Commonwealth Statistician and Actuary, Mr. C. H. Wickens—under instructions from the Minister of State for Home and Territories, and has been edited by Mr. John Stanham, M.A. This official publication is a repository of highly useful information relating to Australia. Detailed chapters are devoted to the history, physiography, political and local government, land revenue and settlement, over-seas trade, transport and communication, finance, education, public health, labour, wages and prices, defence etc., of the Commonwealth; in fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year-Book*. It is thus an authoritative book and in one single volume of 1120 pages every item connected with that country is carefully surveyed. As portion of the matter contained in the previous year-books (Nos. 1 to 17) has been reduced to synopsis in or deleted from the present issue, a special index is provided at the end of the volume to facilitate reference to subjects dealt with in those issues. The present volume also contains the full text of the Commonwealth Constitution. On going through this monumental work of reference, one feels how backward the Government of India still is in the matter of organizing statistical data and information and their dissemination in public interest, in annual publications similar to those issued by the Governments of Australia, Canada and South Africa. For this reason, we commend with pleasure the *Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* to the attention of Indian publicists and public-men, who may

be desirous of studying the system of responsible Government obtaining in the Australian Commonwealth.

The Karachi Handbook and Directory, 1925-26. (The Daily Gazette Press, Karachi), 1925.

The Karachi Handbook and Directory is about the best in its class and it is an annual of great value to the people of Sind. The current volume is a bulky issue which, besides containing up-to-date chapters on Karachi, its people, trade and commerce, notable buildings, educational and other institutions, the early history of Sind, its agriculture, co-operative movement, growing trade and municipal progress, has a new section added to it, called "Who's Who in Karachi", which we have no doubt will be appreciated. The *Handbook* also contains a detailed chapter on the Lloyd Sukkur Barrage project which is attracting considerable attention throughout India. The Editor, in his foreword, gives a descriptive sketch of the rise and importance of Karachi, and the valuable appendices, which are a mine of useful information as regards the municipal work of this growing town, are quite an interesting study. The publishers have spared no pains to bring the *Directory* up-to-date and the residents of Sind cannot be too grateful to them for this invaluable annual. It should appeal to readers even outside the boundaries of the province, with which it is concerned.

The Baroda Library Handbook, 1926. By Newton Mohun Dutt. (The Central Library, Baroda) 1926.

The Library system in Baroda has so unique a place in modern India that detailed information connected with its aims and objects, its rise and growth, is of much value to the Indian public. To meet the requirements of enquiring minds into the working of the library movement in that State, Mr. Newton Mohun Dutt, the Curator of Libraries, Baroda State, has been issuing his *Handbook* and the present edition, which is the fourth, contains an introduction by Sir Manubhai N. Mehta, the Dewan. The book gives full information regarding the library department, the central library, the Sanskrit library, the country branch, the travelling libraries and the visual instruction as in vogue in Baroda. Within a short compass Mr. Dutt has managed to present all details even to minuteness, which the reader cannot but appreciate, and we have much pleasure in commending his work to all interested in the spread and expansion of the library movement in this country. It is a pity that no attention

has been paid so far in British India towards inaugurating this great movement, which is fraught with possibilities of a far-reaching character for intellectual advancement and progress.

Directory of Social Work in the City and Island of Bombay. Edited by D. S. Savardekar, B.S. (Col.) (Social Service League, Bombay) 1, 1926.

Mr. D. S. Savardekar's *Directory of Social Work in Bombay* gives a detailed list, with descriptive references, of the various social, religious, medical, civic, charitable, educational and other organisations of the several communities in the western capital. The social and the public worker has thus a fund of useful information placed before him in a short compass, which must at once evoke a spirit of emulation for similar directories in all the big cities of India. The booklet before us is quite an education in itself, and will be found highly useful by social reformers and workers in social service.

RECENT GUIDE BOOKS FOR TOURISTS.

Pocket Guide to May Meetings and to London. Edited by J. R. May (68 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1926.

Mr. J. R. May's *Pocket Guide to May Meetings and to London*, contains a very interesting illustrated article on "The Wells of London," as well as the usual full lists, in dated order, of May meetings, conventions and conferences to be held during the year. But its interest is not quite ephemeral, as the usefulness of the book is increased by its large coloured map of London, which shows the principal streets and buildings at a glance, and which, in itself, is worth more than the cost of this *Pocket Guide*. Not only those who live in London, but also those others (and they are many even in India) who have any concern with the hub of the British Empire, will find Mr. May's book interesting and useful.

Hints for Holidays 1926; Normandy and Brittany Holiday Guide 1926; The Peerless Riviera; The Golden Sands of Picardy; Guide to Holland; Belgium, and Golfer's Guide. (Issued by the General Manager, Southern Railway, Waterloo Station, London, S. E. 1) 1926.

The British and many other European railways make it a point of publishing periodically carefully

revised and up-to-date editions of guides to tracts and countries—both native and foreign—which are either served or rendered easily accessible by their system. It is in pursuance of this very commendable policy of popularizing travel by giving detailed information about modern facilities and scenic attractions that the Southern Railway of Great Britain have issued the seven excellent guides enumerated above. They are all compact, abreast of the latest changes, full of accurate, practical information, and copiously illustrated. They will be found highly useful by travellers in Great Britain and on the Continent. How we wish our Indian Railways issued similar guidebooks to India or parts of India!

Introductions to London 1926. By L. H. Dawson (H. O. Quinn, 151 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1926.

Mr. L. H. Dawson's *Introductions to London*, is said to be "a compact and handy book of reference." Compact it is, but handy it certainly is not—being heavy, unwieldy, and inconvenient to handle and carry about. Its format is open to this objection in a reference work of its class and kind. But this is about the only criticism we have to offer and hope the second edition—which so useful a book is sure to attain—will enable the compiler to reduce its size materially and to give it the format which will make it portable and thus lead to the enhancement of its utility and popularity amongst visitors to and residents in London. For the rest we have nothing but admiration for this exceedingly well got-up and beautifully illustrated *vade mecum* to the hub of the British Commonwealth, for it is a well-digested handbook of practical information about almost all matters likely to interest a sojourner in London. It is divided into eight main parts dealing with communications and general information, places and objects of especial interest, collections—i.e., museums and libraries, shops and shopping centres (a sketch of the principal shops in the Strand should be added), where to stay in London, amusements and recreations and shipping directory and its usefulness is enhanced by reason of its being furnished with a general index and a commercial index. The information under each of the main headings is full and detailed, though concise, and there is much in it which is not available in the average guide book. In a second edition we would like to have some account furnished of the London press—following that of the libraries—and the classified trades lists arranged according to the class of goods sold, substantially enlarged and made comprehensive.

"The Traveller's Library" Series. (Jonathan Cape, 11 Gower Street, London, W. C. 1) 1926.

A new series for lovers of literature of travel has just been inaugurated by Mr. Jonathan Cape, who is to be congratulated on the first volumes of his *Travellers' Library*. Included among the first volumes are Mr. Arthur Mason's *Wide Seas and Many Lands* and Mr. W. H. Davies's *Autobiography of a Super-Tramp*. Both are books to keep and read again and again, and when they can be had, well bound and well printed, for 3s. 6d. they become a luxury available to all. The books in this series would be welcome to travellers for entertainment in the train, on the steamer, or while lounging in the hotel and they, indeed, must be hard to please who will not find in this series books to entertain them when on travel. Mr. Cape has added to the value of the books by securing writers, who really matter, to contribute prefaces. That to the *Autobiography of a Super-Tramp* is written by Mr. Bernard Shaw, and that to *Wide Seas and Many Lands* by Mr. Maurice Baring. We shall watch the success of this excellent new series with great interest.

Round the World Travel-Guide. By F. E. Marble, Ph.D. (Harper and Brothers, 35 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1) 1926.

Dr. F. E. Marble (of 415 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Conn. U.S.A.) who is organizer of an American "travel service" has, as the result of his large experience in conducting successful tourist organizations, carefully planned and creditably executed an ambitious project in his pioneer work of great merit, called *Round the World Travel-Guide*. It is—as its title implies—a comprehensive and a complete, round-the-world handbook of travel in one compact, handy and portable volume, bound in limp covers, of 400 pages. Local guide books there are in every country, but if you travel far they are expensive to buy and heavy to carry. This book will now replace them for the round-the-world tourist. Here is complete information about Japan, Korea, China, Dutch Indies, French Indies, India, Burma, Egypt, &c., on transportation by sea, land and air, together with the best itineraries to follow. There are historical sketches, outline maps, beautiful illustrations, together with a mass of general information about climate, clothing, money, customs, shops, etc. Thus it is the one indispensable guide to intelligent sight-seeing and a storehouse of data to which the traveller can refer with confidence. For a first edition it is creditably accurate, although, like all other works of its class and

kind, it will need constant and careful revision, if it is to continue to be useful. The bibliographies need revision, particularly as some of the books, in several sections are printed more than once in the same list. We should also take strong exception to the exasperatingly frequent use (often unnecessary) of the justly objectionable word "native"—both as noun and adjective—as applied to the non-European peoples. We hope it would completely disappear in the next edition. For the rest, we have nothing but praise and admiration for this excellent and valuable American guide to World-Travel.

Baedeker's The Rhine: Handbook for Travellers. By Karl Baedeker. Eighteenth, Revised Edition. (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany) 1926.

In noticing in terms of appreciation the post-war editions of Baedeker's world-famous guides—*Canada and Switzerland* (1922), *London and Berlin* (1923), *Paris* (1924), and *Northern Germany* (1925)—we gave some account of the founder of this renowned German firm of publishers (which in the name of its founder had given a word to the English language synonymous with super-excellence in the compilation of tourist's handbooks) and also of the growth and development of the business under the supervision of his son and grandson. We refer to these facts in connection with the appearance of the latest, eighteenth edition of Baedeker's *The Rhine: From the Dutch to the Atlantic Frontier*. It is interesting to recall that the handbook to the Rhineland was the first of the excellent series of these world-known guides which was issued by Karl Baedeker, in German, so far back as 1828—ninety-eight years from now—and was also the first Baedeker to appear in English in 1861, rendered into the latter language by the late Professor Kirkpatrick, who from then onwards was for a very long time the English editor of Baedeker's hand-books. The new edition of *Baedeker's Rhine* is a remarkably accurate, wonderfully up-to-date and surprisingly comprehensive guide to the Rhineland, combining in it all those characteristic merits which the travelling public has long learnt to associate with the name of Baedeker—viz., compactness, lucidity, and, above all, systematic arrangement and well-digested repertory of practical information which have proved so acceptable to travellers by reason of their very great usefulness. This, we believe, is the first of the new post-war editions which has appeared, for which Herr Hans Baedeker—the present proprietor of the firm at Leipzig—is solely responsible, for the revision of the

latest edition of *Northern Germany*, which was issued last year, must have been begun during the life of his late lamented father, who passed away in April, 1925, at a ripe old age. In the circumstances, we offer our hearty felicitations to Herr Hans Baedeker on the eighteenth English edition of *The Rhine*, which—equipped as it is with 102 well-known maps and plans, will be of the greatest service to travellers in the Rhineland. The edition under consideration fully sustains the very high reputation which the guides issued by his firm have justly come to acquire amongst the enormously large number of tourists who depend for their mental pabulum, when travelling, on the materials rendered available to them, by Baedeker in his hand-books in German, French and English.

London Guide Book. Second Edition Revised, 1924. **London's Country North of the Thames.** **London's Country South of the Thames.** (London's Underground Electric Railway Company, 55, Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W.1.)

These three excellent guides—one to London and the other two to its suburbs north and south of the Thames—have been issued by the authorities of the London Underground Railway, which, to the visitor to the metropolis of the British Commonwealth, is in itself one of the many wonderful sights of that hub of the British Empire. They are all well put together—being compact, informative and lucid. The *London Guide Book* has already passed into a second edition and has been carefully revised and brought up-to-date. It is embellished with nineteen well-drawn maps, five excellent photographic reproductions and a series of well-planned street drawings—all of which materially enhance the value and utility of the letter-press. Similarly enriched are the two guides to the suburbs—each of which has a number of plans, maps and photographic reproductions illustrating the scenes and sights along the north and south of the river respectively. These two suburban guides, as also the metropolitan, are intended for pedestrians and sight-seers on motor-buses and are particularly adapted to their requirements in connection with journeys that may be conveniently performed on the underground railways. All three will be found highly useful by visitors to London desirous of exploring the town and its suburbs comfortably and inexpensively. We commend these meritorious guides to the railway authorities in India, who may do worse than emulate the example so well set to them.

RECENT WORKS ON ART.

The Art of Greece. By E. A. Gardner, D.Litt. (The Studio, Ltd., 44 Leicester Square, London) 1926.

We extend a cordial welcome to Dr. Gardner's *Art of Greece*: An account of the art of ancient Greece, written by one of the greatest living authorities, and accompanied by about 100 illustrations, specially chosen to present the subject in the completest possible manner, and at the same time to develop some new aspects of it, is a work to be possessed and prized by all students of the subject and by all lovers of the beautiful. The widest possible scope—as will appear from the enumeration of subjects—is its special feature. That the work is both authoritative and interesting is assured by its being the work of one whose constant archaeological work and discovery in Greece itself have in recent years thrown a flood of new light on the various phases of progress in this branch of research, and who is able to speak, so far as that he possible, with finality. The author deals with architecture, sculpture, pottery, painting, metal-work, dress, gems, jewellery, coins, furniture. In size and format the volume is all that could be desired for the purpose of providing a compendious work of convenient size. Durability is given by a cloth binding, and by attention to typography and the fullest employment of the resources of the art of fine printing, the publishers have turned out a work of distinction from every point of view. The illustrations are superb, while the letter-press is scholarly and leaves nothing to be desired.

The New Vision in the German Arts. By H. G. Scheffaver (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

Mr. H. G. Scheffaver's *New Vision in the German Arts* is both instructive and suggestive. In this book the author deals in a most interesting manner with the various artistic movements characteristic of present-day Germany—the work of dramatists like Kaiser and Toller, also modern German architecture, the strikingly original cinema technique displayed in such films as "Dr. Caligari" and many other topics. His book will prove of great usefulness to all who follow modern artistic developments. It is clear from a perusal of this book that Germany has pretty well got over the after-effects of the Great War and has very nearly come into her own in intellectual and artistic spheres of activities. It will no longer do for students of modern progress in Art and Literature to ignore the trend of German upheaval in these directions and

Mr. Scheffaver's book, therefore, deserves close attention and a careful study by all students of the subject.

The Last Years of Rodin. By Marcelle Tirell (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., 69 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1) 1925.

The late Auguste Rodin—the Frenchman—was beyond doubt the greatest sculptor of the 19th century, the supreme artist who revived the art of sculpture and created the modern school of the plastic art. Marcelle Tirell, secretary to Rodin during the last years of his life, had exceptional opportunities of knowing the noted sculptor in the intimacy of his daily life and work. In her *Last Years of Rodin*—an unconventional book, which created a sensation when it was published in France—she gives a vivid picture of the declining days of a great genius and of certain tragic happenings which cast a shadow over them. The English edition has been well rendered from the French, and should interest all admirers of the genius and magnificent work of Rodin. One of its attractions are the well-executed illustrations of the great artist and facsimiles of his writing.

Masters of Modern Art Series. (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., London) 1925.

Inigo Jones. By S. C. Ramsey. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

Messrs. John Lane have undertaken a new biographical and critical series of books dealing with the Masters of Modern Art. Each monograph is devoted to a modern artist of note and distinction, and is written by a specialist of eminence, intimately familiar with the subject. Each volume besides containing the text has 40 illustrations in colotype, which materially enhance the value of the letter-press. The earliest batch issued include Renoir by François Posca, Gauguin by Robert Rey, Cézanne by Tristan Klingsor, Monet by J. R. Blanche and Pissarro by A. Taharant. Other volumes are in preparation and the series when completed will be a notable addition to the literature of Modern Art. The English translations are well rendered. Select bibliographies appended to each book add to its usefulness.

Inigo Jones is deservedly held to be one of the greatest English architects. As put by Mr. Ramsey in his excellent monograph under review, "he is one of those outstanding figures that mark a definite change in the civilization of a country" and the author is right in saying that almost all English

architects have "felt, if they have not acknowledged" Jones's authority. Mr. Ramsey's survey of Jones's labours as an architect is very well put together—the letter-press is all it should have been and the numerous beautiful illustrations leave nothing to be desired. But those who, like the present writer, have seen the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall or the Greenwich Hospital can well realize the greatness of the genius of Inigo Jones, who consequently well deserved so good a monograph as Mr. Ramsey has so well written.

Pictures and Picture Collecting. By C. J. Holmes (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 100, Southwark Street, London, S. E. 1) 1925.

Mr. C. J. Holmes—Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford and Director of National Portrait Gallery—has written a highly useful work for the amateur collectors called *Pictures and Picture Collecting*. It is addressed, in particular, to those of moderate means, who would like to possess a few good pictures, but are debarred from indulging in their hobby for want of special knowledge. Mr. Holmes offers them sound advice and refers them to only such classes of pictures as may rightly be regarded as good investments, as well as being desirable in themselves. The book deals with the requirements of the millionaire, the rich man, and the poor man and offers wholesome advice on buying modern pictures, shops and dealers, auctions and experts and also on general principles. Covering as it does, in a short compass, the whole range of the subject of which it treats, and coming as it does from the pen of a highly qualified expert, the work is a valuable guide to the collector of limited resources, for whom it is mainly intended.

✓ **Ancient India.** By K. de B. Codrington. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4) 1926.

The Music of India. By Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahamin (Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1) 1926.

Mr. Codrington's *Ancient India* is a truly monumental work on the sculpture and architecture of the country from the earliest historic times to the age of the Guptas and his excellent letter-press, which enhances the value of the massive collection of about 150 beautifully-reproduced illustrations on some 70 collotype plates of large size, is an excellent record of the cultural history of the period dealt with. No less interesting and instructive is the Introduction contributed by Professor Rothenstein in the form of a

note on Indian sculpture. This Introduction and the author's text, with the superb set of plates (the latter arranged in chronological order, thus facilitating reference) all combine to produce a magnificent work of exceptionally artistic merit and sound scholarship. A longer critical appreciation of the book and of the publisher's very praiseworthy enterprise will follow in due course, as also of the *Music of India* which coming as it does from the pen of a distinguished Indian lady, is a notable contribution to the literature of Indian Art. Both the books deserve wide appreciation and extensive circulation in this country.

Byzantine Art. By Hayford Peirce and Royall Tyler. (Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8, Bouverie St., London.)

Next to the arts of the ancient Greeks and Romans in point of time was that of the Byzantines who moved by the reviving spirit of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, were more alive to the quality of the materials used in works of art. They treated hard stones and marble in a new manner, produced an art of coinage based on a true appreciation of gold, brought out the essential character of ivory, and worked deftly on silks, coloured stones and pastes, wall mosaics and illuminated manuscripts. Byzantine art was at the height of its glory during the fourth century. In the sixth century signs of decay began to set in with the destruction of the big sculpture by Iconoclasts. Every century tried to rise up to the former greatness with the result that some achievement or other was possible in ever so many phases of art, but the final fate was sealed with the sack of Constantinople in 1204. The representation of the hundred plates with descriptions contained in the book cannot but remind the reader of the greatness of the Byzantine art lost to the world. The publishers have spared no pain to make the book as attractive as possible.

✓ **The Charm of Indian Art.** By W. E. Gladstone Solomon, Bombay. (Messrs. T. Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace, London.)

Indian Art presents kaleidoscopic variety in that it manifests itself not merely in aesthetic beauty, but is exemplified in the grand temples and shrines, legends and fairy tales, the craft and the spheres in the domestic homes of the people. At best, Indian Art is identified with religion and there is not a phase of life in which Art has inadequate place. To a foreigner, therefore, Indian Art is quite a puzzle and the delicacy of it is discernible only in those who instinctively feel and realise its beauty. Thus it has few

sympathisers though many admirers, and we are glad that Mr. W. R. Gladstone Solomon, the Principal of the J. J. School of Arts, Bombay, has brought to light in his collected essays called *The Charm of Indian Art* the beauty and significance of the Art of this country in his interesting chapters on "The Women of the Ajanta Caves," "The Worshippers of Beauty," which is an interesting study of the Pathare-Prabhu caste, "Sanchi and the Indian View-point in Art" and "The Indian Art Student." The illustrations are beautiful, and the book brings into relief the intrinsic merit and the grandeur of the Indian Art which shall endure. Mr. Solomon's book deserves wide appreciation at the hands of students of the Art of Ancient India.

The Ramayana: As sculptured in Reliefs in Javanese Temples. By J. Kats. (G. Kolff and Co., Weltevreden, Java).

The great Hindu epic called *Ramayana* is not only translated into various vernaculars in the homeland of Rama, but lives forth as the *Ramakein* in the Siamese language, as the *Hikayat Seri Rama* in Malaya literature and as the *Serat Rama* in translations in Java. Rama's adventures painted on cloth are found even to-day in North Celebes. The volume before us is a remarkable production from the pen of Mr. J. Kats of Java who, after giving a short review of the epic, presents a graphic survey of the *Ramayana* as found in the reliefs of two of the grand groups of temples at Prambanan and Panataran. The book is illustrated with superb portrayments of the reliefs in these two places, the former numbering 42 and the latter 93. At Prambanan the reliefs were carved in stone about the eighth century in quite an Hindu-Javanese fashion, while the Panataran reliefs were sculptured in real Javanese character. They at once point out a clear evidence of the Greater India beyond the seas even in the dim past. The get-up of the book is excellent. We have great pleasure in commending to our readers this artistically-planned work on the Hindu architecture and sculpture in Java to lovers and students of Indian Art.

East and the West, for he was undoubtedly one of the greatest patriots and political reformers whom Italy produced in the 19th century. The book under review presents a short life of Mazzini which will bring him near to modern men and women, showing him as brother and true comrade to all who desire a human society founded on sympathy and co-operation—instead of on fear and force, and emphasizing the beliefs from which his life and labour sprang. The author has written an interesting and instructive sketch of the lifework of Mazzini, which is fully abreast of the latest researches on the subject, and which should appeal to all admirers of one of the greatest regenerators of modern Italy.

The Life of Florence Nightingale. By (the late) Sir Edward Cook. Abridged and Revised by Rosalind Nash. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

The late Sir Edward Cook's standard *Life of Florence Nightingale*—originally issued in 1913—is all the better for the revision and condensation it has received at the hands of the editor. The old material has been judiciously rearranged at places, account has been taken of new materials rendered available by the publication of several biographical works since 1913, which have references to Miss Nightingale, the editor has also added some fresh matter, and the whole work has been rendered better adapted to the requirements of the general reader. The life of Miss Nightingale will always attract a large circle of admirers by reason of its having been devoted to social service and love of humanity and as such the volume under consideration will appeal to many with great interest.

Lord de Villiers and his Times. By E. A. Walker. (Constable and Co., Ltd., 10 & 12 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

John Henry (afterwards Lord) de Villiers was a great figure in the history of South Africa. Born in 1842, he was called to the English Bar (at the Inner Temple) in 1865, to the Cape Bar in the following year, entered the Cape Parliament in 1867, was elevated to a barony in 1910 and ended his remarkable career as Acting Governor-General of his native country in 1914. His life-work which is admirably chronicled in Mr. Walker's book called *Lord de Villiers and his Times* is the story of South Africa for the past five decades—besides being the record of a South African who gave his life for his country.

RECENT BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

Mazzini: The Story of A Great Italian. By Edyth Hinkley. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1925.

It is not surprising that Mazzini's life and career should interest a large circle of readers both in the

Though of interest mainly to those interested in South Africa it is also a book for members of the legal profession and those desirous of knowing the political and parliamentary history of South Africa, and to them we commend a careful perusal of this well-written biography.

The Life of Alexander Whyte. By G. P. Barbour. Revised edition. (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 30 Warwick Square, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

The late Dr. Alexander Whyte was an eminent Scotch divine, but his life written by Mr. G. P. Barbour should be of interest to educated Indians as the Doctor was the father of Sir Frederick Whyte, the first and last nominated President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, during the first four years of its existence. Dr. Whyte who was born in 1836, lived to enjoy a green old age and passed away so late as 1921, after having bidden good-bye to his son on the occasion of his departure to India to assume the presidency of the Assembly. Dr. Whyte was a notable preacher and he naturally carried great weight and influence with his congregation. It is as well that a detailed life of his career should have been written and Mr. Barbour has brought to his task industry, skill and sympathy—three valuable assets in the writer of a successful biography. The book was published in 1923; that it should have reached a seventh edition in 1925, evinces its popularity.

Gibbon. By the Rt. Hon'ble J. M. Robertson. (Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

One of the latest additions to Messrs. Watts excellent biographical series of "Life-Stories of Famous Men" is the sketch of Gibbon, written by the Rt. Hon'ble J. M. Robertson. The only study written, so far, of the author of the world-famous *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, is that by the late Mr. J. Cotter Morison, in the "English Men of Letters" series—now nearly half a century old. A new monograph, based on the latest researches, was clearly called for and the want is fully supplied by the book under notice. The fresh details as to Gibbon's life—which have been mainly recovered since the centenary celebration of 1894—have been duly incorporated in Mr. Robertson's book, which not only revises the previous accounts, but offers a critical estimate of Gibbon's justly valued contribution to the history of European civilization and the rise and growth of the Christian religion. It is a notable addition to a correct and just appreciation of the life-work of the greatest

English historian and one of the greatest since Herodotus.

A Short Life of William Pitt. By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., York House, Portingal Street, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

In 1911, appeared Dr. Holland Rose's *Life of Pitt*, and it was justly hailed as the standard work on the subject. The *Short Life* now issued is not, however, an abridgment of the earlier work. It is an independent work presenting a new survey of the subject and incorporating the evidence rendered available since the publication of the previous volume. The result is a scholarly treatise—sound, accurate and well-written, which is a notable contribution to English historical biography. Indian readers will be interested in the account given by the author, of the famous India Bills introduced by Pitt—the second of which was enacted—and of the famous impeachment of Warren Hastings. Thus Dr. Rose's *Short Life* of the great English statesman will appeal to a large circle of readers.

The Reign of King Edward VII. By the Author of "The Victorian Age." (John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.) 1925.

The author of *The Victorian Age* offers in *The Reign of King Edward VII* a brief sketch of the incidents of the nine years (1901–1910) and indicates the tendencies in thought and opinion by which those events were influenced. Thus this sketch of King Edward's reign is intended to convey to the reader a general view of that short period in a small compass. The history of recent times is frequently only to be found in the memoirs of statesmen and others; and these, owing to their length, often fail to appeal to the public. A brief record and survey of the outstanding features and events of King Edward's reign will be of use to many who wish to gain fuller knowledge, but have not sufficient leisure for more lengthy study. The book is, for obvious reasons, in no sense a rival to the late Sir Sidney Lee's monumental biography of Edward VII. But to those who have not the leisure or patience to go through that exhaustive work, the book under review should be of great utility and will prove interesting.

Parnell. By St. John Ervine. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8, Bouverie Street, London, E. C.) 1925.

Not to mention the sketches of his life, which appeared when Parnell was alive, five notable con-

tributions have seen the light since his death in 1891. These are the Rt. Hon'ble T. P. O'Connor's *Life* (1891), that by Mr. R. Barry O'Brien (1899), by Katharine O'Shea (1914), by his brother (1916) and by Mr. M. M. O'Hara (1919) in his *Chief and Tribune: Parnell and Davitt*. Thus no admirer of the Irish patriot can complain of lack of materials for an adequate study of his political career. But Mr. Philip Guedalla has inaugurated a new series of biographies curiously called "Curiosities of Politics," and he has secured the assistance of Mr. St. John Ervine for contributing to it a sketch of the career of Parnell. "It is the purpose of the present gallery," says the editor, in the course of his foreword, "to bring together a few portraits by competent hands." He adds:—"The subjects have been chosen from the incomparable procession of English public life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" and "I think our memory would be the better for a portrait in true perspective, painted.....from the life, executed in colour, and finding room for an appropriate background". The ideal set before himself by Mr. Guedalla, as the editor of the new biographical series, is, indeed, noble, and if all the contributions attain that standard, the "Curiosities of Politics" series will be the most successful addition to biographical literature. However that be, Mr. Ervine's life of Parnell does amply fulfil the promise held out by the editor. It offers us a well-executed portrait of Parnell—painted from life, warts and all, suppressing nothing, extenuating nothing, nor putting down aught in malice. It is a full, frank and critical survey of Parnell's political career.

RECENT WORKS ON ISLAM.

The Origin of Islam in its Christian Development. By Richard Bell. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1926.

Mr. Richard Bell's Gunning Lectures, delivered before the Edinburgh University last year, now appear in their original and uncurtailed form under the title of *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Development*. Unlike most works written by authors of one faith when dealing with another, Mr. Bell's book is not a contribution to polemics, but is a treatise marked by fairness, scholarship and research—though a Muslim will probably object to his reference to Christianity as "a higher religion" (p. 98). But apart from an occasional lapse, his exposition is not only lucid but untainted by prejudice and his treatment is pre-eminently fair. The subject—the relation of Islam in

its *origines* to Judaism and Christianity—is one of great interest to students of Theology and Mr. Bell's is the first systematic dissertation on it, in the light of the latest researches. For this reason the book deserves a warm welcome at the hands of all students of Comparative Religion. This is not to imply that the author's statements and inferences are all unimpeachable. Mr. Bell himself frankly admits at many places that several matters are still contentious and not beyond the pale of controversy. Nevertheless it must be admitted that he has brought together a mass of material—the accuracy of which cannot easily be challenged—on the basis of which it is now possible to come to conclusions as to the extent to which the founder of Islam was influenced by the two earlier Semetic religions existing in Arabia in his time. The book should appeal alike to Muslim and non-Muslim students of this important subject.

The Moslem World To-day. Edited by J. R. Mott. (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 20 Warwick Square, London, E. C.) 1926.

The Moslem World To-day is a collection of essays by different hands, put together and edited by Mr. J. R. Mott—chairman of the International Missionary Council—with a foreword and a closing chapter. These two dozen essays—written mainly by men and women interested in mission work—cover a large ground, dealing as they do with the many aspects and recent developments in various Muslim countries. Unfortunately there is scarcely any systematic attempt at an exposition of the Indo-Muslim problem, though occasional references to the subject are found scattered in many of the essays. This serious omission naturally detracts to a large extent from the usefulness of the work so far as India is concerned. But nonetheless it will be found full of interest and utility so far as the problem in other Muslim countries is dealt with. When we are informed (as for instance on p. 212) that at a Teacher's Association which met in 1924, "Constantinople alone supplied 1,000 women delegates and Angora 200," we realize at once the lee-way which India has yet to make up in the matter of the emancipation and education of Muslim women. Students of Muslim social and educational progress in Turkey, Egypt and other Muslim countries will find *The Moslem World To-day* both interesting and instructive.

Worship in Islam. By the Rev. R. C. Calverly, Ph.D. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras) 1925.

The Sources of Islam. By the Rev. J. C. Blair. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras) 1925.

Islam and Africa. By the Rev. G. Dale. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, London) 1925.

The book enumerated at the top—called *Worship in Islam*—is a translation, with commentary and an introduction, of Al-Ghazzali's famous book on the subject. It is an excellent piece of work—the translation reads well, the introduction is luminous, the commentary and notes are elucidative, and the bibliography is a useful feature, enabling readers to follow up their studies with advantage. The Rev. Dr. Calverly's work is a very useful addition to the study of the subject of Islamic worship and the translator's scholarship and sense of fairness deserve acknowledgment. But unfortunately the other two works in the list—the Rev. Mr. Blair's *Sources of Islam* and the Rev. Mr. Dale's *Islam and Africa*—while containing much useful matter, are frankly propagandist works and belong to the literature of theological polemics. Mr. Blair writes (on p. 184) of the Arabian prophet that "he was an open voluptuary" and goes on to attempt to make good his contention, while Mr. Dale fairly rivals the former by concluding his remarks on the "assassinations ordered by or connived at by Mohammed" by saying (p. 12) that "there is not the least sign in Moslem accounts of these murders, that they need excusing or explaining. On the contrary, they glory in them and claim that Mohammed did as he was commanded"—presumably by God. No authority is given for the latter statement. In the circumstances, though such books may serve purely propagandist purposes, they cannot be regarded as contributions of permanent value to the study or the exposition of Islam.

REPRINTS, NEW EDITIONS, ANTHOLOGIES AND TRANSLATIONS.

We welcome Mr. Charles Whibley's new edition of Shakespeare, which Messrs. Macmillan (St. Martin's Street, London) have just published. It is in three volumes, priced at 75. 6d. net. a volume and while printing and paper leave nothing to be desired, a number of well-reproduced illustrations add to the interest and attractiveness of the edition. The text used is that of the well-known *Globe Shakespeare*, and the plays are given in the accepted order. It is an edition admirably suited to the man forming a small library. Mr. Whibley's introductions to each volume are scholarly without being pedantic, and give one

just the amount of information which a general reader of Shakespeare's plays requires. Altogether Mr. Whibley's edition is deserving of appreciation at the hands of students and lovers of the greatest English dramatist.

The Savoy Operas is a collection of the complete texts of Gilbert and Sullivan operas (as originally produced on the London stage in the years 1875-96), and the many admirers of these humorous, musical skits will be grateful to Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. (St. Martin's Street, London) for having brought together Sir William Gilbert's writings in one handy volume. Produced in an ordinary edition and also one on India paper, *The Savoy Operas* should continue to interest and charm a large circle of readers, even at the present day, for their wit and humour are yet unspoiled by Time.

Joseph Von Hammer's *History of the Ottoman Empire* and the *History of the Assassins* are classical works in historical literature. The latter was rendered into English so far back as 1835, but has been, of course, out of print and difficult to obtain for long years past. It is highly creditable to the Gyanmandal Press, Benares, to have brought out a well-printed edition of it, accompanied by an introduction from the pen of Swami Shraddhanand. The Swami's contribution is interesting, but perhaps it verges on the polemical. Polemics apart, the book has an intrinsic value of its own and the reprint deserves warm acknowledgment.

Reprinted mostly from the *Indian Review*, the collection called *Eminent Mussalmans* and published by the enterprising Madras firm of Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., touching the lives and achievements of many Indian Mussalman patriots, who have in recent years contributed to the intellectual, social and political advancement of their countrymen, will assuredly be read with interest. Among such leaders have been men of eminence in diverse ways, reformers, statesmen, judges, educationists, poets, lawyers and politicians. Commencing with Sir Syed Ahmed, the story of their work is brought down to this day. Among the sketches included in this volume are those of Sir Syed Ahmed, Sir Salar Jung, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Badruddin Tyabji, Rahimtulla Sayani, Syed Mahmood, Syed Amir Ali, The Aga Khan, Sir Mahomed Shafi, Sir Ali Imam, Syed Hasan Imam, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Syed Husain Bilgrami, Justice Shah Din, Sir Mahomed Iqbal, Sir Mahomed Habibullah, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. Mahomed Ali

Jinnah, Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Hydari, and the Ali brothers. The volume is profusely illustrated, and the photographic reproductions enhance the value of the text.

The Stratford Company (of Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.) deserve well of the fiction-loving public for their excellent collection called *Best Short Stories of the World*, edited with an interesting introduction by Mr. K. Bercovici. In this well-chosen anthology, the editor has brought together representative short stories from the works of the following seventeen authors of international fame in the realms of fiction: Edgar Allan Poe, Anatole France, Oscar Wilde, Multatuli, Maxim Gorki, Sherwood Anderson, Honore de Balzac, Anton Chekhov, Guy de Maupassant, Katherine Mansfield, J. L. Perez, Ivan Bunin, Frank Harris, I. L. Caragiale, Catalie Mendes, Leo Tolstoi, and Leonid Andreyev. In addition to the stories by these authors the book contains a famous gypsy tale never before reduced to writing, and now prepared for the first time for publication by Mr. Bercovici. *Best Short Stories of the World* ought to appeal to that large section of readers, which cares for good fiction.

American scholarship in Sanskrit is being devoted at present to a critical study of that great classic—the *Panchtantra*. Year before last Professor Egerton of the University of Pennsylvania issued in two volumes (through the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.) a valuable work of research, called *The Panchtantra Reconstructed*, which was a successful attempt to establish the lost original text of the most renowned of the world's collection of stories, on the basis of the principal extant versions. It is a work of rich and rare scholarship and has been justly welcomed in learned circles. And now we have for laymen a translation of the *Panchtantra* by Mr. A. W. Ryder, issued in a handsome format by the University of Chicago Press, (Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.). It is the only complete English version of these wise, witty and world-famous tales. For the benefit of boys and girls, the translator has also issued a smaller selection from it called *Gold's Gloom*, containing the quintessence of the wisdom and charm of the *Panchtantra*. It should make a wide appeal as a representative selection of the most captivating stories in the world, while the complete version ought to be even more prized.

In noticing in terms of appreciation, the first edition of Professor W. G. de Burgh's *Legacy of the Ancient World* (Macdonald & Evans, 8 John Street, Bedford Row, London) we said that the aim of the

book was to introduce the general reader to a knowledge of European antiquity, to help teachers and students by indicating the lines of connection between the successive phases of what may be termed, compendiously, the Mediterranean civilisation, to set forth the abiding value of the life and thought of Israel, Greece and Rome, and to show how the Greek and the Roman peoples had influenced Christianity and the Middle Age, and so moulded the life of the European peoples of to-day—the Hebrew contributing spiritual vision; the Greek freedom and individuality; the Roman ordered discipline. We, therefore, welcome the second edition of this exceedingly valuable contribution to the history of European civilization and commend it once again to our readers, as a highly suggestive and thought-provoking book, which deserves careful perusal.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn's *Masters of English Literature*—which first appeared so far back as 1904—has just been issued in a revised and enlarged edition (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London). The author, who is well-known in the world of letters, has added a new chapter called "The Later Victorian Literature," "so as to include all that now seemed incontrovertibly important in the Victorian period." Thomas Hardy is included as "not merely conspicuous in the Victorian Age but one of the greatest masters of English literature." The book which confines itself—as its name implies—to the outstanding figures in English literature, is eminently sane and sound and may safely be commended to students of the subject, for whom it is primarily intended to cater.

Dr. Harold Ford's two well-known text-books (called *The Art of Extempore Speaking* and *The Art of Preaching*) have just been issued in new and enlarged editions by Messrs. Herbert Jenkins, Ltd. (3 York Street, St. James's, London, S. W. 1). Both these books have been justly appreciated as highly useful treatises on the subject they deal with. To the former the author has added a new chapter on visualisation and also much other matter of great utility. The two books supplement each other and should be carefully studied by those aspiring to become successful debaters or preachers.

The late Mr. Manmohan Ghose was the elder brother of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose. Sent to England at the age of seven and brought up there like an English youth, he became mentally and intellectually an Englishman and forgot practically his mother-tongue, Bengalee. In 1890 was issued a book called *Primavera* containing poems written by young Ghose, Stephen

Phillips, Arthur Cripps and Laurence Binyon. Ghose's poems were well received. Mr. Oscar Wilde in reviewing them in the *Pall Mall Gazette* thus expressed his appreciation:—"His verses show us how quick and subtle are the intellectual sympathies of the oriental mind and suggest how close is the bond of union that may some day bind India to us by other methods than those of commerce and military strength. Mr. Ghose ought some day to make a name in our literature." In the course of an "Introductory Memoir," contributed to a new edition of Ghose's work called *Songs of Life and Death*, Mr. Laurence Binyon—himself a distinguished poet and critic writes of him: "No Indian has ever before used our tongue with so poetic a touch. . . . To us he is a voice among the great company of English singers." This is, indeed, very high compliment and we are grateful to the famous publishing firm (of Mr. Basil Blackwell) of Oxford, for giving Indian and English readers an opportunity of possessing a fairly complete edition of the works of an Indian of no mean poetic talents.

In 1922, Mr. D. J. Irani published (through the Times Press, Bombay) *Gems from the Divine Songs of Zoroaster*. The booklet was evidently a success, for there has been issued since (through Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W.C. 1) an enlarged edition called *The Divine Songs of Zarathustra*, with an Introduction from the pen of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. This book contains a translation of the chief hymns of the Zoroastrian religion, which are still used to-day in every Parsee household. The translation has been made for the ordinary reader, and the selections from the original sources are compendious and throw a new light on the importance of the teachings of Zarathustra in the religious history of the world. The book should appeal to a large circle of cultured readers.

Two notable series of translations of classical fiction continue to deserve acknowledgment. Messrs. J. Werner Laurie, Ltd. (30 New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London) are heroically persevering with a complete rendering into English of the works of Guy de Maupassant, and the sixth volume—*Notre Cœur*—is lying before us. These translations are excellent and lovers of the great French novelist cannot but be grateful enough to the enterprising publishers. *Selected Stories* from the same novelist is the latest addition to the International Library being issued by Messrs. Stanley, Paul & Co. (8 Endsleigh Gardens, London, N.W. 1). Maupassant is beyond all doubt the greatest short story-teller and this collection of the greatest

short stories written by him would be doubly welcome. The editor is that well-known essayist, Mr. Hollbrook Jackson.

From *Ramananda to Ram Tirath*, which we have received from Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, is also a collection of reprinted articles from the *Indian Review* and recounts the lives and teachings of the saints of India. It includes sketches of Ramanand and Kabir, Nanak and the Sikh Gurus, of Ravi Das the Chamar saint, of Mira Bai the ascetic queen, Vallabhscharya, Tulsi Das, Virajchand, Dayanand—the founder of the Arya Samaj—and Swami Rama Tirath. Some of the rapturous songs and hymns in our vernaculars are to be found in the ecstatic utterances of Mira Bai, of Nanak and Kabir. The sketches contain ample quotations from these hymns as well as from the sayings and teachings of the saints, who range from Ramananda to Ram Tirath—hence the name of this interesting collection of biographical and critical sketches.

A New Europe is an English rendering from the Danish of Dr. C. P. Heerfordt, which has been issued by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. (40 Museum Street, London, W.C. 1) who specialise in sociological and philosophical literature. In this book Dr. Heerfordt propounds the scheme of a new League, not unlike a modified and supplemented League of Nations, suggesting that, for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the Great Powers and of the smaller nations, European interests should be rendered federal instead of national; in short, that the countries of Europe should be united in a Federation, as is the case with the States of America. The difficulties with which such a scheme is fraught are fully discussed, especially with regard to England, but the advantages of the system, amongst which stand the introduction of free trade and standardized currency, are sufficiently important to merit the attention of those who have Europe's welfare at heart. Whatever differences may exist as to the practicability of the author's proposals, there can be no gainsaying that they merit careful consideration. The author knows what he is writing about and his earnestly-made suggestions deserve very careful attention.

Messrs. Dent & Sons, Ltd. (10-13 Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2) have embarked upon a creditable enterprise in placing before English-knowing readers a translation of a history of English literature, written by two Frenchmen—M. Emile Legouis and M. Louis Cazamian. Their *History of English Literature*—written up to the Renaissance by M. Legouis and of

the modern period by M. Cazamian—is a distinct advance upon the late M. Taine's history, issued in the sixties of the last century, and it deserved to be rendered into English. The first volume dealing with the literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is before us and that of the second volume is to follow before long. A perusal of the first volume has satisfied us of the great merit and importance of the French scholar's work, because it is an intimate and critical study and appreciation of English literature yet written by a foreigner. The text—which has been carefully revised by the authors for the translation—has been so rendered into English as to lose nothing of the terse precision of the French. The result is a scholarly and original survey of English literature, which in the short compass of two handy volumes, offers an accurate, a compact and a systematic sketch of the subject, from the earliest times to the present day, which will be found highly useful by the student both for the purposes of study and reference. It is a great work which no student of English literature can do without or afford to neglect.

Messrs. Stanley, Paul & Co., Ltd. (5 Endsleigh Gardens, Upper Woburn Place, London) have undertaken to publish English translations of "Fantomas Detective Novels", written by M. Pierre Souvestre and M. Marcel Allain, two well-known French writers of detective stories. "Fantomas" is evidently the French prototype of the English Sherlock Holmes. Right volumes have already been issued. These are *Fantomas, A Limb of Satan, The Exploits of Juve, Messengers of Evil, A Nest of Spies, A Royal Prisoner, Slippery as Sin, and The Lord of Terror*. These are all capital detective stories and the translations deserve praise for their excellent rendering of the original.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE ON OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We noticed sometime back, in terms of appreciation, Mr. Hendrik Van Loon's *Story of Mankind*. That book is now followed up by the author with his *Liberation of Mankind* (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 30-31, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2) which is a chronicle of man's struggle for the right to think. This book tells the story of man's age-long struggle against intolerance and his fight for freedom of thought, and records the conflict between bigotry and rationalism. There is murder in its pages; the murder that drags peaceful men from quiet beds and hangs them to a rafter because they have chosen to think differently

from their neighbours. There is bigotry; the bigotry that turns quiet citizens into a howling mob. There is love of truth; the love that urges men to die rather than deny the light. There is intrigue and cruelty, faith and courage, ugliness and beauty. All these are impartially surveyed by the author. Again, familiar figures move through his pages, brave men and cravens, martyrs and fanatics. All of them once lived; some fought for the right to speak as their consciences dictated; others endeavoured to suppress it by intimidation, fire, and sword. Erasmus and Kant, Spinoza and Montaigne, Martin Luther and Pascal, Socrates and Copernicus, Abelard and Galileo—these and the rest have been re-created in the simple and direct style of the author of *The Story of Mankind*. The book is primarily intended for popular reading and it is eminently adopted for that purpose; but it has a great significance even for others.

Moustata Khan, Patch, M.A. is a Persian educated at the Columbia University, New York. In 1919 he wrote a thesis, which he has now issued (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., Great Smith Street, Westminster, London) in a completely revised form, under the title of *The Economic Position of Persia*. In his preface he writes: "This book is an attempt to present a view of the economic conditions existing in Persia at the present time, and also to suggest remedies which these conditions indicate as being necessary, possible, and practical. There is so very little known in Europe and America about present-day Persia and the opportunities which exist in that country that a book of this sort may not be out of place at this juncture. It is hoped that by a presentation of the actual conditions and an explanation of the future possibilities of Persia a co-operation of interests between the outside world and Persia may be brought about, which would greatly help towards the economic development of that country." Being a pioneer work on the subject and coming as it does from a highly qualified Persian, the book is both interesting and instructive, but we are not quite sure whether its study may not inspire the Western nations with a desire to exploit the resources of Persia for their own purposes. However that be, Mr. Patch's book—dealing as it does with agriculture, irrigation, produce, minerals, oil, manufactures, communications, finance and banking, trade and commerce—is a useful contribution to economic literature.

Miss Yvonne Fitzroy—who was Private Secretary to Lady Reading—has blossomed as the author of a book, called *Courts and Camps in India* (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.) in which she

records her impressions of the Viceregal tours from 1921 to 1924. The author, as a member for four years of the Vice-regal household, had many opportunities that are denied to the ordinary traveller, and she gives some of her vivid impressions of the great Indian States and of British India itself. In the State progresses of the Viceroy through India we can still catch the reflection of a more picturesque and chivalrous age. These experiences are viewed from the angle of a life full of splendid ceremony, but even ceremony has its humours, and the jungle, history, and the interests of the sightseer all come into play in the course of this entertaining record of Miss Fitzroy's Indian experiences. The author's is a modest claim. She does not profess to attempt to set the Ganges on fire. She wisely does not dabble in controversies of Indian politics or economics. But she discharges satisfactorily her self-imposed task of presenting a series of graphic sketches of the more familiar scenes and sights in British India and the comparatively less familiar ones in the Indian States. Taken as a whole Miss Fitzroy's book is an excellent delineation of many of the lighter aspects of the India of to-day.

My Tour in (South, Central, and North) America (The Times Press, Bombay) is the title of a new work of travel by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, who is a much-travelled, highly polished and well-educated representative of the better type of the ruling chiefs of India. He knows remarkably well both English and French, has a house in Paris and is more Parisian than the average Parisian himself. In 1925 His Highness sailed from Bordeaux and visited South America returning to Europe through the Panama Canal and calling at Cuba and New York on the way. He has written, in his beautifully-illustrated and sumptuously-printed volume, an account of the tour. As an experienced and observant traveller he travelled with his eyes open and has much to say of interest. South American hospitality impressed him as "more of the old Oriental than of the Western type." The tour was one of but two months and half, but the Maharaja managed to see a good deal of the new world in that short period—thanks to the facilities offered him, by reason of his position, by the Governments of the countries he traversed. His book is a splendid souvenir of his American tour and should appeal to a large circle of readers in India, where the new world is so little known, and who would profit by perusing this well-written work.

Mr. Louis Pollock's *Himalayan Love* (The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore) is a book of

verses. Saints and seers have sung of the glories of the Himalayas and from their dizzy heights showered the outpourings of their heart in messages of love and mysticism. There the joys of Nature, in tune with the Universe, differentiate not the West from the East, and in this land of pure and sweet serenity, the call of the mountains, the jungles, the rivers and the birds:

"There's a joty, there's a song, there's thrill in the air
There are emerald parakeets shrieking their share
As they flash from the field to the tree."

There all is giddy and sublime, the Abode of Peace and Joy. The *Himalayan Love* rouses even the drooping spirit high and gives delightful food to the dejected and the lonely. We commend Mr. Pollock's poems to all lovers of Nature and particularly of the Himalayas.

Christina Albers' *Himalayan Whispers* (Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta) is a collection of poems dealing with the loftiest range in the world. The touching, poetic glow of the author's at the sight of the

"Titanic gladians of a whirligig glove,
Majestic keepers of the Heaven's gates
Imperial, snow-clad, tow'ring peaks, that touch
The valuing sky above, the earth below"
entraptures the soul and sends a thrill of delight, in the reader's heart. The whispers she has heard from the Queen of the mountains have a charm all their own. The dizzy heights of the Himalayas, with clusters of mountains, their beauty when the sun rises and sets, the hills and dales and valleys around—all cannot but transport the poet as to a fairyland, and the dainty booklet cannot but inspire the reader to enjoy the pleasure for himself by a sojourn to this land of Nature's glories.

No greater public work can be successfully performed than the promotion of civic progress, and the zealous activities of Joseph Chamberlain to Birmingham and of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to Bombay are an object-lesson to those who aim at doing solid work in the municipal sphere. If in ancient India the village was a component unit in administration, in modern India the right scope is centred in the municipal work. We, therefore, welcome the book called *Karachi Municipality: its Administration and its Future*, which Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta has brought out, recounting in detail the rise and growth of the Karachi Municipality, of which the author is the President. Karachi is a growing city with a future and, as a centre of three continents, its importance in India is rising day by day. Mr. Mehta in nineteen well-written chapters

has given the reader a bird's-eye-view of the civic progress of Karachi in all the spheres connected with the municipality. One interested in municipal work will do well to study carefully this interesting volume, which cannot but appeal to those who take an active interest in civil and municipal progress in India.

The Rev. Mr. J. T. Sutherland's essays called *Wealth, Beauty and Youth for All* is a thought-provoking collection. He contends that the world groping in darkness mistakes that wealth few can have, beauty few can attain to, and youth few can enjoy. They are all as free as the air and a strenuous endeavour can make mankind enjoy them in abundance. The real suffering is not because these they cannot have, but the ignorance of the path and the misuse made of wealth, beauty and youth. The spiritual blending with materialistic hankering gives men real wealth, adding to their beauty and the spirit of youth. The book which must arouse serious thought and attention, is issued by Messrs. Ganesh & Co. of Madras—which enterprising firm, prompted by the desire that the minds and heart of India's youth should be profited by the experience of Prof. T. L. Vaswani (who is at once a poet, a seer and an idealist) have embarked upon the "Greater India Series". They have issued three numbers and propose to issue one every month of Professor Vaswani's writings. The Professor's call for a new study of Indian culture and a new socio-economic construction of the village life must find a responsive echo in this country.

The anonymous authors of the bulky book called *The Theosophical Movement* deserve well of the general reader and the student of Theosophy for their luminous history and careful survey extending over the half a century from 1875 to 1925; and so do also the well-known American publishers (H. P. Dutton & Co., 681, Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.) for their enterprise. Adherents of the Theosophical teachings and those interested in a movement which in fifty years has spread over all portions of the civilized world will find in this first collected and authentic history a valuable book. The authors, themselves students of Theosophy and not members of any of the different sects, have presented a wholly impersonal view of the movement, which is therefore an unbiased sketch. The book is based upon a series of articles which appeared for several months in the magazine, *Theosophy*. They have been thoroughly revised by the authors; a large amount of additional material has been incorporated and the history of the movement brought up to the present moment. Among many significant phases of the subject here

presented, are: The life of Madame Blavatsky and an appraisal of her work, the personality, experiences and theosophical record of Colonel Olcott and Wm. Q. Judge, Doctor Besant and the question of succession; her work with Col. Olcott and Mr. Judge, schism in the Theosophical Society caused by accusations concerning the personal conduct of some of the leaders, the Tingley sect and its relations to true Theosophy, and a forecast of the movement until 1975. It would thus be seen that the book is comprehensive and is the only book which adequately covers the subject and which is essential to the complete understanding of Theosophy. We commend it strongly to all Theosophists and to students of the great international movement.

European Non-officials in the Indian Legislature (1921-1926), by Mr. Edwin Haward. (Pioneer Press, Allahabad) has been compiled by the editor of the *Pioneer*, with a view to popularize the record of the work of the European representatives. The one complaint against the (old style) Anglo-Indians before the pre-Reform days was that as a body they blindly identified themselves with the Government and were again Indian public interests. Mr. Haward's object is to show that Reforms of 1919 have changed their angle of vision and that at least in self-protection they have thrown in their lot with the Indian politicians, if not completely, at any rate to a reasonable extent. To show this the speeches of the European representatives are surveyed and summarised. Apart from the primary object of the book, it is of interest and utility to others as presenting a well-written sketch of the work of the European members the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State during the first five years of their existence.

Next perhaps to Germany, America is the land the publishers of which are famous as adepts in putting forth exceptionally good literature in the sphere of text-books. These, which for obvious reasons, are not original works but compilations, are nonetheless valuable and are eminently successful in achieving their object of imparting sound, wholesome and accurate information to seekers after knowledge. Of the many American series of text-books, one of the best and most useful is that known as "The Hand-book series," which is issued by the firm of "The H. W. Wilson Company" of New York (U.S.A.) and the latest addition is *Slavonic Nations of Yesterday and To-day*, edited by Mr. S. Stanoyevich. The design of this volume is to afford the reader a general view of the Slavonic nations by bringing together select readings about them from the earlier to the present time.

It is made for popular use and information, and to occupy a vacant field. There are many books dealing with the subject, but most of them are in the original and inaccessible to English-knowing or English-speaking people. The editor has here brought together a large number of highly informative and very readable examples of the most important writings, and also practical illustrations of the rise of learning, imagination and creative power which finally brought about the liberation of the Slavonic races. There are separate chapters on Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; also a very useful select bibliography. The book is thus a valuable compendium of general information about the Slavs.

For several centuries past the Chinese were under the disability of want of protection in the lands they emigrated to. Their suffering and their risk of life were enormous. In the early years of the seventeenth century between twenty thousand and thirty thousand Chinese were slaughtered or committed suicide in the Philippine Islands, and at Batavia in 1740 as many as ten thousand Chinese lost their lives, while many fled to the mountains where they were protected by independent rulers. It was not till 1860 that the Government thought it fit to protect the emigrants and from that period till 1909 their position was passable, and from 1909 onwards the Government were making treaties with various countries for the proper treatment of the Chinese. The Chinese are to be found in Russia, India, Burma, Siam, the French Asiatic Empire, Netherlands Indies, Mexico, Canada and Central and South America, but in Canada, America and Australia they still arouse the jealousy and antagonism of the labour elements in those countries. Professor MacNair's book on Chinese emigration called *The Chinese Abroad* (Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai) gives to the subject the impress of authority and it may be hoped that foreign governments will now give the problem that attention which it deserves. Professor MacNair has put together in this volume a mass of useful information, and told the story in an interesting way. An attempt is made to give a survey of the Chinese people who have settled in various parts of the world, and to give the number and standing of the Chinese emigrants in different countries. The book is instructive—and a perusal of this account of the Chinese abroad cannot fail to impress one with the sterling qualities of the emigrants noted for their thrift, proving themselves to be useful, capable, and law-abiding citizens, wherever they take up their abode. As the relation of foreigners in China and Chinese abroad is a close one, when once a stable

government is formed, it is safe to say that China will demand the same treatment for her subjects in alien lands as she accords to foreigners living in China. Professor MacNair's research on the Chinese abroad will assist government agents and Chinese diplomats to understand their problem, and thus help to bring about friendship between China and foreign nations. It is a highly meritorious work.

CURRENT ENGLISH FICTION.

(Issued by Messrs. W. Collins & Co., Ltd., 48, Pall Mall, London).

Mr. L. Adams Beck's new novel called *The Treasure of Ho* is a novel with a rich Far Eastern background. The hero, a young Englishman living in Peking, visits "a lost Buddhist temple beyond the Western Hills"—and there he finds thrills and wealth and love. The wicked old Empress Dowager of China very nearly ends the career of John Mallerdean, and he sees many strange things during his adventures in Mongolia. Few writers have the power of interpreting the occultism and mysticism of the East so convincingly and picturesquely to the Western mind, as the author of *The Treasure of Ho*.

The Moated Grange is a thrilling story of the adventures of Delia de Burgh and her mother in a lonely Suffolk house of which they have become the tenants. The owner of the house is understood to be abroad and the place is run by the butler, Crouch, a sinister figure, and his wife, who has a terrible past. Many ghosts haunt the Moated Grange, and Delia and her mother are in great peril, but at the most terrible moment Delia's lover comes to save her. The story is unfolded with dramatic intensity.

The American novelist, Mr. Tuttle, though his Western romances are very popular in his own country, is yet little known in Great Britain. Messrs. Collins believe he is certain of a great future, and have arranged to publish books by him at regular intervals. He can construct a thrilling plot and he tells his story with great vigour and humour, as would be clear to reader of his new book called *Ghost Trails*.

Old Wine is probably the best novel Miss Phyllis Bottome has written. The subject with which it deals has not yet been treated in English fiction, namely, the break-up of the Austrian aristocracy after the abdication of the Emperor at the conclusion of the

war. Miss Bottome takes a typical family, the house of Wolkenheim, and shows how each of its members after the crash struggles out of the debris, and faces the future. One becomes a swindler, another a practical idealist, another commits suicide, and so on, and, as a foil, Miss Bottome introduces a young American girl who stands for the spirit of re-birth and fresh hope. The people who have viewed with sympathy the heroic, and at last successful efforts of Austria to rise again, will find Miss Bottome's vivid and convincing pictures of that time of enthralling interest.

Dangerous Ages was one of the great successes of the spring of 1921. It is the story of a group of people, mainly women, of four generations, and is told with that dispassionate ruthlessness which makes all Miss Macanlay's novels so palatable and stimulating. She has what few modern writers possess—a definite philosophy and a consistent attitude of mind, and every reader of *Potterism* knows that she has a great and unflinching wit. In *Dangerous Ages* the more futile and despicable side of psycho-analysis is admirably shown up through the character of that delightful charlatan, Mr. Craddock.

In 1855 a philanthropic young person, Miss Charlotte Smith, was escorting forty orphans to San Francisco when the ship was wrecked, and the survivors—Miss Smith, the orphans, a doctor, and some others, landed on a desert island. Those sailors who had escaped deserted them the next day in the boats. There they remained unvisited for some seventy years, with little to disturb the monotony beyond the adventures of the Doctor, who was secured in turn by Miss Smith and a shark. All this is contained in chapter one. The second chapter opens in 1922 at Cambridge, where lived the descendants of one of the sailors who deserted—a professor and his three children. A document and chart coming into the professor's hands, left by his dead grandfather, telling the story of the marooning of Miss Smith and the orphans, the professor and his family voyage out to the island and find there a thriving community and *Orphan Island* is chiefly concerned with the community and the relations of it to the professor and his family.

Irene in the Centre by Hannath Yates is an interesting production. The interest in this highly promising First Novel is not much in the plot as the people; the characters of the three men are extremely well drawn and sharply contrasted, whilst Nina—the heroine—is a very real person, and the development of her character is subtly shown. Miss Yates's style is re-

markably mature, and she commands a pungent and ready wit. The treatment is modern, but modern in the best sense; the psychology is profound and wise, and free from that morbid taint which has been the curse of so much of the work of the younger school.

Through the medium of Mr. Crofts, the most famous cases in which that brilliant investigator—Inspector French—was concerned are being recorded, and *The Cheyne Mystery* is the second. When young Cheyne first found things going wrong and that a very dangerous gang of criminals were unpleasantly interested in him, he tried to outwit them on his own; however, when things got very serious and his life was attempted, he decided to go to the Yard. From then French comes into the case, and carries out one of his typical investigations by his own particular method—that untiring thoroughness directed by flashes of inspiration, which was the secret of his unflinching success. A very pleasant young person named Joan plays a prominent part in the book.

In Agatha Christie's *Murder of Roger Ackroyd*, M. Poirot, the hero of *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* and other brilliant pieces of detective deduction, comes out of his temporary retirement like a giant refreshed, to undertake the investigation of a peculiarly brutal and mysterious murder. Geniuses like Sherlock Holmes often find a use for faithful mediocrities like Dr. Watson, and by a coincidence it is the local doctor who follows Poirot round, and himself tells the story. Furthermore, as seldom happens in these cases, he is instrumental in giving Poirot one of the most valuable clues to the mystery.

The Diamonds by Mr. J. S. Fletcher is the story of the most sinister jewels in all fiction. On every man they had an hypnotic effect, inflaming his cupidity, destroying his self-control, till he killed for them, only to die in his turn. The talented author tells such a story of crime magnificently. He regards this as one of his best books, and every reader will agree with him. *The Diamonds* is a capital story—absorbing in interest and skilfully constructed in its plot. We shall watch with interest for Fletcher's literary career.

The Owl Taxi has already been a great success. Mr. Footner has made a great name as a writer of mystery stories. The success which attended the publication of this book in the more expensive edition is certain to be emulated at this price, and any one buying it can be certain of excitement. From the moment that the body is found in the middle of the night on the floor of the taxi, to the last page, there

is a continuous series of thrills, plots and counterplots. The pace is terrific, but not so fast that it prevents the development of a very delightful little love story.

The Ponson Case is what is called a problem novel. Who murdered Sir William Ponson? That is the

problem to which the author of this story sets his readers in the opening chapter, and he shows the utmost ingenuity in its solution. As in his other mysteries his web of suspicion is so cunningly woven that it involves in turn several actors in the drama, till the reader's interest is so aroused that he has to finish the book at a sitting.

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The Hindustan Review

FOUNDED
1900

BY
Sachchidananda Sinha.

Vol. L.]

OCTOBER, 1926

[No. 290]

THE MAIN ISSUE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

Since I came back from South Africa at the beginning of May, the question has very often been put to me by the most thoughtful people who have approached me with questions on the South African Indian problem:

"What is the main issue out there? What is it more than anything else that our Indian people are up against? Why is it really and truly that the South African whites cannot endure even a handful of Indian settlers in a vast sub-continent, which is nearly as big as India itself and is more than three quarters empty? Why are these South African whites so determined to turn the Indians out of South Africa?"

The question is a composite one, but it all amounts to the same thing, namely, a wonder and dismay in India that the white community should be so utterly selfish as to be determined on the exclusion of Indians altogether if possible from South Africa. For that and nothing less than that is the meaning of the Asiatic Bill which has just been withdrawn under extreme pressure from a united Indian people and Indian Government, both working together in this matter in a way they were not able to do on any other subject.

At first, when a visitor comes out from India and starts his own investigation, the whole stress will be laid by the white community on the economic competition which makes it impossible for the white man to live side by side with the Indian shop-keeper and trader. This 'economic competition' argument is the

stock-in-trade of every white man who debates the question and is ready to enter into the controversy for his fellow whites. His argument will run somewhat as follows:—

"You see, Mr. Andrews, it is the case of the brown rat and the black rat over again. You know how wherever the brown rat gets a hold of a place, the black rat has no chance. Sooner or later, he is eaten out by the brown rat. Now it is just the same with the Arab. (Note.—The Indian Mussalman trader in South Africa is always called the 'Arab.' C. F. A.) He can live on the 'smell of an oil rag' and sleep under his counter and he never thinks of educating his children. He sits there all day long in his shop, raking in the money; and no decent white man has the least chance of competing with him. Good God! what an existence! He is ready to go on working, behind the short doors, to midnight and gets up at sunrise every morning. He doesn't drink. He doesn't smoke. He looks at every half-penny bit before he spends it, and all the while he is piling up a fortune which he sends over to India. He does no good here and he is no benefit to this country. He gives nothing in charity. All he does is to save up money to send to his relatives in Bombay."

If any one were to take the trouble to analyse that story of the 'Arab', sentence by sentence, he would soon find how very little truth there is in it. I have lived in the houses of these 'Arabs' and have shared their hospitality, and I could state from my own experience

that the account given above is a pure myth. If, however, the enquiry from India brings forward any facts to disprove what may perhaps be called for short the "smell of an oil rag" theory (for that phrase unfortunately has caught on in South Africa and is invariably quoted), then at once another theory is brought forward which is also economic in its main aspect. I will try to explain this also but it will need our introduction.

There is a hill overlooking the port of Durban, in Natal, called the 'Berea', somewhat similar to Malabar Hill overlooking the city of Bombay. As Durban is very hot and tropical for a great part of the year, this hill of 'Berea', which is quite accessible from the business quarter of the town, is much coveted by the Europeans. They build their mansions there and enjoy the cool breezes. But recently some audacious Indians, who belong to the same shop-keeping type, and are called by the whites 'Arabs', have ventured into these sacred European precincts and dared to build their own houses on the hill called the 'Berea.' Let us now hear a typical white man talking about this and mentioning it as the real cause, why the Indian is so disliked and must be driven out of the country. He would talk as follows:—

"Well, Mr. Andrews, you're a white man after all and can understand a white man's feelings. It was all very well when these Arabs kept themselves to themselves and lived down in the centre of the town and slept on their business premises. But now, if you please, some of them have got so eaten up with conceit that they want to imitate the white man. They ride about in their Rolls-Royce motor-cars and they have actually bought property on the 'Berea' and have built their own houses next door to decent Europeans. You can see at once, can't you, what that leads to? Only work it out! First of all, this white man has to put up with all sorts of things that the Indian does which the white man dislikes. You see clothes hanging out of the windows all round the house. Here will be infernal music played in the backyard all through the night; and if you send some one round to protest he is insulted. So things go on till the European can stand it no longer and is obliged to leave that quarter. So you see, Mr. Andrews, what happens is just this. The moment it is known that any Arab or Indian of any sort has purchased a house on the 'Berea', then immediately all the property

everywhere round is depreciated in value. The market price of all the property round goes down fifty per cent. You may say that after all this is competition. But, Mr. Andrews, it is unfair competition, and the white man is not able to stand it and what's more, he's not going to stand it. The Arab has got to quit."

Here again, when we get down to hard facts and analyse the figures on which such evidence is based, we find that there is extraordinarily little solid ground for the evidence to stand on. Instead of hundreds of such houses on the 'Berea' such as this alarming white propaganda implies, there are just four houses, owned by Indians; and even in these,—with, I believe, only one exception,—Indians themselves are not living. And when the property figures are analysed again we find that instead of going down in value the property round Indian sites has actually gone up. The case is such a hollow one that it would not stand cross-examination for a single moment. Indeed the greatest part of the case brought forward against the Indians on the Select Committee was this very point which we might call, for short, by the name of the 'Berea' argument; for it is only used about this one spot called the 'Berea'.

We were very amused to find letters in the papers warning the whites of South Africa about the dreadful fate of Malabar Hill which was said to be the 'Berea' of Bombay. Once, it was said, Malabar Hill was practically reserved for the white people, who needed it, because, being white, they could not stand the heat of Bombay City itself, just as the whites in Kenya needed the Kenya Highlands because they could not stand the heat of the Kenya Lowlands. But now,—so it was reported in South Africa,—the Parsees had bought up the whole of Malabar Hill and turned the whites out of it. In the same way, the 'Arabs' would soon buy up the whole of the 'Berea' and turn the whites out of that, if they did not take action at once. It would appear that there is a constant correspondence between the white traders in India and the whites in Africa and that these stories constantly get across from one side to the other. While we were out there in Cape Town this time, struggling to make the true position in India known, a merchant, whose name I have forgotten, came over from Calcutta to Durban on business and at once told the press in South Africa, that there was

no agitation at all in India over the Asiatic Bill: that the Indians cared nothing about it; that he had been in India thirty years and knew India through and through, and they could rely on his information; that he would advise the whites in South Africa to get on with the Bill and not mind what a few interested politicians said about the matter; that the whites in India were all one with the whites in South Africa. Not a word of all this was true. The merchant in question, who had spent thirty years in India, had probably not gone far away from his office and his bungalow and his club. Nevertheless, he spoke as though he knew India and his words carried great weight. It was only by immediate authoritative contradiction that they could be counteracted.

To show how far these two 'economic' arguments, which I have related above, have carried weight I found that when arguing the whole matter out with different members of the South African Union Cabinet, including General Hertzog and Dr. Malan, these very reasons were brought forward as the grounds for repatriating the Indians and, if possible, driving them out of the country. There seemed to be very little realisation how exceedingly hollow they were, and how easily they could be refuted. Indeed, it was with something like amazement that the members of the Select Committee witnessed for the first time the statistics brought forward from the Natal Government's own records which proved their hollowness.

What, then, is the *real* objection against the Indians, if this economic objection can be so palpably proved to be fallacious. It is true that it is spread abroad everywhere and that like every legend it grows stronger merely by repetition. All the same, a legend is a legend; and a mere legend cannot adequately account for a sentiment so strong as this anti-Indian sentiment in South Africa, especially in Natal and the Transvaal.

Sometimes, I have almost been driven back to the theory that the prejudice is unaccountable. There is a rhyme in English about an unfortunate person named Dr. Fell, with whom I have been tempted to compare the Indian in South Africa. The rhyme runs—

"I do not like you, Dr. Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell,
But this I know and know full well,
I do not like you, Dr. Fell."

Is the Indian in South Africa, I have been tempted to ask myself, in the same misfortune as Dr. Fell, not liked by the white man in South Africa, but unable to discover why he is disliked? Is *that* the explanation of the objection against the Indian, which is so strong that it is driving him out of the country?

Here again, the cause is not big enough for the effect. There is no coefficient. But when we come to the colour question, we at once get into a region where cause and effect are equal and explain one another. Indeed, it may be said without any reservation, that the longer one stays in South Africa and feels by daily experience the intensity of the colour prejudice, the more one is driven to the conclusion that this and this alone is the *real* cause why Indians are to be driven out of the country, if possible; and that the excuse of economic competition and what I have called the 'Berea' argument are mere camouflage, things put forward to screen the ultimate objection, namely, the colour bar.

It was of great interest to me one day, while travelling from Johannesburg to Durban, to meet two average Europeans, who were both Britishers from Natal, going back Home, and to discuss with them the Indian problem. During the first part of our conversation they clung desperately to the economic argument. But as they had never studied the question and had come very little into business contact with Indians, it was not difficult to drive them from one line of defence to another until they had to abandon their whole position. But this did not weaken in the very least their determination to vote for the Asiatic Bill in order to get rid of the Indian from South Africa. As they were very kindly-natured and not at all annoyed by the persistence with which I pressed the matter home, I went on asking them what they considered to be the *real* objection to the Indians. Then one of them said to me as follows:—

"You see, Mr. Andrews, this country is like no other country in the world except the old slave States of America, such as Kentucky and Tennessee. We whites are in the minority and yet we are masters of the country. What is more we must remain masters and we mean to do so. And here all the time, when we are trying to keep the mastery, the Asiatic comes in and claims all sorts of special privileges, which he cannot get from us unless we give them to the 'natives' at will. But the time

hasn't come yet to give these things to the 'natives'. If we did so, we should be driven out of the country. The 'natives' outnumber us by five to one already; and this may be as much as ten to one in twenty years' time. Therefore, all day long we have this one fear,—the fear about what is going to happen to our children when they grow up. Are they going to be over-run by the natives? Are the natives going to get the upper hand? *Is this country, Mr. Andrews, going to be a black country or a white country?*

"That is the question of all questions which we have got to face. If you had a family and were married with a home and wife and children and couldn't leave this country, but had settled in it for good, you would be asking that question to yourself day and night, just as we are asking it to ourselves, Mr. Andrews. Don't misjudge us. It's not all selfishness. It's not a mere colour prejudice in the ordinary sense of the word. It's rather, with us, a code of honour, a religion. We've got to keep this country white, whatever happens. It's a matter of self-preservation, or rather preservation of the white race. And as you know, self-preservation is the first law of nature. We have to preserve, not ourselves and our families only, but the white race. We have to preserve it for posterity, and not let it get swamped by this black race. That's why we can't give power to the negro. No, Mr. Andrews, the moment we did so, our day would be over; the white race would be nowhere."

"But" I asked impatiently, "you have not yet told me your objection to the Indian. Where does he come in?"

"Haven't told you!" my companion replied, "Why! I have been telling you all the while. How on earth are we to keep the native

in his place, if the Indian is clamouring incessantly for more rights, while the Viceroy of India and the British Prime Minister are both holding up a big stick at us threatening to beat us if we don't grant them? We have had enough of this and we are determined, if we can, to settle this question once and for all. We must get this third party the Indians out of the way. Then we shall be able to deal with our native question, fairly and squarely. But as long as the Asiatic is here, complicating our native question, we are quite certain to have trouble."

The other Englishman had been listening to our argument with great attention. So I turned to him and said:

"Is that your opinion also?"

He answered without a moment's hesitation: "Yes, that's my opinion also, and it's the opinion of a great many thinking white men in Natal. Don't go away with a wrong impression. We haven't got any special grudge against the Asiatic; but we are annoyed with ourselves for having brought him in; and now we find that he's in the way. We want to settle the native question, as that other gentleman says, 'fairly and squarely'; but we cannot give rights to the Asiatic, who, after all, is a foreigner, and reduce them to our own natives, who are a part of this country. So we feel that, if possible, we must reduce the number of Indians, as Dr. Malan says, to the irreducible minimum."

With this, the long day's discussion ended, and we turned to other subjects which were less controversial; but I learnt that day almost by heart this one lesson, that the main issue, below and behind the Indian question, is the 'native policy'. Only in relation to that, can the Indian issue be truly judged.

BRITAIN AND INDIA.

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE,

(Hon. Secy., British Committee on Indian Affairs.)

We had in July last in the House of Commons the annual debate on India. For those who take an interest in India and Indian affairs it was not only dull but intensely depressing. There are some 615 members of the House of Commons, and there were probably not 40 members present at any time during the debate. When this fact was brought to the notice of the Chairman half-way through the debate, a count was called and members rushed in from the terrace and the smoke rooms and left immediately after the count had been taken. We must face the fact that in Great Britain and in the House of Commons there is little or no interest in India. One could count on one's fingers the number of Members of Parliament who are really interested in Indian affairs either from the point of view of India's Swaraj or from the point of view of the Die-hards.

Some of us have for years done our best to foster and encourage an interest in India, and I may mention in this connection particularly Mr. George Lansbury, M. P. who has in practically every issue of *Lansbury's Labour Weekly* had either an article or some paragraph or paragraphs dealing with Indian matters in an endeavour to bring home to the workers in this country a realisation of their responsibility. There is comparatively little support for this work from India, and those of us, who devote a great portion or all of our time to the education of the British public and of members of the British Parliament on Indian affairs, have to work with little encouragement but with considerable criticism both in India and in Great Britain.

There are a number of Members of Parliament, chiefly on the Conservative benches, who have spent a considerable part of their lives in India, generally as officers in the Army. Any one who knows India at all realises the practical impossibility of such a man ever really knowing any Indian on terms of real friendship. Colonel Applin, Conservative M. P. for Enfield,

who has spent many years in India, objected to statements made in the House of Commons the other day by Dr. Haden Guest, Labour member for the Southwark Division of London, regarding the ancient pre-Christian civilisation of India and in rebuking him Colonel Applin, in his superior way, remarked that civilisation had been brought to India by Alexander the Great about 326 B. C.

Sir Frank Nelson, who described himself as one who had returned from permanent residence in India more recently than anyone in the House of Commons, in answer to a Labour member's statement of the poverty and malnutrition in India, gave it as his experience that the ordinary daily diet of an Indian peasant was in no sense inferior to that of "a high-class, wealthy, Indian gentleman." Another Conservative member, Brigadier-General Brown, expressed his considered opinion that communal riots could be prevented and thousands of lives saved by sending "another cavalry regiment or two" from this country to India. Brigadier-General Charteris, Conservative member for Dumfries, also spoke from the experience he had gained in India, and said that every person in India who had any form of education at all endeavoured to get into Government service, not only because the wages were higher, but also, to his regret, because they could make money in other ways. By that, I assume, he intended to convey that the Indian in Government service, in contradistinction to the Britisher, was always ready to take bribes.

Mr. Pilcher, another Conservative M. P. who has lived in India, tried to make the House believe that the Indian miner—admittedly the worst paid in the world—was really quite a well off individual. In actual point of fact, said Mr. Pilcher, he is so well off as an agriculturist that he rarely troubles to work as a miner more than 3 or 4 days a week. The factory workers' standard of life, their wages, and their comfort, he stated, are very much higher than the average standard of comfort of the agriculturist

classes. I can only say that from my own observation and knowledge their standard of life and housing conditions in India are such as still leave much to be desired.

On the other hand, Messrs. Thomas Johnston, Labour M. P. for Dundee, Snell, Scurr, Thurtle and others, endeavoured to put before the House of Commons the other side of the picture, but all the speeches were delivered to practically empty benches.

I have attended, I think, practically every first-class debate in the House of Commons this session, and none has been so dull, so dreary, or so lacking in interest to the ordinary M. P. or to the public as the debate on Indian affairs. Why is this? We are accustomed to hear from Sir Michael O'Dwyer and other die-hard speakers, that we are the trustees for the down-trodden masses of India, and only the other day that ex-Governor, in addressing the Empire Workers' Union, spoke of the mockery of introducing into India a system of Parliamentary local self-government based on the principles of self-determination.

In spite of all appearances here to the contrary, and in spite of many appearances to the contrary in India, there is no doubt that engrained in the British people there is a fundamental sense of justice. I have spoken on Indian affairs to audiences in many parts of England, Scotland and Wales, and have always received a most sympathetic and encouraging hearing. We are living here in a small island intensely industrialised. Unemployment, bad housing and malnutrition of the masses, are always with us. It is only natural that a candidate for Parliament standing for any constituency should interest himself and gain the approval of his constituents by concentrating on the matters that seem to affect most nearly their everyday lives. India is far away, Indian politics and problems do not touch them personally, whereas bad housing and unemployment are ever present with them. The result is that by their lack of interest in, or attention to Indian affairs, these matters are left in the hands of a few who for one reason or another have made them their special study.

Viceroy and Governors are appointed by the Government of the day. Men sit for and pass examinations for the Indian Civil Service, Indian Police, and other services, and go off to India for a term of years, but the ordinary

man in the street, who is, after all, the average British elector, knows just as little as before, and has as little inducement as before to take any interest in Indian matters.

It may be said, and with great force, that if British electors and Members of Parliament take so little interest in India, they have no business to claim the right to govern that vast sub-continent. That is true; but we must remember that no change in the Government of India can be made without the consent and act of Parliament, and no radical alterations in India's favour can be made without an educated electorate here pressing these questions on their Members of Parliament. It is for that reason that some of us are so anxious to educate not only Members of Parliament, but the British public as a whole, on Indian affairs and the justice of India's claim to Swaraj. No one has done more, no one, in fact, has done a tithe of the work in this respect on behalf of India, as that veteran worker, Dr. Annie Besant. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has also done splendid work in that way when he has been in this country and has always had a very warm reception. Mr. George Lansbury and I try to keep up more or less continuous work towards the same end, but it is not a matter for individuals. It is a matter for India, and it is a propaganda that must be taken up on a large scale. If that were done there would be no difficulty in having returned to Parliament men of all parties who were pledged to India's Swaraj, and no Government could resist them. Does India think this is worth while? So far she has not done so. Not only so—Indians have taken little or no interest in the work that some of us here are trying to do from what we conceive to be a sense of justice towards them.

It is easy for India to criticise us here and say what we ought to do. Whilst realising the justice of such criticism, I want Indians to realise also the position of affairs here and the difficulties with which we are faced. A few of us are doing all we can. We have to a great extent permeated the Labour Party with a sense of the justice of India's claim. What is required is to permeate the whole country with these views, and that can only be done when Indians realise that this is their work and that if they believe that Swaraj for India is a desirable goal, they must realise that it can only be achieved by, and in so far as, they are prepared to make sacrifices for it.

IS INCREASE IN FOREIGN TRADE A CORRECT SIGN OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS?

By MR. B. RAMACHANDRA RAU, M.A., L.T.

The oft-repeated signs of officially manufactured prosperity indicative of the economic progress of the people under the British Rule are the following, (i.e.) the increase in foreign trade, the expanding growth of our population, the absorption of gold, the increase in bankers' clearing house returns, improved standard of living, rise in prices and wages, increase in government revenue, increase in railway traffic and industrial development. Any number of extracts in support of this view can be quoted from the annual Moral and Material Progress reports of India and the annual Administrative Reports of the Provinces or the speeches of responsible British officials who have moulded the destinies of India. The increase in the agricultural wealth of the country is adduced by Lord Ronaldshay as a sign of the economic progress of the people.⁽¹⁾

These things should be clearly analysed to show how far the prosperity of British India has been a reality or how far it has been due to administrative sophistry or circumlocutions official-reporting or the result of the imagination of the official apologists of the bureaucracy. Without going so far as to believe the remarks of Hyndman it can, however, be pointed out that his words contain a great amount of truth.⁽²⁾

Various passages can be quoted from Macaulay, Torrens, Digby, Hunter, Hyndman, Dutt,

Ranade, Naoroji, Gokhale, Dr. Besant, and Lajpat Rai showing the evils arising out of the economic policy of the British Government.

Though the Government officials lay undue stress on the hopeful features of our economic progress, economic disorder and lack of a definite scheme of economic reform embodying a definite ideal suitable to the psychology of our folk and their social instincts are tending to retard our progress. Instead of propelling the forces of betterment further economic disorder tends to disorganise and weaken the forces at work for our economic betterment. Our low per capita income, the small margin of taxable capacity, the inefficiency of labour, the chronic underemployment of agricultural labour, the unemployment of the newly-arisen bourgeois class, the nature of our small and uneconomic holdings and the fragmentation of land, the position of middlemen tending to knock off a large portion of actual produce created either by the agriculturist or the factory labourer by the zamindar or capitalist and the trading agent, the smallness of capital resources and their unorganised character, the absence of specialising agencies as the Investment Trusts reducing the risks of our investments, the high mortality figures due to the low vitality and prevalence of diseases and the illiteracy of our people even according to the modest test of our Census authorities and several other features, are sufficiently indicative of the slow pace of our economic progress under the British Rule.

Who is to be blamed?

Neither the Government nor the Indian National Congress nor the different political parties bear all these in mind and frame their schemes of economic reform. Any attempt of a piecemeal character to solve one particular economic disorder would tend to produce results of a least encouraging character.

Although this is the situation in India it must be recognised that modern India is infinitely better than the India of the

(1) See Lord Ronaldshay "A Bird's Eye view," p. 109.

(2) See H. M. Hyndman "The Truth about India."

"The horrors of peace may in many ways be worse than the horrors of war" is a consideration which never enters their minds, still less affects their judgment. All the tests of prosperity which they are to apply are not fulfilled. Population is increasing rapidly, poverty is favourable to generation. Exports are rapidly increasing; what is the amount of return? Railways have been built over a large portion of the country; transport does not necessarily increase wealth. Vast irrigation works have been built; old irrigation tanks have been allowed to decay throughout huge areas and the charges for the new water are heavy, rendered still heavier by the enforced use of government water to the exclusion and shutting down of Indian wells."

transitional period from the native rule to the East India Company rule. The political confusion, the lack of proper communications, the high assessments on land and the disorganised conditions of trade, have all been mitigated and the position of the average Indian of today has been infinitely bettered. But something more brilliant could have been achieved if the British Government had immediately carried out the recommendations of the various Commissions and sacrificed the Laissez-faire attitude towards the industries of the country.

India's Foreign Trade.

The situation of India in modern commerce is unique. Firstly, the country is so rich in agricultural produce and its people are so largely engaged in agriculture that it is less dependent upon trade than is England or Germany. Secondly, the nature of her industries determines that the country's commerce shall be very different from that of France, England or Germany⁽¹⁾. Two-thirds of the exports are principally food-grains, oil-seeds, hides, raw jute, raw cotton (i.e.) producers goods in brief the raw material of the other countries' industries. Ninety per cent of her imports comprise mainly railway plant, machinery, cotton and iron manufactures, sugar, manufactured tobacco (i.e.) consumers goods—products in general of large-scale manufactures of other countries. Although she is slowly gaining ground in the sphere of the world's trade* she is still unable to take the front rank among the trading nations of the world. Her commercial position is respectable but not commanding.

India's commercial history dates from mythic ages, yet it has been outside the pale of authentic history and the records of trade in olden times are obscure and a proper elucidation of it requires a special treatise. It must pay special attention to the different trade routes. But it is sufficient for the purpose of our article to discuss the present position of trade between the years 1900—25. Lieutenant Waghorn brought

the first mail overland from Bombay in 1830. This overland route increased the trading intercourse with India. The completion of the Suez Canal connecting the waters of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea tended to expand the trade. India's balance of trade had a humble beginning. Before the year 1860 exports and imports were tending to an equilibrium point well-illustrating Ricardo's famous remark that "the equation of international indebtedness is the law of international trade." From that year onwards the expansion of India's trade is a remarkable phenomenon. The following table shows this:—(Figures in Lakhs of Rupees):—

Quinquennial Average	Imports	Exports	Excess of Export
1864-65 to 1868-69	3175	5586	2416
1869-70 to 1873-74	3304	5625	2321
1874-75 to 1878-79	3836	6032	2196
1879-80 to 1883-84	5016	7908	2892
1884-85 to 1888-89	6151	8864	2713
1889-90 to 1893-94	7078	10499	3421
1894-95 to 1898-99	2367	10753	3386
1899-00 to 1903-04	8668	12492	4024
1904-05	10441	15772	5331
1905-06	11211	16181	4973
1906-07	11729	17703	5972
1907-08	13665	17748	4083
1908-09	12879	15314	2435
1909-10	12265	18798	6533
1910-11	13379	20926	7626
1911-12	14405	22799	8394
1912-13	16663	24622	7969
1913-14	19131	24901	3770
1914-15	14493	18217	3724
1916-17	16025	24736	8711
1918-19	16435	24490	8055
1920-21	34714	26539	-8121
1921-22	27040	24865	-2175

Our foreign trade has increased not only in value but in volume also. The per capita exports from the country might be insignificant when compared with the other countries. But the mere fact of its increase cannot be doubted.

The reasons are not far to seek. Before 1860 both the internal and external trade was limited within very small bounds as regards the kind of goods and the distance traversed. The rapid extension of the facilities of inland transportation, chiefly the railway and the canal, is the primary cause contributing towards this expansion. Secondly, the part that foreign capitalists played in expanding the volume of

(1) In order to ascertain pure trade figures we must reduce imports by 4% as the import figures include shipping freight and exports would have to be increased by 4% as they do not include freight and are correspondingly undervalued. See Sir Strachey's Financial Statement—1880 Financial Statement.

*From being the sixth country in the world she has progressed to the fifth place in the list of countries when arranged according to the magnitude of their external trade.

trade abroad and converting a purely agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial one, is also responsible for this economic development of the country. The establishment of peace and a complete freedom of trade allowing each individual free to enjoy the fruits of his labour without being robbed as in the Mogul era or in the days of political chaos following its breakdown, have also played an important part in improving the trade position of the country.

How far foreign trade is an indication of economic progress?

Writers since the time of Manu were considering the expansion of foreign trade as an infallible test of economic progress. Manu says that "foreign trade is the great revenue of the king, the honour of the kingdom, the noble profession of the merchant, the school of our arts, the supply of our wants, the employment of our poor, the improvement of our lands, the nursery of our mariners, the walls of our Kingdom, the means of our treasure, the sinews of our war and the terror of our enemies".

Dr. Marshall advises his readers to inquire carefully into the trade returns before believing the oft-repeated remark that "the volume of foreign trade is a fairly good measure of a country's prosperity. Mere volume of trade shows nothing. It is only when industrial leadership accompanies this growth in foreign trade can it taken as a true index of national prosperity." According to him the productive capacity is the real test of economic progress. The growth in foreign trade may be due either to "industrial progress which makes the nation's industries ahead of similar industries of foreign countries thus developing her export trade." It may be due to "industrial decadence not perhaps positively but relatively to other countries."⁽¹⁾ Trade is only between the individual members of the nation and the trade of an individual cannot be taken as a fairly accurate measure of his prosperity unless he is a merchant or shop-keeper having trade as his main industry. But if a man's main business is to produce the trade test is most untrustworthy. Though national wealth is a better indication of economic progress than trade figures, even this is not considered so good a

test as national income, for the State's demand on the individual's income is not taken into account.⁽²⁾

It is neither foreign trade nor national wealth a part of which is owned by temporarily resident aliens, but it is the internal development in the real interests of the country and the children of the soil, that can increase the well-being of the nation. Growth in foreign trade which enables a few more Indians to earn some more lower wages while the higher wages go to aliens, cannot be taken as an indication of the real growth of our national well-being. Opportunities for industrial employment and more chances for profitable industry are not created by this foreign trade. L. S. Amery says: "the volume of trade more specially the volume of foreign trade bears no relation whatever to the national production or to the national well-being dependent on it. The national interest in foreign trade lies not in its volume but wholly in its character as providing sustenance for industry or opportunity of employment."⁽³⁾ Mr. Hirst says the same thing though in a different manner. "If trade is to be profitable to any country in proportion to its volume it is essential that it should busy itself only with the import of such commodities as the land is incapable of growing or producing and with the largest export of such commodities as the land can and does produce."⁽⁴⁾ Trade is never the essence of national economics. The standard of well-being of the masses must be the subject of national economics and the trade of the country has to be adapted to suit the requirements of the population. If national economic welfare has to be secured it can only be done by demanding less volume of imports in exchange of exports than our commercial rival and by gradually building up a position of strength in the world's markets. The trade balance must be invested in foreign countries which would increase the demand for our goods and manufactures. It is not the exports alone that should be of such a character as to furnish employment to our people but its imports also must be such as to secure further employment for large sections of our people who would convert them into finished

(1) Dr. A. Marshall—*Principles of Economics*—Bk. II. ch. iv., p. 7.

(2) L. S. Amery—"Fundamental Fallacies of Free Trade," p. 68.

(3) H. Hirst—"Some Business Aspects of Tariff Reform," p. 3.

(4) Dr. A. Marshall—*Industry and Trade*, p. 14 to 16.

goods ready for consumption. Thus, the sole aim of foreign trade must be diverted towards the object of diversifying the industrial life of the country, securing a high standard of life for the people of the country and distributing the labour forces of the country in an even manner. Without securing these essentials it cannot be said that an increase in foreign trade has really contributed anything substantial to our economic progress. The mere expansion of the foreign trade is not a sufficient criterion of our economic progress. India imports manufactured goods which no doubt enable the consumers to enjoy them at a low price but they are tending to reduce the volume of indigenous manufactures and the position of labourers is thus rendered worse by such a procedure. Flourishing craft industries have slowly disappeared and agriculture has become the mainstay of these artisans. It would not be far wrong to say that foreign trade has rendered our skilled artisans mere unskilled agriculturists with a lower standard of living than before. So also the export trade of a nation must be so conducted as not to sacrifice any instrument of domestic production for the sake of mere cheapness.* It is only when the foreign product is a superior thing that we should sacrifice the domestic product but it is better to acquire the skill that has contributed towards the production of the superior thing. The exportation of things to be received back in a manufactured shape is only to deny the opportunity for the development of skill, talent and enterprise on the part of the people. The carrying agency of the foreign trade must again be in the hands of the national or domestic agents. Till the invasion of India by the European powers the Hindu merchants carried on the coastal and the sea-borne trade also. Barbosa describes them as very sharp accountants and dexterous merchants. The loss of our carrying trade must be dated to a very early date. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English began to monopolise the coastal trade of India "and these Europeans as Kings of the Seas could blockade any port, capture any vessel and shut up Asiatic merchants within their ports and therefore they could and did slowly force the foreign and coasting trades out of the hands of the Indians."⁽¹⁾ During the years 1850-80 the English merchants began to

dominate in the export and import trade with the result that the trade profits hitherto enjoyed by the people is absorbed by the English traders who have usurped a predominant position. It is not the loss of the profits alone that have to be condoned. These ubiquitous foreign merchants have begun importing foreign commodities with the result that the indigenous artisans and workers have been thrown out of work. At the time of each Census we find the agricultural population on the increase. This "increasing ruralisation" of the country has been very adversely commented on by Indian Economists from the time of Ranade.⁽²⁾ It is indeed true that the better built and better armed merchant ships of the foreigners did confer some service by carrying our things at a lower freight rate and with greater amount of safety than the ill-clad and clumsily built Indian sailing vessels. But the harm that they have rendered in emasculating the industrial skill of the people and converting them into unskilled workers is far greater than the benefit conferred upon the producers.⁽³⁾

Is there an exportable surplus?

Indian economists say that the excess of exports over imports cannot be considered as a sign of increasing wealth. "Much of this has been due to the Home charges and the oft-quoted political drain resulting out of India's servitude to Britain."⁽⁴⁾ Another writer says that "India is a debtor nation and it is for this reason that a large export surplus has to be developed over and above the cost of the imports she has to secure for the sufficiency of her life." The redundant exports, according to these writers, are only a payment for India's excess of invisible debts. Hence these economists argue that the favourable balance of trade (visible) which is so much cherished as the forerunner of a millenium to our country is not really so. A few of the impartial English statesmen like Gladstone and Lord Salisbury and economists admit the fact that India obtains "no equitable equivalent return for her exports either of commodities or of treasure." J. S.

(2) M. G. Ranade, "Essays in Indian Economics," 3rd Edition, p. 27-99.

(3) W. H. Moreland, "From Akbar to Amrangsoreb," p. 82-90. He considers that this displacement of Indian merchants by English merchants is an unmixed gain to the country.

(4) K. T. Shah, "Trade, Transport and Tariff," p. 21 and 71.

*See Bettie Crover, "The Wheel of Wealth."

(1) See Dr. Bal Krishna, "Commercial Relations between India and England," p. 163-64.

Mill had undoubtedly the case of India in his mind when he was writing that a "country which makes regular (non-commercial) payments to foreign countries besides losing what it pays loses also something more by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to exchange its production for foreign commodities. The paying country will give a higher price for all that it buys from the receiving country while the latter besides receiving the tribute obtains the exportable produce of the tributary country at a lower price." (1)

Even granted that the exportable agricultural surplus really betokens prosperity we should institute a comparison with the other countries to find out our real prosperity. Mr. T. Gavin Jones has given us one set of figures comparing the per capita exports of the different countries (2). Barring China there is no other country in this world that is placed in such a situation as India. All other countries be they older countries or newly settled ones enjoy a greater exportable per capita surplus.

Before analysing the nature of our trade balance one word of protest is needed as regards the oft-repeated remark that the British Government in order to hide the real nature of its rule and the consequent political drain arising out of its rule has been forced to promote the creation of an exportable surplus. One has only to refer to the past history of India to find out that India always used to enjoy a favourable balance of trade as its numerous handicrafts and arts were in great demand by the other countries. From the days of Solomon to Hiram Indian goods were greatly in demand. Strabo, Nearchus, Ptolemy, Megasthenes, Marco Polo, Conti Nikitin, and a great many of the European travellers who visited India bear ample evidence as regards her commercial prosperity. Spinning, weaving, dyeing were the important lines in which she excelled all other countries. Her many fine arts excited the cupidity, astonishment and wonder of the other countries.

Bengal was considered as "the Paradise of the Nations." Cambay used to be the Manchester of India. India acted as the "respiratory organ for the circulation and distribution of the moneys and commodities of the commercial system of the world; it was the sea wherein all the rivers of trade and industry flowed and thus profusely enriched its inhabitants" (3). Gold flowed into the country in payment of her favourable balance of trade created by exporting cotton, silk fabrics, Malabar spices, indigo, sugar, drugs, precious stones and many curious works of art. India was also the seat of the entrepot trade between China and the Far East and the countries of the West. Terry the European traveller who observed this drain speaks of it as follows: "This I am sure that many other silver streams run hither as all rivers to the sea and there stay, it being lawful for any nation to bring in silver and fetch commodities but a crime not less than capital to carry any great summe the coven or bullion brought thither is presently melted and refined and then the Moguls stamp put upon it. This coven is more pure than any I know made of perfect silver without any alloy so that in the Spanish Riall (the purest money of Europe) there is some losse." (4) So that this exportable surplus did exist in times prior to the British Rule.

But since that time we have not grown wiser in utilising this exportable surplus to demand the useful goods of other countries and as long as the standard of consumption is very low in India, India fails to make use of the purchasing power of the precious metals entrusted to her in liquidation of the export surplus. The present import of treasure which annually takes place must be replaced by those of commodities. The rate of progress in this direction really indicates the growth of real prosperity of our country.

Certain characteristics of India's Foreign Trade.

Increase in exports should never be considered as an infallible index of economic prosperity. Prof. Smart says, "Exports are not a

(1) J. S. Mill. "Principles of Political Economy," Book III, Ch. XXI. See also J. W. Root "Trade Relations of the British Empire," Ch. V.

(2) The Evidence of T. Gavin Jones—before The Industrial Commission—Vol. I, p. 233. See also the recent estimate given by N. R. Sircar in his article, "The position of the Trade of India" in the *Forward*—July 6th, 1926—India's trade is only 1 and 1/2 £ per head, about £17 or 18 in the U.S.A., about £20 in France, £12 in Germany, £20 in Canada, £3 in Japan, £40 in Australia, £15 in the Netherlands, £5 in Italy and £25 in Belgium.

(3) Dr. Balkerishna. "Commercial relations between India and England," p. 62.

(4) W. H. Moreland. *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 253—281, and also "From Akbar to Aurangzeb," p. 97—204. The authorities quoted by him are Bernier, Tavernier, Abul Fazal, Sir Thomas Roe, Nikitin, Barbosa, Linschoten, Perard, and Van Twist.

gauge of overflowing abundance. Falling exports may result out of fuller industrial employment at Home and it is wrong to conclude that it is a sign of stagnation. Increase in exports might likewise be due to trust dumping or Home depression. The only conclusion he rightly insists upon is the fact that foreign countries are a part of the common market and a diminution of exports means we are doing less trade abroad—which might be a good or bad thing⁽¹⁾. Though this economic reasoning is sound a falling export trade cannot be considered a good thing for India as it has to discharge the political burdens. Again, unless capital is employed increasingly in Home industries which do not export it cannot be understood as a good thing. A falling export trade under the above circumstances is an evidence of failure.

Although India normally enjoys a favourable trade balance and although a slight quantitative increase in the volume of our exports can be noticed, it cannot be concluded that this increase is contributing anything substantial to our economic development. The first thing that strikes the attention is the export of articles of foodstuffs and raw materials. From the national standpoint fully manufactured exports are preferable to exports of raw materials or semi-manufactured goods as the former give employment to Indian labour, skill and capital. It is a well-known axiom in the field of international trade that we should obtain maximum of the other countries' goods for the minimum expenditure on our part. Looking at the export of articles of foodstuffs some of the economists have suggested that the policy of prohibition of foodstuffs should be encouraged. According to these observers there is a deficiency in the food supply of the nation and if the menace to the health and comfort of the people is to be checked a permanent policy of prohibition of foodstuffs has to be pursued. But such a policy would tend to make the cultivator substitute export crops in place of food crops. Mere prohibition of foodstuffs would not, however, solve the present problem of underfeeding of the poorer sections of the population. So long as they fail to make an effective demand for the foodstuffs (i.e.) so long as they have no purchasing power there is no possible solution reached by mere

prohibition of foodstuffs' exportation. The Indian Fiscal Commission wisely points out that an annual exportable surplus of foodstuffs is the "best insurance against famines" as we have witnessed during the years 1918-19 and 1920-21. While entire prohibition of foodstuffs cannot be countenanced there is a strong case for the levying of export duty on the foodstuffs exported out of the country. It would lead to the lowering of the price of these articles and enable a good many of the people to secure them at this lower price. The agriculturists would also stand to gain much by this step as it would lower the cost of production to a certain extent.

Coming to the case of export of raw materials it is easy to point out that this unwise exportation has to be given up for a policy of working out these into a manufactured shape. The problem of unemployment and the overcrowding of agricultural industry can be solved only if we can utilise them as the basis of manufactures in the country. It is true that prices alone are not the only hindrance in the path of industrialisation but the reduction of the prices of the raw material would furnish one stimulative at least to the capable entrepreneur to undertake the work of converting them into finished products in our own country.

Another feature of our export trade is the tendency to export first quality material out of the country. Taking the teak exports trade of Burma which is in the European hands the best quality is reserved for export; the second best is kept for Government use and the third quality wood is offered to the public for sale. Even the rice trade of Burma illustrates the fact that it would be advantageous sometimes to stop exportation in the interests of the consumers. Though Burma produces rice in abundance the price of it is higher in Burma than in Bengal in normal times. This is the result of exportation of rice from Burma by the European and Gujerati merchants who control the rice trade of the province. The oil and petroleum resources of Burma are no less significant. Petrol and candles are made and exported out of the country and the biggest exporter is the Burma Oil Company incorporated in Scotland. The same is the case in the matter of the leather export trade. Indigenous leather workers, the mochies and the chamars, get only third quality leather and consequently their manufactured products can never hope to have

(1) Prof. W. Smart. "The Return to Protection," p. 189.

either the finish or the gloss that foreign imported goods possess. The cotton industry also requires a better quality raw material. The woollen mills require better supply of Home-grown wool instead of the Australian imported wool. Local industry cannot hope to produce such finished goods if the bulk of the best raw material is exported out of the country.

India stands to lose everytime it exchanges goods made by a hundred of its workers for those manufactured by fifty foreign workers or unskilled for skilled labour so that the expression "goods are paid for goods" is only a specious half-truth. "Sending away agricultural products means sending away of the soil" says Dr. Banerjee. The tendency towards the diminishing fertility of the soil is not checked by developing local manufactures. In the mistaken belief that India has a comparative advantage in agriculture undue emphasis is laid on the necessity to make India solely an agricultural country.⁽¹⁾ Any attempt at a diversification of industries is looked down upon. The country still remains a prey to the scourges of famines. It is true that the Famine Commission of 1880 long ago pointed out the necessity of diversifying the industrial life of the country. "The failure of the usual rains deprives the labouring class as a whole not only of the supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means of procuring it." While other countries tend to develop industries even though nature has been niggardly in her gifts to them the Indian is content to allow nature's gifts to be exported out of the country and imported in a manufactured shape. If Italy were to work its own resources into finished products it would have to rest content with the cultivation of wine, tropical fruits and the like. But Italy has developed large-scale manufactures with the aid of foreign coal, cotton, wool, etc.⁽²⁾

Another example of unwise exports is the case of bone manures, fish guano, sulphate of case of bone manures, fish guano, sulphate of ammonia and oil-cakes. Out of these raw materials sent to the United Kingdom it prepares cardamom oil, linseed oil, sandalwood

oil, cinnamon oil, and some of these can be prepared only out of products grown in India. Dr. Voelcker long ago pointed out the un-wisdom of exporting the hides and bones instead of their being used as manures⁽¹⁾. In spite of his warnings no efforts have been made to stop this exportation. While the increased Railway freights have been acting as a hindrance on their free use in the different parts of India nothing has been done to help the agricultural industry in this respect. All the scientific agriculturists condemn the impoverishment of the soil year by year. Land, if left unmanured, would deteriorate by the production of rice, wheat, etc., year in and year out. When the use of artificial manures is not known nor within the means of the agriculturists the natural manures should not be allowed to be exported.* The example of Egypt is worth imitation and we have to import artificial chemical manures to supplement the rapidly exhausting fertility of the soil⁽²⁾.

Another erroneous conclusion which the Government of India entertains, namely, that India by virtue of the monopolistic position of India as the sole producer of jute, tea, shellac, etc., can force the foreign buyer to pay what price India settles has to be given up.

(1) Dr. J. A. Voelcker. "Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture," p. 39, etc. See also the Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Agriculture at Pusa, p. 82—(1919).

*The exportation of the natural manures can be shown by a reference to our trade figures. Crushed bones are sent to France and Belgium to be worked out as bone black buttons. Bone-meal was sent in the pre-war days to Germany, Liverpool, and Hull for preparing superphosphates. The Tea and Rubber plantations of Ceylon make an extensive use of this. Dried blood is exported from the slaughter houses of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to Ceylon. Saltpetre is demanded by Ceylon. Sulphate of Ammonia is sent to Java for manuring sugarcane. Oil-cakes go to the United Kingdom, Ceylon, Japan and Java. This is as unwise as the habit of burning cow-dung cakes instead of utilising it as proper manure for the fields. Cheap fuel has to be provided in the plains if this habit is to be checked. Unless the means of communications are developed enough fuel to satisfy the needs of the people cannot be secured from the hills and the forests. Each Province must have a Communications Board as in the Punjab devoting exclusive attention to the construction of metalled roads, feeder railways and other means of cheap communications.

(2) The following chemical manures have been imported into Egypt in 1924. Nitrate of Soda—121833 metric tons. Nitrate of Lime, Ammonium Sulphate, Superphosphate and other manures were imported to the total figure of 179087 metric tons. See the Trade Commissioner's Report.

(1) J. M. Keynes. "Economic Journal." Review of Sir T. Morrison's work.

(2) Grunzel. "Economic Protectionism."

The rise in exchange brought about by Government manipulation is justified on this ground. From the economic standpoint the price of a thing is settled by demand and supply and when foreign demand is weak even the sole monopoliser of the commodities cannot hope to obtain his own prices. This can be realised provided there is a world shortage of commodities and the demand for them is not diminished to any extent. In the absence of these factors it is impossible to expect the foreign buyers to pay fancy prices for our products.

Again, there is undue emphasis on the export trade and the foreign market is considered as more important to us than the domestic one. The Home market is several times more important than the export market. Besides this feature the export trade is ultimately dependent on the Home market. The cost of production in several industries is greatly affected by the scale of production and if a large home market exists it contributes certainly much in the direction of securing foreign markets also on account of the cheapness of the product. If unwise taxation is levied on any industry producing for the Home market it tends to affect the industries producing for the foreign market also as the power of the particular Home industry to contribute towards the revenue is reduced the industry producing for the foreign market has to contribute much more in taxation than before. The workers in the Home industry would become unemployed and their power to contribute towards the revenue of the State is reduced and the State is forced to tax the other industries including those which produce for the foreign market.

Nobody can dispute that there has been commercial progress in the country. A glance at the sea-borne, coastal and inland trade figures show the increase of our trade during this century.⁽¹⁾ But there is lack of national

policy which directs itself towards the expansion of manufactured goods as exports. National railways, shipping companies backed by national subsidies and a consular service and banking companies must co-operate with each other to assist the export trade. Unless we combine all these forces in the cause of our national well-being it would be difficult to compete with foreign manufactures even in our own Home market.

Analysis of the Import Trade.

It has already been remarked that the imports are mainly consumers' goods. India can get on very well without some of these imported articles as these do not cater to the primordial needs of the people. A great many of these were originally imported "only for the needs of the English Administration", yet the Indian people have begun to consume them⁽¹⁾. Habit soon becomes second nature, more than two-thirds of the imported products are consumed by the industrialists, the middle and upper class sections of the people. The agriculturists consume only a very small part of the imported goods.

The next thing that strikes the reader is the steady and continuous increase of imports during the first twenty years of this century. This must, no doubt, be due to the increase in the purchasing power of the masses and this fact by itself must show that there is some amount of economic progress in the country. If a favourable rainfall increases the agricultural wealth of the people greater imports are secured by the increased purchasing power of the agriculturists. Hence the volume of the import trade of the country is dependent on the price of the agricultural products. In the post-war period the price of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods rose to a great height for several reasons. High wages, and low hours of work contributed much for this rise and when the agriculturist fails to realise comparatively high prices for his produce his purchase of imports are correspondingly reduced. When the prices of fine quality cotton goods, galvanised iron, hardware and machinery increased to a certain extent they were not demanded as before. The following table

(1) The following table shows the growth of our commercial progress.

Year.	Cuts in mulls		Value crores of Rs.		Value crores of Rs.	
	Inland Trade		Coasting Trade		Sea-Borne Trade	
1870-01	846	—	48	—	296	—
1900-11	1879	138	103	55	386	100
1920-21	1300	228	217	208	641	222
	Percent- age of increase		Percentage of increase		Percent- age of increase	

(1) Sir John Strachey—Financial Statement, 1889.

shows the rise of prices of agricultural products and the manufactured products.

Manufactured products	1924, Year Increase	Agricultural Products	Year 1924, Increase
Cotton	175%	Cereals	23 1/2%
Sugar	139%	Pulses	14 1/2%
Iron and Steel	77 1/2%	Oil-seeds	44 1/2%
		Jute	2 1/2%

Secondly, mill machinery and agricultural instruments which are imported in large quantities can be manufactured in India according to a standard specification as the iron and steel industry has been developed to a certain extent. Till this is assured our industrial development would be at the mercy of foreign machinery manufacturers. For instance, the Government wanted to start a boot factory in 1918 when the army needs were insistent and it could not be accomplished as the requisite machinery could not be had in England at that time.⁽¹⁾ Textile machinery can be manufactured here easily if only the successful mill-owners had the necessary patriotism to develop this line in particular. This is how the Italian textile industry came to flourish. "The Italian textile manufacturers loaned their machinery to native engineers for purpose of copying and trial was given to the manufactured machines, the mill owners aided them with suggestions and money and great encouragement was consequently given to the manufacture of cotton spinning machinery. Other causes also developed the Italian textile industry and enabled it to capture the market in Argentine, Turkey, Egypt, and the Balkan States. They built their mills in damp places and sought the aid of humidifiers to counteract the dryness of atmosphere." The machinery in use in cotton, wool, flax, silk, and artificial silk industries can be easily constructed and the demand for them would be keen in the country. Similarly in agriculture oil-engines worked with a liquid fuel and suction gas plants worked with charcoal can be used to generate power in a concentrated form.⁽²⁾ For lifting water from wells, canals and rivers, for irrigation purposes, drainage of water-logged land, deep ploughing and the preparation of crops for the market such as sugar-cane, power-driven plant in place

of cattle power would be of much use to the agriculturists. The cost of this machinery is beyond the range of Indian agriculturists but a large-scale manufacture of the machines according to a standardised form would cheapen their cost and the Government might also facilitate their use by enabling the agriculturists to buy them out of the proceeds of takavi loans granted to them for this special purpose.

It has already been reported that some of the imports can be manufactured in our own country instead of being imported from abroad. Taking iron and steel, the third important import into the country, it can be noticed that a steady expansion of the iron industry is necessary for the importers never promptly supply the requisite goods to suit our requirements. Taking sugar another important imported article it can be said that it can be manufactured in India if only the Sugar Producer's Association concentrate its attention in improving the strains of the sugar crop. Imports of motor cars are on the increase in spite of a thirty per cent. tariff wall. Timber is imported in a large quantity and exceeds the export of it from the country by about 5 and 1/2 mil cubic feet. This apparent paradox can be solved by developing forest engineering and making available those kinds of timber which are now having no commercial value. Specialists in wood technology must point out new uses for the new kinds of timber made available from the forests.

Commerce and trade wisely directed would minister to the beneficent purposes of the Indian people, but it is being unwisely conducted and it is degrading the people by allowing them to be exploited by the foreign capitalists. The trafficking in harmful goods, in spite of the protests of the people, is allowed to continue without any let or hindrance and the modification of the policy is always made at a late hour as can be evidenced in the case of the Opium policy of the Government. The State has to determine the commercial policy in furtherance of the interests of its own people and with the ultimate object of the development of their nationhood. Taking the example of Great Britain we find that the old Free Trade policy is no longer adhered to and although the McKenna Duties were repealed in 1924 the 1918 Committee's recommendations granting protection to the key industries against foreign manufacturers were the sole basis on which the

(1) "Journal of the Indian Industries," 1921 Feb.

(2) Sir A. Chatterton's Suggestions in the London Times on Indian Agricultural Development. See also ch. V. J. I. Commissioner's Report.

Safeguarding of the Industries Act was passed. The Board of Trade has been empowered to specially protect those industries suffering from the competition of foreign goods sold at low prices on account of the disparity of the foreign exchanges. With the acceptance of the recommendations of the I. F. Commission the Indian Government has embarked on the very same policy and all "key" industries which can show the possibility of being successfully established in the country would be granted protection by the Indian Government and the Tariff Board has been created to satisfactorily discharge this duty. Steel and Paper have been granted protection.

Another suggestion is the proper co-ordination of work in the field of internal transport. Roads, canals, light railways, motor transport, and tramways are becoming the important services in this line and the co-ordination of these branches would lead to rural development and the future industrial life of the country is dependent on this factor.

In other countries trade is stimulated by shipping lines, railway companies and banking institutions frequently rendering timely aid but in India these are all foreign institutions anxious to secure high dividends and try to favour their own Home interests by giving preferential treatment. These have not the ideals of mutual progress and joint benefit as their actuating motive. Taking the present state of Indian shipping into account only 10% of the coastal trade traffic and 2% of the Overseas Trade is conducted by it. As the British Shipping Companies monopolise the rest of the trade the rates are not conducive to the development of the Indian industries. Rates from one Indian port to another are higher than the rates from the Indian port to the foreign port. Hence India's natural facilities and advantages for industrial progress cannot be of advantage against such neutralising factors. The Rate Wars and the Deferred Rebates System have to be legislated upon and declared unlawful as has been done in other countries. The retention of freight rates, the possibility of shipping facilities even during periods of war, the development of Indian industries, the throwing open of new avenues of employments for Indians in the ship-building industry and a navy for defence would be some of the advantages realised by the creation of an Indian Mercantile Marine. The general naval security

of the country is an important part of the problem of India's defence and India would one day or other have to build a fleet of its own and the Mercantile Marine would be an indispensable thing or ancillary to this naval equipment.

Possessing as we do favourable geographical situation in the centre of the Asiatic littoral, extensive coast, natural harbours, sea-faring population, large traffic and many navigable rivers it would not be difficult to develop the Indian Mercantile Marine if proper steps are taken to encourage ship building and reserve coastal traffic. The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee has rightly pointed out that state-aid has to be granted to this industry. The provision of training facilities and security of service to Indian executive or deck officers, engineers and reservation of coastal traffic for Indian-owned and controlled ships, construction bounties and cheap Government loans to create modern large-scale ship-building firms in this country and pioneer ship building yards have been recommended. The investment of to crores of Rupees for building steamers for coastal trade has also been advocated. When a large number of ocean-going Indian vessels have been built and trained for carrying service the passing of navigation bounties and other methods of subsidies ought to be taken up for further encouragement. Economic progress is dependent to a large extent of the development of the Indian Mercantile Marine, for without it the newly-developed protectionist policy of the Government of India would tend to be defeated by the British shipping companies.

Another important consideration that arises in a study of the foreign trade of the country is this. India is the centre of the entrepot trade since a very ancient period. It no doubt continues to play this important part even to the present day. Chinese tea and raw wool are sent over the land frontier. Sugar is sometimes re-exported from India to the United Kingdom if high prices prevail there. Likewise Western manufacturers consider India as a convenient halting station before sending their goods to the markets of the Far East. Cotton goods that go to Persia, Muscat, and East Africa are first sent to India and re-exported from the Indian ports. This method of trade is no doubt wasteful and efforts are now being made to open trading connections directly with the importing countries alone. The trade of entrepot

countries is bound to diminish in the near future. The following table shows the entrepot trade of this country.

Re-export	1920-21 Rs.	1921-22 Rs.
Food, Drink Tobacco	76290730	28157018
Raw materials and mainly unmanufactured—	22651110	24080891
Mainly manufactured	75358290	83074670
Miscellaneous	5931740	4121546

It is commonly stated that this entrepot trade is not of much benefit to the national well-being of the country. It is true that the merchants, bankers and shippers profit by this re-export trade to a certain extent. But as the Indian merchants, shippers and bankers concerning themselves with this entrepot trade are few we do not find great profit arising even under this heading. English shippers, bankers and merchants derive much benefit out of the financing of this entrepot trade of England and England is the only country that specialises to a great extent in acting as the pivotal base for the redistribution of the Eastern products.

But one possible advantage arising out of this entrepot trade must not be lost sight of. The manufacturers of the distributing centre can study the requirements of the markets and adapt their manufactured things to suit the tastes of the people. This has to be done by the Indian manufacturers if they wish to hold undisputed sway over the Eastern markets.

Another important point in the subject of foreign trade is to consider the agency through which it is carried on. China and India alone have committed the mistake of allowing the foreigners to conduct the foreign trade. Even now it is only a few Indians that partake in this business or at best we notice a few more of them acting as the brokers in the service of the foreign merchants. One advantage of this open door policy is to make the market extremely competitive as the different countries send their enterprising firms for entry into the Indian market. According to a recent estimate it has been calculated "that 6,965 foreign firms employing 324,947 foreigners are engaged in China's

trade. Coming to details it has been asserted that there are 409 American firms, 661 British firms, 4,067 Japanese firms, 30 Belgian, 35 Danish, 35 Dutch, 242 French, 241 German, 44 Italian, 15 Norwegian, 108 Portuguese, 1,034 Russian, 11 Swedish, 28 Swiss and a few Brazilian firms. Czechs, Greeks, Poles and nationals of non-treaty Powers are also represented." Great Britain still holds the lion's share of the trade as in the case of India. But both in India and China American firms are on the increase. As in China Great Britain holds the important trade position. It is only in the internal trade of the country that certain classes of people preferably the Marwaries who have understood the advantage of trade financing have come forward to finance the transactions. With improvements in means of communications and more stable conditions of peace and order they are assured of rapid and quick-turnover of capital and with their larger resources they are slowly entering the field of foreign trade financing as in the case of the import of piece goods, sugar, cheap iron and galvanised sheeting. But unfortunately the lack of industrial capital forces the entrepreneur to compete for the trading capital and when once the quick turnover and safety of capital are assured they take up industrial financing also. It is this reason that explains the rapid growth of rice, flour and cotton ginning mills.

It can then be safely concluded that a steady and continuous increase of imports as we have witnessed in the last two decades really increases the purchasing power of the people and it is on a wise utilisation of this purchasing power depends the economic progress of the country, and instead of being so expended the people hoard the precious metals in their hands with the result that foreign raw materials are not imported and worked out into finished products as in the case of Japan. Like her we must not only learn to produce manufactured products but distribute them wisely in the Eastern markets. Failing this, increase in import trade does not betoken any real prosperity or economic progress.

ASOKA THE GREAT: A STUDY.

By RAI SAHEB HAR BILAS SARDA, M.L.A.

Emperor Asoka is a landmark in human history. He was a personality that defies time, extorts admiration, inspires reverence, and disarms criticism. If ever there was a *Rajarishi*, he was one. Amongst the rulers of the world, he stands supreme—unapproachable in moral grandeur, unequalled in spiritual splendour. He towers high above the greatest of the rulers whether in the East or in the West—not, however, as a warrior, not as a great captain leading countless numbers to destroy kingdoms, enslave nations and impose his will on peoples. Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, stand foremost amongst the military leaders of men. Vikramaditya, Samudragupta, Akbar, Charlemagne, Constantine, are some of the shining lights amongst the political rulers of men. Asoka was greater than these as a ruler, greater than Alexander and Napoleon as a conqueror. Their empires vanished as soon as their eyes were closed. Their influence disappeared soon after they started on the journey from which no traveller returns. Asoka's conquests still abide.

Bhandarkar Lectures.

A study of Asoka's life-work is of perennial interest to mankind. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has done a service to the country by taking the Great Emperor as the subject of his Carmichael Lectures in the Calcutta University and publishing the result of his labours in book-form. He has not only pieced together the various items of information yielded by the famous inscriptions left by Asoka, compared them with the traditions handed down to history, but has tried to show by an analysis of the inscriptions what further information may be obtained from them by a careful and informed scholar.

Asoka's Early Life.

Asoka was the grandson of Chandragupta, (called Sandracottas by the Greeks), the founder of the Maurya Empire. In old times, Indian Kings had more than one name, one being their proper name and the other *birudas*, and Asoka is styled in his inscription *Devanam priyadarsin*

(beloved of the gods) *Raja* or *priyadarsin Raja*. Little is known of his early life beyond the facts that he was Viceroy of Taxila before he became king, that he ascended the throne of Pataliputra on the death of his father Bindusara, probably in 270 B.C., (273. B.C. according to Vincent Smith), that he had several brothers and sisters, 2 queens, one named Karuvaki, and at least 4 sons. In his early life he was fond of the chase. The earliest event of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is his conquest of Kalinga (B.C. 261 according to Vincent Smith). His description of the horrors of war is vivid. He says that in the war against Kalinga 1,50,000 men were carried away as captives, 1,00,000 were slain, and many times as many died. The horrors of the war impressed him so strongly that he never forgot them and never ceased to regret them.

Extent of Asoka's Kingdom.

Asoka's Empire included the whole of India except the small strip of country in the extreme South, lying below the present Mysore State. His Greek contemporaries mentioned in his inscriptions were Antiochus II. Thaos, King of Syria, Ptolemy II, Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene and Aliksumudra, who was Alexander of Epirus (272—256 B.C.), or Alexander of Cornith (252—244 B.C.). The Indian Empire was coterminous with the Syrian kingdom under Antiochus, and included the greater part of Afghanistan (containing Kabul, Herat and Kandhar), Baluchistan and Mekran.

The empire over which he ruled was divided into a number of provinces under four Viceroys who were all kumars, or princes of the royal blood. They were stationed at (1) Takshasila, the head-quarters of the Gandhar (Kandhar), or the frontier province (2) Suvarnagiri in the Deccan (3) Tosali (Dhauli) capital of Kalinga, and (4) Ujjain in Malwa. The Junagarh inscription of King Rudradaman states that Surashtra or Kathiawar was governed in Asoka's time by his Governor Tushapa, a Greek officer.

Asoka's concern for the People.

The close attention he gave to business is clear from a passage in Rock Edict VI, which says: "This, therefore, I have done, namely, that at all hours and in all places, whether I am eating or I am in the closed (women's) apartments, in the inner chamber, on horse-back, or in pleasure orchards, the reporters may report *people's business to me*. People's business I do at all places..... I am never satisfied with (my) exertions or with (my) despatch of business. For the welfare of the whole world is an esteemed duty with me, and the root of that is again this, namely, exertion and despatch of business. There is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world." Asoka's duty towards his subjects, he himself describes in Kalinga Edicts: "All men are my children and just as I desire for my children that they may obtain every kind of welfare and happiness both in this and the next world, so do I desire for all men." Dr. Bhandarkar remarks that "this presents a strong contrast to the notion that was prevalent before the rise of the Mauryan Power, and according to which the King was considered to be a mere servant of the State and was allowed to levy the prescribed taxes in order that he might receive the wages due to him for his services."

Asoka became a Buddhist in the eighth year of his reign, and for the first two and a half years he remained a lay disciple; then for a year, he lived with the Sangha and took up with zeal the propagation of Dharma (Dhamma). During the first nine years of his reign, Asoka "used to go out on tours of pleasure. Here, there were chase and other diversions."—Rock Edict VIII. Megasthenes, who was very nearly a contemporary of Asoka thus describes the royal chase in India: "For the chase the King departs in Bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death for man or woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women some are in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants and they are equipped with weapons of every kind as if

they were going on a campaign."—*Indian Antiquary*, VI, 132. In the tenth year of his reign, Asoka paid a visit to the Bodhi Tree (Sambodhi) and after that he gave up the chase. He later visited Buddha's birth-place.

Asoka's Dharma.

In Pillar Edict II and VII, Asoka specifies the qualities which constitute Dhamma. They are (1) much good (2) little defilement (3) mercy (4) liberality (5) truthfulness (6) purity (7) gentleness. He then shows how these are to be practised. He sums up the duties of man as (1) non-slaughter of breathing creatures, (2) non-injury to existing creatures, (3) hearkening to father and mother, (4) hearkening to elders, (5) reverence to teachers, (6) liberality and seemly behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, relatives and towards Brahmana and Sramana ascetics and (7) seemly behaviour towards slaves and servants. Gift of Dharma, according to him is the highest form of gift (Rock Edict XI). In addition to acquiring the positive qualities which constitute Dharma, he exhorts mankind to get rid of certain qualities that lead to *Papa* or *Asinava*. They are rashness, cruelty, anger, pride and malice. (Pillar Edict III). A man should keep himself free from these and practise the positive virtues in order to fulfil Dharma. His Dharma is severely practical. He does not preach theological or metaphysical doctrines.

Asoka enjoins constant self-examination. "Buddha exhorts Rahula to examine every act of the body, speech or mind before and also after it is initiated". And "Asoka insists upon self-scrutiny being carried on in order that man may not bring about his own fall." He says (Rock Edict VII): "But he is certainly a low man who has no self-restraint and purity of heart, though he may have lavish liberality. He insists that man should free himself from vice by his own exertions."

The *Dhammapadam* says:

By ourselves is evil done
By ourselves we pain endure
By ourselves we cease from wrong
By ourselves we become pure.
None saves us but ourselves
None can and no one may
We ourselves must tread the Path:
Buddhas' only show the way.

His self-reliance or the principle of personal

responsibility distinguishes Buddhism (and Hinduism) from Christianity and Muhammadanism. According to Christianity, salvation depends utterly on the grace of God, and according to Islam on the belief in the Prophet. Which of these beliefs stimulates human advancement can well be left to the reader.

His attitude towards the various religions is portrayed in Rock Edict XII. He says: "A man must not make an exhibition of reverence to his own religion and condemn another's without any good reason. On the contrary, the other religions should be shown reverence to, for this and that reason. By so doing, a man exalts his own religion and does service to another's. By doing otherwise, he does harm to both."

In the latter part of chapter IV, Dr. Bhandarkar discusses the essentials of Asoka's Dhamma, the aim and object of Dhamma, his assimilation of some of the psychological concepts of Jainism, and his perfectly tolerant attitude towards Brahminism and other faiths.

Asoka's Missionary Activities.

He not only preached Dharma himself, had its teachings carved out on rocks, pillars, caves to endure for ever, sent missionaries all over India and to foreign countries, but constantly made enquiries about the spiritual progress of the people. He studied the different aspects of Buddhism and undertook *Dharma Yatras* (tours) to preach religion. Pillar Edict VII records his burning desire for the uplift of man. He says: "In times past, Kings wished that men should grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma. But man did not grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma. How then may men be moved to conform to Dhamma? How may I uplift some of them with a growth of Dhamma?..... This idea came to me: Proclamations in Dhamma will I proclaim. Inscription in Dhamma will I proclaim. Men hearkening thereto will conform, uplift themselves and mightily go on with the growth of Dhamma".

In Rock Edict III he says that in the 12th year of his reign he commanded not only the Rajukas but also the Pardesikhas and the Yuktas (all District Officials of the highest grade) to go out on circuit tour every five years to deliver instructions in Dhamma to the people as well as for the discharge of their official duties. The instructions in Dhamma were to

impress on the people the necessity of ethical practices which make up Dhamma. In Rock Edict XII, he preaches mutual toleration. He says: "And those who are favourably disposed towards this or that sect should be informed: The Beloved of the Gods does not so much think of Gift or reverence as—what?—that there may be a growth of the essentials among all sects and also (mutual) appreciation."

In Pillar Edict VII he enumerates some of his philanthropic acts and gives the reason for his so doing: "On the roads, I have planted the banyan trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight *koses* (16 miles), and I have built rest-houses. I have made many watering sheds at different places for the enjoyment of man and beast..... But I have done this with the intent that men may follow the practices of Dhamma." He made endeavours through the Dharma Mahamatras (officials) to induce his relations as well as the general public to perform philanthropic acts. He asks his sons and queens in the Edicts to follow his example and spend money in charities. He established hospitals for men as well as animals in his Empire and also in the territories of the neighbouring kings. Addressing himself to his sons and grandsons, the great Emperor says: "But that conquest is considered to be the chiefest by the Beloved of the Gods, which is conquest through Dharma. And that, again, has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods here and in the bordering dominions even as far as six hundred *Yojanas*." Thus Dhamma was disseminated not only in the whole of India but also in those parts of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus and Cyrene, Pegu, Moulmein and other places.

Asoka's Inscriptions.

The inscriptions of Asoka are of the utmost value in determining the ethical advance of mankind and understanding the forces which make for the spiritual elevation of humanity. These inscriptions are inscribed either on rocks or stone pillars or in caves. The rock inscriptions may be divided into (1) The fourteen Rock Edicts and (2) The Minor Rock Edicts. The former are found in seven different localities, all on the frontiers of India, the latter in three places in Mysore.

The pillar inscriptions may also be divided

into two classes (1) seven Pillar Edicts and (2) minor Pillar Inscriptions. The former constitute a group, but the latter are four different epigraphs. The Rock and Pillar Inscriptions were called *Dhamma lipis* by Asoka.

The cave inscriptions of Asoka are those found engraved in the caves in the Barabar Hills of Behar and are thirty-three in number.

Asoka's Pillars.

Dr. Bhandarkar describes the social and religious life of India in Asoka's time, the position of women in society, the script in use in the country, and finally, the art culture as illustrated by the architecture of his monuments, particularly, the pillars on which his inscriptions are engraved. He describes the wonderful skill of Indian craftsmen in making the pillars on which the edicts were engraved. "The erection of pillars," he says, "independent and not forming part of any edifices seems to have originated in India alone and is not found in Western Asia or Europe before the time of the Roman emperors. Again, the Asokan columns are monoliths of singularly massive proportions from 40 to 50 feet in length and with an average diameter of 2.7." Quarrying blocks nearly four feet square and fifty feet long is an occupation most taxing even to the powers of the twentieth century when we so much boast of our modern scientific knowledge, training and appliances. How the workmen of the Mauryan period achieved this gigantic task two thousand years ago cannot but fill our minds with wonder. But to cut true, dress, and proportion blocks of such stupendous dimensions into beautiful round columns and varnish them like mirror at which even a modern mason stands aghast was a still more arduous and delicate task. Of this even, they acquitted themselves with eminent success. But this is not all. The Pillars of Asoka are one and all composed of sandstone from a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, the United Provinces. They are believed to have been chiselled there and transported to the different places. The carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances (and some of the pillars were sent hundreds of miles away from the hill-sides where they had been quarried) and setting them up at diverse and remote places demanded an amount of mechanical appliances and ingenuity which would have been most trying, if not impossible, to the modern age."

Asoka's Place in History.

In chapter VII, Dr. Bhandarkar discusses Asoka's place in history. He tries to frame an estimate of his work with a view to determine his place in history. He endeavours to understand the ideal which guided Asoka and the inner springs of action that prompted his incessant activities. He quotes Rock Edit VI wherein, Asoka says, "There is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world and what little effort I make is in order that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render some happy here and...." He felt that his duty lay in regard to the whole of mankind and not simply his subjects. In the second Kalinga Edict, he instructs his officers to leave no stone unturned to induce the subjects of the neighbouring independent States to repose full confidence in him and convince them that "the King (Asoka) is unto us even as a father: he loves us even as he loves himself: we are to the King even as his children." His loving activities embraced mankind, nay, all living creatures. This sublime ideal, his love for all creatures, and the earnest life-long efforts he made to bring happiness to mankind give him a place in history which cannot be mistaken.

Dr. Bhandarkar very ably shows how Asoka was superior to Constantine and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and greater than Napoleon, Caesar, Charlemagne, and Akbar. Constantine espoused a winning cause. He was calculating, shrewd, superstitious, cruel and cynical. Constantine leaned towards toleration for a political purpose. His consummate foresight alone entitles him to be called great. "Asoka, on the other hand, possessed a soul, thoughtful, all-compassionate, of lofty ideals, strenuous endeavour, singleness of purpose and wonderful resourcefulness."

Marcus Aurelius was Roman in civil nobility and pride, Roman in tenacity of imperial aim. He systematically persecuted Christians, because Christianity was incompatible with the ideal of Roman prosperity. The life and administration of Asoka were not vitiated by any narrow or sordid ideal or sullied by inhuman hostility to any section of the human race. No racial, national or family pride marred his life of self-effacement. Akbar was "before all things, a politician and a man of the world, and was in no mood to endanger his sovereignty for the cause of truth." Well does

Mr. H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History* ask about Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon, "what were their permanent contributions to humanity—these three who have appropriated to themselves so many of the pages of our history?" As Alexander's power increased, "his arrogance and violence grew with it. He drank hard and murdered ruthlessly. After a protracted drinking bout in Babylon, a fever came on him and he died at the age of 33." As for Caesar "what do we find him to be? Just when he was at the height of his power, and might have done good to the world if he were endowed with a lofty vision, we find him feasting and frolicking in Egypt with that siren, Cleopatra, for nearly a year, although he was then fifty-four." As regards Napoleon, Mr. Wells says: "the old order of things was dead or dying: strange new forces drove through the world seeking form and direction..... Had this man any profundity of vision and power of creative imagination.....he might have done work for mankind that would have made him the sun of history.....Napoleon could do no more than strut upon the crest of this great mountain of opportunity like a cockerel on a dunghill."

Of Asoka, Mr. Wells says: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, Their Majesties, and Graciousnesses and Serenities and Royal Highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

From the materials furnished by his lithic records alone, Dr. Bhandarkar has succeeded in producing a figure of the great monarch, splendid in proportion, perfect in form, imbued with human spirit, pulsating with life. As it happens, the figure stands forth head and shoulders above the great monarchs of the East or the West. There, however, is the rub. For an Indian, to be compared with the greatest of the European monarchs and found superior to them all, is in the eyes of some of the political votaries of the European civilization, nurtured from infancy on the doctrine of the eternal superiority of the West over the East, if not blasphemous, certainly incredible. What be-

comes of the theory so diligently disseminated by the politically-minded scholars and critics, that there is no achievement intellectual, moral or physical—in science, literature, art, administration or personal greatness—which would entitle an Indian to stand with his head erect and shoulders square amongst the citizens of the Western world? If anything great or remarkable is to be found in the present or the past history of his country, is it not the result of Hellenic or Assyrian or other foreign influence? There is no good in Galilee. Has not an English author put the whole case in a nutshell when he declared: "There is nothing worth knowing in India till the British came to the country."

Is Dr. Jarl Carpentier's criticism of Bhandarkar's Asoka an illustration of the present-day critical attitude towards things Indian? The two particular points in the book on which the learned doctor animadverts are:—(1) that Christianity—Dr. Carpentier's "Our religion"—was deeply influenced by Buddhism, an alien religion of Indian origin, and, (2) Bhandarkar comparing Asoka with Alexander the Great, Caesar, Constantine and Marcus Aurelius and pronouncing him greater than any one of them.

The missionary achievements of Asoka in foreign climes is thus derisively described by the learned doctor in the journal of the R.A.S.: "For does he not tell us how he caused *Dharma* to be spread also in the realm of the Yavana king Antiyoka (Antiochus) and even further. And is not the legitimate reference that the Ambassadors of that pious prince to foreign courts not only preached Buddhism—much as the *dutas* of the Moscow Government preach their doctrines, but also succeeded in converting at least the non-Greek populations of Egypt, Syria etc., to their faith".

Mark the use of the word *Prince*. We however, find a truer appreciation of Asoka's great achievements in the work of Dr. Sir Vincent Smith. In his book on Asoka (p.45), he says:—

"We must allow Asoka the honour to having personally organized with the aid of his enormous imperial power, the most comprehensive scheme of missionary enterprise recorded in the history of the world."

He adds (p. 43) that Asoka "ventured to send his proselytizing agents far beyond the limits of India into the dominions of Antiochos Theos, the king of Syria and Western Asia

(B.C. 261-246) Ptolemy Philadelphos, king of Egypt (B.C. 285-247); Magas, King of Cyrene in North Africa, half brother of Ptolemy (about B.C. 285-258) Antigonas Gonatas, King of Macedonia (B.C. 277-239), and Alexander, King of Epirus (acc. B.C. 272)."

He further says (p. 105-6):—"We can discern a man of strong will, unwearied application and high aims, who spared no labour in the pursuit of his ideals, possessed the mental grasp capable of forming the vast conception of *missionary enterprise in three continents* and was at the same time able to control the intricate affairs of Church and State in an empire which the most powerful sovereign might envy."

The Other Side.

But there is no such thing as unmixed good in this world. Dr. Bhandarkar, after describing the unifying influence of Asoka's work and teaching in India, shows what he thinks is the other side of the picture. He says that the unceasing efforts of Asoka to realise his lofty aim destroyed the equipoise between material progress and spiritual culture in India and tended so far to subordinate the material element in Hindu civilization to the spiritual, that it became unprogressive and decadent. Says Dr. Bhandarkar, "Love of peace and hankering after spiritual progress were no doubt engendered and have now been ingrained in the Indian character. The Hindu mind which was already spiritual, became infinitely more spiritual. But that must have created some apathy to militarism, political greatness, and

material well-being.....Asoka's new angle of vision, sounded a death-knell to the Indian aspiration of a centralised national State and world-wide empire. The effects of his policy were manifest soon after his death. Dark clouds began to gather on the North-western horizon and hardly a quarter of a century had elapsed since his demise when the Bactrian Greeks crossed the Hindu-kush and began to cause the decay of what was once a mighty empire." He adds: "What is worse is that the Greek invasions soon after the demise of Asoka for which his change of policy appears to be responsible, opened a passage into India to the various wild hordes such as the Sakas, Palhaves, Kushanas, Hunas, Gurjars, and so forth whom we now find pouring unceasingly into the country till the sixth century A.D." It is well that Dr. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to this aspect of the pacifism preached in the third century B. C. Just as an abnormal development of the material power of a people and the neglect of spiritual culture lead to brutality, cruelty and repudiation of the moral doctrine, so does constant harping on the spiritual development of a people and the neglect of its physical and material resources lead it to imbecility, cowardice and disunity. Both are ruinous. Wise attention to the development of all the powers and resources of a nation, material as well as spiritual, alone makes for real and lasting improvement. A harmonious and simultaneous development of the physical and the spiritual powers and resources alone constitutes a real advance in human civilization and world welfare.

THE INTERNAL CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN INDIA.

By "A STUDENT OF PUBLIC QUESTIONS".

No better illustration of the great truth of the solidarity of mankind, of how the action, good or evil, of one country or group of people will ultimately affect other groups for better or worse, is afforded than in what we

find in connection with the production and sale of opium. Opium has its use and value as a medicine and for scientific purposes. But it is a curse wherever it is taken by people, unsupported by doctors' prescriptions, as a

stimulant. A country which produces opium in quantities much larger than the medical use of it warrants, becomes naturally concerned about finding a market for it. Every pound of opium thus sold, while no doubt replenishing the treasury of that country, goes towards the demoralisation of some men, women and children, whether of the same country or of other countries.

The world's total production of opium on a minimum estimate is said to be 3500 tons a year, the chief opium-producing countries at the present day being China, India, Turkey and Persia. But the world's medical requirements being approximately only 350 tons, this large surplus is bound to find its way among people who have the weakness for getting addicted to this drug in one form or another. And this is what we actually find. The countries of "the Far East," especially China and the British, French, Dutch and Portuguese Colonies of the East, use it for smoking purposes. It is used in India for eating. It also goes to Europe, America and Japan to be manufactured into drugs like morphine and heroin which are a menace to the well being of the countries of the West.

In this article it is proposed to confine attention to the opium problem as it affects India, and especially to that aspect of it relating to internal consumption.

In India the production and export of opium is controlled by the Government. Throughout British India the cultivation of the poppy is allowed only under license. The Government annually fix the area to be sown and the license specifies the exact acreage the licensee may till. The Government advance money to the cultivator on favourable terms for the cultivation of the poppy and he is bound to sell all his produce to the Government at a fixed rate. Crude opium is made at the Government factory at Ghazipur into two forms: (1) "provision" opium designed for export, and, (2) "excise" opium which is consumed in India. Approximately half of the opium produced in India is converted into "excise" opium and is consumed within her own borders.

The policy of the Government of India in regard to the export of opium, though it was strictly regulated in accordance with the Hague Convention of 1912, underwent a drastic change this year mainly as the result of the international opinion that was focussed on it

as the result of the League of Nations Conferences on Opium held in Geneva 1924-25. The Government of India which for several years appeared to be unmoved by criticisms of its export policy before the bar of world opinion, at last, decided to adopt this bold policy apparently at a considerable sacrifice of their revenue. This revenue was eight crores of rupees in 1911. It has been diminishing progressively since 1912. Now in ten years' time it will vanish altogether. Sir Basil Blackett, the Finance Member of the Government of India, spoke with justifiable pride in the Legislative Assembly on March 18, 1926, when moving the resolution limiting the export of opium: "the Government of India is the one government in the world which has made a serious sacrifice of the tax-payers' money in order to achieve the beneficent ends in view in these (Geneva) Conventions." Even bureaucratic governments are on occasions capable of an idealism that seems to care more for the welfare of men than for rupees, annas and pies!

While the Government of India have been apparently so amenable to humanitarian considerations and world opinion as to change their policy in regard to the export of opium, their attitude to the far more important question of internal consumption of opium has been disappointingly reactionary. A government that can afford to adopt an altruistic policy in regard to the welfare of the inhabitants of foreign countries which import opium from India ought to be prepared to follow a similar policy where their own people are concerned. But unfortunately we do not find it so. The reason for this inconsistency will become evident as we proceed.

We do not know when and how the practice of opium-eating was introduced in India. When the British established their political control, they found the practice prevalent in many parts of the country. They naturally treated it as they treated the peculiar religious practices of the people, as something which they should be well advised in leaving alone. They, however, knew from the existence of restrictive legislations regarding the use of drugs in their own country that any unregulated use of opium in India would be disastrous. The question of revenue was at the same time a no mean consideration. Thus, the British Government were led to build up a system of

regulating production and restricting consumption. Meanwhile, on the reports of missionaries in India who had opportunities of knowing the evils of opium-eating and other social welfare workers, an agitation was started in England for the prohibition of opium. The question was raised in Parliament and as a result of the discussions there, Queen Victoria appointed a Royal Commission in September, 1893 to investigate the whole question of opium consumption in India. The Commission reported in 1895 and the Government of India have ever since found justification for their policy in this Report. The Commission's report maintained that "the opium habit as a vice scarcely exists in India, that opium is extensively used for non-medical and semi-medical purposes, in some cases with benefit and for the most part without injurious consequences; that the non-medical uses are so interwoven with the medical uses that it would not be practicable to draw distinction between them and that it is not necessary that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes." On the strength of this Report the Government have further maintained that opium "is in virtually universal use throughout India as the commonest and the most treasured of the household remedies accessible to the people." We are told that it is taken to avert fatigue, as a prophylactic against malaria, and to allay pain in sufferers of all ages. Another great argument used by the Government is that in many parts of the country medical practitioners are not available and the bulk of the people are dependent almost entirely on opium for relief.

The impartiality of the Opium Commission, on which even to-day the Government of India base their policy of internal consumption, has been challenged both in Parliament and outside. Its personnel, the way in which it has been carefully shepherded by the Indian Government throughout its travels in India so that it may see and hear mainly what the Government desired it to see and hear and report accordingly, the vehemently dissenting report of one of its members, Mr. Henry J. Wilson,—all these circumstances have made the document lose its value as an impartial pronouncement. Apart from all these reasons the very fact that since 1895 medical science has made

great progress in the study of diseases like malaria and the effect of drugs like opium on the human system should prevent any fair-minded person from accepting to-day its conclusions as authoritative. And yet this is exactly what the Government of India have been doing all these thirty years. At the Hague Conference of 1912, at the meeting of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Opium and at the International Opium Conferences held at Geneva in 1924-25 the Government of India delegates have been maintaining the position laid down by the Royal Commission. With the growth of public opinion in the country, there has been an increasing dissatisfaction with the policy of the Government and in order to meet these criticisms the Government of India instituted in 1924 an enquiry with the Provincial Governments as to the advisability of revising the opium policy. Based on the replies received from the Provincial Governments the Government of India published a resolution on the 17th of June, 1926. It is remarkable to find that even in this Resolution the Government of India declare their faith in the "impartiality" of the Royal Commission of 1895 and reaffirm their policy, based as it is on the findings of the Commission, "of non-interference with the moderate use of raw opium whether the object of the consumer be some real or supposed physical benefit or merely the indulgence of the most universal desire of human beings (particularly those whose occupations involve exposure or severe bodily exertion) for a stimulant or narcotic." Verily, in the words of John Palmer Gavit, "the Royal Commission's Report of 1895 being dead yet speaketh!"

Before proceeding to examine the Government of India's latest pronouncement on their internal policy regarding opium—the Resolution of the 17th of June 1926—it is necessary to make clear one or two points which will throw a great deal of light on the apparent anxiety of the Government to remain where they were thirty years ago in the matter of internal policy while at one stride they have secured the first place among nations in regard to their policy of export of opium.

In all the discussions about opium in the international gatherings of Geneva, the representatives of the Government of India had been continuously contending for the principle that

the consumption of opium in India was not a concern of the Conferences and that no interference could be brooked with the production of opium in India for internal use or with the manner and effect of that use. This was conceded by all parties in the Conference including the Americans who were the greatest critics of the British opium policy. Attention was thus confined to the question of export of opium. In this way the internal policy of the Government of India was prevented from being examined and criticised by the representatives of other nations. The result is that international opinion has not been brought to bear on this question as it has been on the export policy of the Government of India. The Government gauging the volume and intensity of this opinion, especially in America, have, wisely come forward with a drastic reform of their export policy which is calculated to silence their critics once for all. The question of internal consumption having been safely put outside the agenda of the Geneva Conferences there is no reason to fear that international opinion will assert itself in any way against them, at least, for some time to come. The Government could thus afford to maintain the *status quo* on this question. This is the impression we get when we consider to what lengths the Government have gone in satisfying the demands of the reformers about their export policy and how openly they have defied public opinion in this country because it is at yet confined to this country in regard to their policy of internal consumption.

There are also other circumstances in connection with the recent decision of the Government of India to reduce and finally to abolish the external trade of opium which lead us to think that it is not entirely dictated by humanitarian considerations, but is making virtue of a necessity. The economic forces at work have been such that within a few years the Government will in any case have to lose this trade. The cost of production of a chest of opium has more than doubled in the last decade. In 1914 it was Rs. 632. In 1924 it has been found to be Rs. 1270. This is due to the higher profits agriculturists are able to make by cultivating a crop like wheat instead of poppy. The Government, therefore, had to bribe the agriculturist to grow poppy by raising the purchase price of opium produced by him from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 15 a seer. This, of course,

doubled the price of a chest of opium offered for sale for the Far East market. Owing to the political disorder in China it has been possible, illegally though it be, to raise in that country in recent years large crops of poppy. The result is that Chinese opium can now be purchased, it is said, in Hongkong and other places at a quarter of the price of Indian opium. This is clearly reflected in the great fall of the number of chests of opium actually sold at auction sales in Calcutta in the period of 1922-25. Out of approximately three thousand chests put for sale the following were actually sold:—

1922	...	...	2500 chests.
1923	...	...	3000 "
1924	...	...	2240 "
1925	...	...	1155 "

The external trade of opium was thus being threatened with extinction as the result of operation of the forces indicated above. It was, therefore, necessary to safeguard the internal trade at whatever cost and the resolution of the Government of India bears evidence of this anxiety. Lord Winterton said the other day in Parliament that the decision of the Government in regard to the export trade of opium must "not be regarded in the light of a sudden death-bed repentance." Quite so. An examination of all the facts shows a well-thought-out policy giving no indications of repentance but only a determination to save from extinction the revenue from the internal trade of opium.

Let us now consider the Resolution itself. It is based on the replies received from the Provincial Governments in answer to a letter from the Government of India. The letter drew the attention of the Provincial Governments to the pamphlet "Opium in India" by the Rev. W. Paton, published by the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, and called for expression of views on three specific questions raised therein: (1) The desirability of closer co-ordination of policy between Local Governments in regard to the fixing of the sale price of opium, since marked differences in prices in contiguous areas are likely to encourage smuggling; (2) the necessity and possibility of taking special measures to reduce consumption, especially in those areas, where the rate of consumption per head of the population is much higher than the standard of

legitimate consumption laid down by the League of Nations; and (3) the desirability of investigating the extent to which the practice of giving opium to young children prevail and the practicability of taking special measures to check this custom. Though these three points were singled out for enquiry and report, the Government of India had made up their mind in regard to the main and vital issue, namely, the general reconsideration of their policy of internal consumption based on the Royal Commission Report of thirty years ago. It was clearly stated in the Government of India's letter that in their opinion there were no grounds for such a reconsideration. This note was taken up by most of the Provincial Governments and echoed faithfully in their replies. This was only what was to be expected in the absence of a strong lead from the Central Government, for the question is bound up with Provincial revenues, and the transferred halves of the Provincial Governments already finding it difficult to meet their budgets cannot contemplate with equanimity the prospect of losing one of their good sources of revenue. The opium revenue of the Provincial Governments, chiefly made up of license fees and profits on the re-sales of the opium purchased at cost from the Government of India for consumption in the Provinces, amounted in 1923-24 to Rs. 2.66 crores. This revenue will not be easily given up by the various Provincial Governments unless they see other ways of replenishing their treasuries.

This is what the Government of India Resolution says in justification of their determination not to change their internal policy:—

"The Government have anxiously deliberated whether they should accept the suggestion that has been put forward from many quarters, that the time has come for a fresh enquiry covering the whole field that was traversed by the Royal Commission on Opium of 1893. There is no support for this proposal in the views expressed by the Provincial Governments. To review the conclusions of so authoritative and impartial a body as the Royal Commission no agency other than that of another Royal Commission would be competent. The Government of India are satisfied that there is no aspect of the internal Opium problem in India to-day that requires for its elucidation the machinery of a Royal Commission, and they have decided definitely that there is no necessity for any such investigation."

"In their opinion, the conclusions of the Commission, with a single exception, hold good at the present day. The exception relates to the value of Opium as a remedy for malaria. When the Commission wrote their Report, the true causation of malaria was not known. It is not surprising that they should have mis-interpreted the indirect benefits that sufferers from malaria, as from other diseases, undoubtedly may derive from the euphoric virtues of Opium—its power, that is, to relieve suffering, and to counteract the depressing effects, physical and mental, of pain. The Government do not propose to enter into a technical discussion of this subject. That Opium is a drug of great medicinal value is a proposition that few will dispute. Its medicinal value has been recognised by the International Conference held at Geneva. Critics of the present policy of the Government themselves admit it when they demand that the use of opium should be confined to "medical and scientific purposes." Its use as an anodyne is of special importance to persons placed, as large sections of the population of India, inevitably still are placed, beyond the reach of skilled medical assistance."

"A policy aiming at the prohibition of the use of Opium in India for purposes other than medical and scientific would be clearly impracticable, in the circumstances, even if it were desirable. But, as has been shown above, there is no evidence that there is any serious and widespread abuse of Opium in British India, whatever the purposes for which it may be consumed, and the Government of India would regard as entirely unjustifiable a departure from their present policy of non-interference with moderate use. The statistics show a progressive reduction in consumption in British India as a whole, and the Government are convinced that a continuance of the existing policy, accompanied by special efforts to deal with those comparatively few areas where the average consumption is unduly high, is far more likely to produce beneficial results, than any attempt to suppress altogether, by measures that the Government regard as indefensible in principle and doomed to prove infructuous or actually harmful, in practice, an age-long habit, the temperate exercise of which has been pronounced by the highest authorities to be free from injurious effects."

We have already referred to the 'impartiality' of the Royal Commission. This attitude of the

Government of India to the conclusions of the Commission as something like the "faith once delivered to the saints" unalterable and eternal, is inexplicable. Why should it be decreed that "no agency other than that of another Royal Commission would be competent" to review the conclusions of the Royal Commission of 1893? Is it not within the rights of the Government of India to appoint with the approval of the Legislative Assembly a special Committee composed of competent medical men, social workers and others, to go into the whole question and ascertain in what respects the present policy of the Government needs change?

The Resolution has thought it fit to repudiate the conclusion of the Royal Commission regarding opium as a remedy for malaria. But the Government of India cannot be unaware of the latest results of medical research which call in question the other conclusions of the Commission as well. One such conclusion on which the Government of India base their present is that the temperate use of opium "has been pronounced by the highest authorities to be free from injurious effects." The Government in fairness ought to have given chapter and verse for this extraordinary statement; for the best scientific and medical evidence points to a different conclusion. This is how Mr. John Palmer Gavit, a distinguished American journalist and author of the book "Opium," sums up the latest results of medical research on this subject:—

"There is one aspect of this question which has been wholly neglected in all the discussions of habitual use of opium in India that I happen to have seen; an aspect of such tremendous importance that I cannot understand why it has been so completely overlooked. It ought to be taken very seriously into account by both the defenders and the assailants of the existing opium policy in the Far East, as well as by those in Western countries who are contending with the evil of manufactured derivatives of opium and other narcotics. This is the relation of these things to infectious disease, malaria, for instance, and cholera, especially cholera."

"The experiments in respect of cholera and opium were made in Prof. Elie Metchnikoff's laboratory in the Pasteur Institute by Cantacuzene, Oppel and Gheorghilewsky.* Metchnikoff himself tells about them in his *Immunity in Infectious*

Diseases, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1905. These men found invariably that they could immunize guinea-pigs against cholera, unless they had had opium. In every case those treated with the narcotic died—of cholera. And the reason was always the same. As Metchnikoff says (page 306), those subjected to opium died, "because the leucocytes, on account of the narcotic action of the opium were tardy in coming up."

"Sir Leonard Rogers, Lieut-Colonel, Indian Medical Service and Professor of Pathology in the Medical College of Calcutta, in his paper "Cholera Asiatica", contributed to the volume *The Practice of Medicine in the Tropics* (London, 1922) is emphatic in his denunciation of "certain old forms of treatment," among them in particular the use of opium, of which he says, "if it has any effect at all it will favour the retention of the toxins formed by the cholera vibrio. Opium, moreover, most strongly predisposes to the deadly continued suppression of the urine and is absolutely to be avoided in cholera."

"This view of the effect upon cholera is confirmed in his *Essentials of Tropical Medicine* (London, 1920) by Dr. Walter H. Masters, Medical Officer, Gold Coast, West Africa, long experienced in Belgian Congo and South America. Incidentally Dr. Masters is equally emphatic in his urgency against the use of opium in yellow fever."

"Dr. Ernest R. Walters, Major, in the Indian Medical Service, director of the King Institute of Preventive Medicine of Madras, in his contribution on "Diarrhoeas in the Tropics" to *The Practice of Medicine in the Tropics*, writes of the "peculiar form" of this affection due to habitual drugging with opium, and found commonly among opium-eaters."

"Manson-Bahr and Perry, in their essay on "Bacillary Dysentery," in the same collection of papers, declare that in that disease "the routine use of opium in the treatment of dysentery cannot be too strongly deprecated."

"The modern medical literature on other diseases in the tropics virtually all deprecates the use of narcotics, and especially opium. Of yellow fever, Dr. Walter H. Masters says (in *Essentials of Tropical Medicine*, London, 1920, p. 371):—

"To alleviate the symptoms—relieve pain by aspirin or phenacetin—never opium."

"Of diabetes in the tropics, Dr. Ernest R. Walters says that in the Far East opium has a considerable reputation in the treatment of the disease,

*Described in *Ann. de l'Inst. Past.*, Vol. 12, 1898.

but: "I have never been able to convince myself of its value. (And) Codeine is simply an expensive and less efficient form of opium."

And so on. One searches in vain for modern medical support for the superstition that opium is in any proper sense either a remedy or a prophylactic; anything except an anodyne against pain."

"Opium does to the leucocytes (the white corpuscles of the blood), normally the vigilant sentries and scavengers which guard the body against infections, precisely what it does to the human individuals—puts them to sleep, or leaves them unfit for their job. They work stupidly, or may be not at all."

And yet, in the face of such clear testimony from medical experts the Government of India assert with a strange unconcern for the welfare of the millions of people committed to their charge that the moderate use of opium is not at all injurious! Here again there is another point to be noted. The Dangerous Drugs Acts of Great Britain and other advanced countries class opium as a poison and like any other poison it can be bought only on prescription by a registered medical man. The human system and its reactions to poisons are the same in the East as well as in the West, and yet an ignorant labourer in India can buy from any opium shop, without any question being asked by any one, three tolas of opium, sufficient to poison himself and his whole family. As Mr. Paul Gavit says, "it is time to put the Report of the Royal Commission of 1893 away in some museum of antiquities where it is long overdue, and face the front in the light of what has since been learned." Will the transferred halves of the Provincial Governments and the Central Government listen to this?

In regard to cleansing the "black spots" where the rate of consumption of opium is excessive we are glad to note that the Government of India are again addressing Provincial Governments in order to impress upon them the importance of this task. In this connection it is interesting to note the ingenuity with which the Government of India quote from a recent pamphlet of the Rev. W. Paton to establish a position entirely different from what he intended to convey by the words quoted. This is how the Government of India tear out of its context a sentence from the pamphlet referred to and uses it for substantiating the somewhat

exaggerated claim they are making of having reduced the consumption of opium. Says the Resolution:

"Much has been done to reduce the consumption of opium in the country as a whole, with the result that the Rev. W. Paton whose pamphlet entitled "Opium in India" written in 1924 is referred to in the correspondence with the Local Governments, found himself able to write in a more recent pamphlet "India and Opium" (1926) that "for the larger part of the country the opium evil does not exist."

Mr. Paton, in his second pamphlet, after stating that the index figure laid down by the League of Nations for the legitimate consumption of opium in a country which has a developed medical service was six seers or twelve pounds per ten thousand of the population per annum, proceeded to quote from the official documents the rates of consumption in various parts of India. These figures showed that while the average for the whole of India was twelve seers there were many districts where the consumption was below six seers and also certain areas like Calcutta city, Balasore district, the Godavari region in the Telugu country, the Panch Mahale region of Gujerat, the Berars and the Central Punjab where the rate of consumption was alarmingly high. Then Mr. Paton wrote: "A study of these figures throws a flood of light on the opium problem in India. It shows that when official apologists have said that the abuse of opium is very rare in India they have said what is strictly true. *For the larger part of the country the opium evil does not exist.* At the same time the usual defence made for the existing policy that opium is necessary as a household medicine in view of the scarcity of doctors, is shown to be largely imaginary, for so far from consumption rising in proportion to the paucity of doctors it is in inverse proportion." It is clear from the above that the sentence quoted in the Government of India Resolution was not written with any reference whatever to the reduction of consumption compared with the year 1924 or any other year as the Government apparently want to make out. Be that as it may. The "black spots" having now been discovered to lie in areas which are well served with medical men, let us hope that the Governments—both Central and Provincial—will not continue to delude themselves and the public with the fiction that

to deprive the people of India, who have no proper facilities for medical treatment, of the wholesale and unregistered use of opium would be imposing a great hardship on them. The Provincial Governments should frankly face the situation and concentrate attention on the "black spots" and reduce consumption by the introduction of the system of registration of consumers as is being attempted in Burma and Assam or by Dangerous Drugs Acts.

The attitude adopted in the Resolution to the question of the administration of opium to children is the least satisfactory. The Government admit that the practice is fairly widespread in India; but are unwilling to take any steps beyond trusting to the conventional methods of education and health and child welfare propaganda to remedy this evil. Let us by all means spread education and carry on propaganda to counteract the evil; but what purpose will such efforts serve, so long as ignorant mothers working in industrial centres have always at their doors Government-controlled opium shops which continually tempt them to buy opium to dope their children with? We may as well seek to restore a man to health who is continuously kept under the onslaught of powerful disease germs and who has not the necessary vitality for resisting them successfully. The responsibility of the Government in keeping opium shops within the reach of the ignorant masses inviting them, as it were to indulge in their pernicious habits of treating little children with opium, is very great. All civilized countries treat opium as a poison and severe restrictions are imposed on its sale to the public. They do not trust to education and health propaganda as the Indian Government are proposing to do as a safeguard against the people drugging themselves and their little ones with opium. Dr. S. K. Datta in his able speech on the opium question before the Legislative Assembly of March 10, 1926, brought out the contrast most vividly between the policy of civilized governments and that of the Government of India. He pointed out that among the industrial population of England in the early nineteenth century this habit of drugging children with opium was known. It was the passage of the Pharmacy Act of 1858 which classified opium as a poison to be sold only under very strict restrictions that banished this evil from England. Why did not England content herself with

education and health propaganda as the gods from Simla suggest to the people of India? He also mentioned that even Fiji and the Australian Colony of Papua were far ahead of India and prohibited the sale of opium to their indigenous and other inhabitants except under very strict regulations. For the sake of a revenue of a few crores of rupees every year, is India going to be made the victim of a reprehensible policy which poisons a large number of her children with disastrous consequences to her future welfare?

The whole policy of the Government of India in regard to internal consumption of opium is an evil heritage from the past. It has its roots in the mercenary methods of the East India Company of exploiting for its own financial advantage every situation they met with in India including the habit of Indians in certain areas of taking opium as a stimulant. With the advance of modern ideas we find the Government, in a measure, controlling and regulating this bad habit of the people, but not in any such way as to materially affect the revenue derived from it. "The maximum of revenue and the minimum of consumption" has been adopted as a convenient policy which on one side does not do violence to the acquisitive tendencies of the Government, and, on the other side, affords a plausible argument with which the mouths of critical and fussy social reformers can be shut. The Royal Commission of 1893 has blessed the policy and like a rustic who turns to his patron saint for help at every step, even of a questionable nature, the Government of India take shelter in the glamour and halo of this antiquated Report when faced by the demand of an enlightened public opinion for drastic changes. In the matter of the export trade of opium unforeseen economic and other developments and a rising tide of world opinion against the Indian Government have forced them to abandon their indefensible policy. It is the same world opinion on which we should largely rely to sweep out of existence the present internal policy of the Government. Non-official bodies interested in this question should continue their work of investigation of the evil, especially in areas which are most affected by it and bring the results of their investigation before the bar of world opinion. The Assam Congress Opium Enquiry Report is a model of such investigation and research. The Government of India can afford to ignore the public

opinion of the country however unanimous and strong it may be. But they cannot so easily act against international opinion. The internal consumption of opium in India is now excluded from the purview of the Councils of the League of Nations on the plea that it is a domestic concern. The question will have to be lifted

from the oblivion to which it has thus been deliberately consigned and the full light of publicity consigned and the full light of publicity and world opinion should be allowed to do its work. In this task the co-operation of all well-wishers of India is needed.

A. G. G.: AN APPRECIATION.

By PROF. DIWAN CHANDRA SHARMA, M.A.

I.

Most of the writers of the day suffer from what a wag facetiously called initialitis. They are known by their initials rather than by their names. This is probably because initials hold the public attention more and longer than long unwieldy names can. For, who will doubt that the first business of a popular author is to implant himself in the memory of his readers. Asked why he had adopted the fashion of the baggy trousers, Charlie Chaplin, the famous screen comedian, replied that he had done that in order to fix himself in the mind of the public. What Charlie Chaplin has in his mind may also be in the mind of authors: they also may like to fix themselves in the mind of the public. It is therefore that George Bernard Shaw is known as G. B. S. and G. K. Chesterton is known as G. K. C. Initials reduce a man to a formula. They are handy, and, therefore, can bear repetition as often as possible. I, however, believe that initials have not got this utilitarian purpose only. They have got a mystic and symbolic significance as well. For instance, when one comes across letters like G. B. S., one thinks that one is encountering a primeval force something stripped of all artificialities. Thus initials appear to be formidable and not merely the makeshifts for a name. Like the algebraic symbols they seem to stand for something recondite, and not easily expressible. So initials have come to stay, and authors are known by their initials to the adoring multitude. It is therefore that G. K. Chesterton is known

as G. K. C., George Bernard Shaw as G. B. S. and A. G. Gardiner as A. G. G.

II.

This A. G. G. seems to me to be a multiple personality. There are three A. G. G.'s that I know of. There is, for instance, A. G. G., the public mentor; the journalist par excellence. A. G. G. is a journalist in the best sense of that word, for he thinks it his business to inform, instruct and to enlighten public opinion. I think every journalist thinks it to be his duty to guide the thoughts of the public in proper channels, but A. G. G. does it in a manner, which is entirely commendable. For instance, in the West journalists have not got much freedom of opinion. They are cabined and cribbed and confined. Journalism, therefore, is no longer an art, but an industry, and the journalist there performs his work not always according to the light that is in him, but according to the policy of the party with which he is connected at a particular moment. It is this which has commercialized, vulgarised and degraded journalism in the west. Journalists are the slaves of political parties, the servants of industrial combines and the henchmen of press-magnates. They are the echoes of their masters, and voice the opinions which are in the best interests of their party. Happily, A. G. G. is free from this taint of servility. It was with pardonable pride, he said that he had never written a line for any paper of Lord Northcliffe's. He is a free lance in the best

sense of the word. He has no prejudices, though he has many sympathies. He helps every good cause, exposes all shams, is the friend of those who serve their country, and a relentless critic of those who seek to set back the hands of the clock of progress. At a time when it was the fashion to call Mr. Baldwin a tame, timid man, a political Micawber he came to his rescue. He told the people that Mr. Baldwin alone could pilot the ship of the state into peaceful harbours. Thus he gave his country a bit of his mind whenever it needed plain-speaking. He was not content to support Mr. Baldwin blindly, but he tried to admonish him also. He told him in pointed language and in unmistakable terms that he must take three fences. Thus he tried to inspire as well as chasten. But all this he did with independence of judgment, for he obeys no party caucus, bends his knees to no politician, and surrenders his judgment to no Fleet-Street Oracle. He seeks to exert his influence always for the good of his country, and backs that policy which will best advance the prosperity of England. This does not mean that he is parochial and insular in his interests and outlook. He believes that England is a part of the world, and that England cannot advance at the cost of other countries. He, therefore, tells the truth to Mr. Baldwin about men like Mr. Amery, who are for colonial expansion at all costs. Says he: "The trouble with Mr. Baldwin is not Mr. Baldwin, but some of Mr. Baldwin's colleagues. If his spirit and that of Mr. Chamberlain represented the Government we should not have much ground for complaint. But it does not. While Mr. Baldwin is working honestly, I am sure, and not ineffectively, I think to smooth out the troubled tangle of things, some of his colleagues of the die-hard and unteachable variety are working in the contrary direction. There is, for example, that able but mischievous person Mr. Amery who, more than anyone else, has embarked us on that appalling extravagance at Singapore, the financial effect of which is to burden us with more liabilities and the political effect of which is to create suspicion of us in Japan, and who is responsible for the grave menace that hangs over us in the Mosul region." No one is a warmer advocate of peace than he. The Locarno Pact found in him a warm supporter. He thought that the signing of the Locarno Treaty meant the turning over of a new leaf in international relationship. Says he:

"It differs from all other treaties in this respect. It is an agreement by all the great Powers in Europe, except Russia, to outlaw war. No Treaty in history has ever attempted this heroic measure. If we can bring it off we have solved the problem of Europe for ever, we have laid the foundation-stone of the United States of Europe." Thus he thought that the Locarno Treaty laid the foundations of the United States of Europe. Over and above this he believes in peace, and thinks that the reduction of armaments is essential to the peace of Europe. Listen to his remarks on the tragedy of M.(r). "Let us look at the matter from a single point. The tragedy of the M.(r) has created a deep sorrow in the public heart, and an urgent disquiet in the public mind. Mr. Mackinnon, the Chairman of Lloyd's, has expressed that disquiet in the plea he has made for the abolition of the submarine. It is a plea with which every humane mind will sympathise. The submarine is one of those devilries of war which, like poison-gas, is an insult to humanity. If we heard that every submarine had been scrapped and that Europe had agreed to prohibit the building of another, we should all rejoice." All this shows that A. G. G. is a journalist whose forte lies in hearty plain speaking and refreshing candour. He is not an Imperial jingo, but a pacifist, who believes in the destiny of England, and also in the right of mankind to freedom, justice and peace.

III.

The public, however, does not know A. G. G. as its guide, friend and philosopher only. He has endeared himself to the public in an other capacity also. He is a great portrait-painter. He has sketched the characters of his contemporaries in glowing terms, so that they will live for a long time in the pages of his books. As a portrait-painter he is inimitable. He has set the fashion of writing sketches of persons, and though many have attempted them, none has been able to win laurels that he has won in this field. He paints the portraits of contemporary men and women without any malice. In this respect he seems to have some of the detachment, which has been the dower of many great dramatists. The portrait-gallery he has painted is varied. One finds there kings and priests, lawyers and financiers, journalists

and demagogues, self-made men and men born with a silver spoon in their mouth; smug and self-satisfied Tories and hotgospellers of radical changes, intellectuals and wizards, and painters and writers. In fact, as Chaucer gave us the Canterbury pilgrims, so he gives us all sorts and conditions of men and women of the twentieth century. His sketches are read by thousands of people, and this is because they are true, intimate and penetrating. He has a rare knack of showing us the man in the brief compass of 2,000 to 3,000 words. Very few people have been able to achieve this distinction. He is able to do it because he has a sense of dramatics. He reconstructs men for our sake. He shows us the pulse of the machine. He plucks the heart out of the mystery. He shows us how a man lives, moves and has his being. He tells us what his master passion is, what his overmastering impulses and what his hopes and fears, his loves and hates, his joys and sorrows, his glories and defeats are. In every sketch he tries to reveal the man. After we have read a sketch of his we seem to think that we have come to know the man, as we know our intimate friends. As Carlyle had an eye for that which is picturesque and dynamic, so he has the power to vivify and dramatise a person. He always tries to give us the real man—the man under his skin. Above all, he likes to depict those men who have won eminence in one or another walk of life, who are, so to say, public men. He, therefore, writes about the Kaiser as well as Mr. Keynes, Lord Chancellor as well as Charlie Chaplin, Earl of Balfour as well as General Booth, Lord Birkenhead as well as John Burns, Lord Curzon as well as M. Tchicherev. In most cases his estimates of persons ring true. He called Lord Birkenhead a soldier of fortune and a great opportunist, and people felt that Lord Birkenhead had been given his due. Writing about Robert Smillie he said that he was a rebel by nature, and quite different from Mr. Thomas. Mr. Smillie had his eye upon the future, whereas Mr. Thomas, a practical opportunist, lived always in the present. When he said that about Robert Smillie he really hit the nail on the head. When everybody was thinking of Florence Nightingale as a figure of Romance, the ministering angel, the noble nurse he said was the type of pioneer. He said, "she was not simply the lady with the lamp, she was the lady with the brain. The

hand that smoothed the hot pillow of the sufferer was the same hand that rent the red tape and broke, defiant of officialism, the locked door to get at the bedding within." Equally masterly is his sketch of Lord Asquith. In a paragraph of rare insight and eloquence, he gives us Lord Asquith the man with all his faults and graces. "He has the merits as well as the defects of the Jowett tradition. It was material and unimaginative. It produced Curzonism and Milnerism. It lacked sympathy and insight, because sympathy and insight, like great thoughts, spring from the heart. It built upon facts and scorned human sentiment, which is the greatest fact of all in the government of men. But it has the high quality of reserve. It cultivates no illusion, raises no false hopes. It understands itself with a certain cold indifference to popular applause. Its deeds are often better than its words; its Bills more drastic than its promises." He is equally happy with Lord Balfour, the formidable opponent, the clever sophist, and the high-and-dry intellectual. How beautifully he hits off the character of Lord Morley, the man who was full of philosophic doubts and lacked the popular appeal. "The world of politics is a world of action, of quick resolves, and firm and sudden movement. To hesitate is to be lost. Lord Morley has the hesitation of the man of thought." No one has been able to do greater justice to the character of Lord Curzon than he. Says A. G. G.: "It is one of Mr. Chesterton's jolly maxims that a man should be able to laugh at himself, poke fun at himself, enjoy his own absurdity. It is an excellent test of mental health. Man is a tragic-comedian. He should see himself the quaint 'forked radish' that he is, fantastic as well as wonderful. He should see his mind ready to do battle and die, if need be, for an idea, but equally ready to get into a passion because his egg is boiled too hard. He should, in a word, see himself not as a hero, but as a man of strange virtues and stranger follies, a figure to move him to alternate admiration and laughter. Lord Curzon has never laughed at himself." He is not happy in the delineation of the politicians only. He is equally effective in the delineation of men of letters like George Bernard Shaw, Rudyard Kipling and G. K. Chesterton. He says about Bernard Shaw, "He is pure intellect, without illusion and without emotions. His art is the art of ideas and not of sentiment. He denounces love because his asceticism

revolts from the sensuousness that is the desecration of love. He denounces conventional morality because he is so fierce a moralist. He denounces the law because of his passion for justice. He has such an enthusiasm for humanity that he would put the poor in goal because of their poverty and misery. He would punish the people who have the wickedness to be ill; but he would treat the criminal as we treat invalids." He regards Chesterton as the wondering boy. He looks delightedly at this rare-show, which is the world. When one reads all this one cannot help saying that A. G. G. is able to paint his portraits with a few bold and swift strokes. He always fixes his gaze upon the essential points of a man's character, and gives us the man himself. Some critic may exclaim that he treats men as automatons, and thinks that a character can be reduced to a formula, but this is not true. He gives us not only the dominant interests of a man's life, and his dominant impulses, but he makes us look before and after also, and comprehend the person, and all his heights and depths at a glance.

IV

A. G. G. is no less interesting as a writer of delightful essays. His essays are antidotes for loneliness and provide us with smiles and delectation. Sometimes he strikes a tender chord in our heart. Sometimes he give a phillip to our fancy, and set it roaming. Sometimes he draws our attention to our foibles in a kindly good-humoured, and good-natured way, and sometimes he interests us in the beauties of the landscape. Mr. Priestley said about Robert Lynd that his essays reflected the life of the twentieth century. In his essays one found a mention of buses and motors, golf-courses and hotels. What is true of Mr. Robert Lynd is also true of A. G. G. His essays mirror the life of the twentieth century. They tell us of cricket fields, of health resorts, of shopping, of dinners; in short, of all those things which make up the web of the life of a man of the twentieth century. But over and above this A. G. G. brings us back to the soil from which we are sprung. Again and again in his essays we are reminded of the beauties of nature, of the joys of the seasons, the glories of different months, and the pleasures of gardens. All these things take us away from the sordid city life to the country which God made.

Thus in the essays of A. G. G. we get fantasies like "Dream Journeys" and delightful trifles like the Case of Dean Inge. A. G. G. is quite at home with things like this, but he is always at his best, when he is inculcating in the minds of people, civic virtues. He insists upon the need of courtesy in our everyday life. He also believes that the discharge of our public duties should be in the least offensive way. This is the moral of the story "All About a Dog". This is the lesson that he preaches in "On Saying Please". A young lift-man in a city office threw a passenger out of the lift because he said to the lift-man, "top" and not "top, please". This incident is the peg on which A. G. G. hangs a tale. Say she, "for there are few things more catching than bad temper and bad manners. When Sir Anthony Absolute bullied Captain Absolute, the latter went out and bullied his man Fag, whereupon Fag went downstairs and kicked the page-boy. Probably the man who said "Top" to the lift-man was really only getting back on his employer who had not said "Good morning" to him, because he himself had been hen-pecked at breakfast by his wife, to whom the cook had been insolent because the house-maid had "answered her back". We infect the world with our ill-humours. Bad manners probably do more to poison the stream of the general life than all the crimes in the calendar. For one wife who gets a black eye from an otherwise good-natured husband there are a hundred who live a life of martyrdom under the shadow of a morose temper. But all the same the law cannot become the guardian of our private manners. No Decalogue could cover the vast area of offences and no court could administer a law which governed our social civilities, our speech, the tilt of our eye-brows and all our moods and manners." Thus he says to people: "Cultivate politeness, cultivate urbanity, cultivate good temper, which enhances the favour of a gift and takes away the edge from a refusal". He is, in short, a Prophet of politeness, and thinks that it should be in widest commonality spread in this world.

V.

Such is A. G. G. the mentor of the public; the painter of pen-portraits and the delightful essayist. He wields always a style that never lacks distinction. Whether we read his weekly comments upon the events of the day, his essays

or his sketches, we are struck with his remarkable fluency, his ease and perspicacity. He does not tax his readers; he does not strain their attention to the breaking-point, and he does not place heavy demands on their patience. He who runs may read him. Though he is a journalist his style is eminently free from journalese. He avoids gaudy phrases and conventional catch-

words. He is ever fresh, and genial and kindly. He is free from the pedantry as well as the hysteria of speech. He achieves, sometimes moments of beauty and humour; eloquence and a little restrained passion are ever at his command. It is indeed delightful to read a man, who can write about any conceivable broomstick with such great distinction.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY.

By MR. JOHN S. HOYLAND.

We have no hesitation in saying that Mr. G. L. Dickinson's book—called "The International Anarchy"—* is the most important work on the subject of international relationships which has appeared for many years. It consists of a careful and impartial survey, which must have involved an immense amount of detailed investigation of a very toilsome kind, regarding the origins of the Great War.

To one who, like the present writer, sat in the old days under Mr. Lowes Dickinson at Cambridge, but has since had no opportunity of renewing acquaintance with his Socratic clearness of insight and analysis and with his gift of mordant sarcasm, it will be a very real pleasure to meet these characteristics again, enhanced and nobly applied, on the stage of a great work like this. The subject is not a cheerful one, and to treat it adequately demands the presentation of an immense mass of what would in ordinary circumstances be intensely uninteresting matter; but the author's gift of concise summarisation and sardonic comment makes every page fascinating—at any rate, to one who believes that not merely the well-being but also the future existence of humanity depends upon our ruling out the possibility of another Great War.

Not long ago it was announced that certain discoveries had been made which seemed to foreshadow the release of the vast stores of

energy enchained in the atom. At that time a great English scientist, referring to the immensely increased powers of destruction which would thus be put into the hands of humanity, wrote as follows:—"God grant that the secret of atomic energy may not be discovered till mankind has advanced morally far enough to use that energy aright." It is perfectly possible that a few years hence we may see the world faced with a crisis similar to that of 1914, but a crisis in which (whether through the harnessing of the atom or in some other way) failure to restrain the warlike passions of the nations may literally involve the destruction of humanity wholesale from off the face of the globe. To some this may seem a fantastic presaging of impossible disaster. Surely human nature would never descend to such insanity of self-destruction. Let them read this book, and comprehend the light-hearted irresponsibility and the insane carelessness of consequences with which Russian statesmen, for instance, called down destruction upon their own heads at the bidding of "patriotic" greed and hatred.

Neither Sazonoff nor the military chiefs had changed their opinion. They still thought partial mobilisation a fatal mistake, and they returned to the charge on the 30th (of July). Sukhomlinoff and Januschkevitch telephoned to the Tsar at 11 a.m. to try and shake his resolution. But he was firm, and threatened to cut short the conversation. Januschkevitch had only just time to beg him to see Sazonoff.

**The International Anarchy, 1904-21.* By G. Lowes Dickinson (Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, 40, Museum St., London).

After a few minutes' silence he consented, and an interview was arranged for at 3 p.m. At that interview, "for nearly a whole hour" Sazonoff urged upon the Tsar that war had become inevitable. Germany had clearly determined upon it, for otherwise she could easily have brought her ally to reason. "It was better to proceed with our preparations without fearing, that by doing so we might precipitate events, rather than, from fear of provoking war, to be surprised by it." It would be impossible to put more clearly the menace involved in armaments. Everyone must be prepared, yet everyone's preparations involve a threat to others, which will precipitate the very event that is dreaded. The Tsar felt the dilemma. He resisted long, and it is interesting to note that what finally decided him was an intervention by a General Tatischtscheff. During a moment of silence, the General observed: "Yes, it is hard to decide." The Tsar replied, in an irritated voice: "It is I who decide," and he decided in favour of a general mobilisation. On such small things, in the last resort, may great events depend. Sazonoff hastened to the telephone in the palace and gave the news to Januschkevitch, adding: "Now you can cut off the telephone." This last remark referred to a previous conversation, in which it had been arranged that the General, after receiving and giving the order, should disappear, so that there might be no chance of another counter-order from the Tsar. The necessary signatures for the new order were quickly obtained, and at 5 p.m. Dobrorolski was once more at the telegraph office. "At six o'clock all the apparatus was ready to receive the telegram. I entered the room. A solemn silence prevailed among the operators. Each sat before his instrument and waited for the copies of the telegram, that was to despatch to all the ends of the Russian Empire the news of the summoning of the people to the great conflict. Suddenly, a few minutes after six, all the instruments began to tap. It was the opening moment of the great epoch. At 7 p.m. the answers began to pour in. The order for mobilisation had been received."

That was the way in which the War began; for the Russian general mobilisation rendered war inevitable. Mr. Lowes Dickinson's researches have convinced him that but for this mobilisation (which was at heart due to the Russian desire for Constantinople and the

Straits) the War might have been localised in the Balkans. This was the fashion in which the Tsar and the Russian military oligarchy signed their own death-warrant and that of twenty million other human beings, even cutting off telephone communications in order to render revocation of the fatal order impossible.

"Although Germany backed Austria at the beginning, in the last day or two she was endeavouring, vainly, to call her off. But, the reader may ask, why did she back Austria at all? For the same kind of reason that made France back Russia: because of the 'balance of power'; because, if Austria were defeated, she would be left isolated among her enemies; because her economic enterprises extended right across Asia, and she could not afford to have them cut in two by Balkan States under Russian control; because she was pledged by her 'alliance' to defend Austria; because in a word, of all those considerations that are always valid for all States. German diplomacy was cumbrous, stupid and dishonest. Granted, it was! But German policy was such that a State would have adopted in her position. The Powers of the Entente say that the offence was Germany's backing of Austria. Germans say that the offence was Russia's backing of Serbia. On that point, really, the whole controversy turns. To my mind, the German position is the more reasonable. But what, after all, is the use of such discussions? When States are so aligned as were those of Europe before the war, war is coming, let them do, or say, or think what they may."

This concluding portion of Mr. Lowes Dickinson's book, regarding war-guiltiness is of fascinating interest; but the earlier portion, which deals in detail with the diplomatic history of the ten years before the War, is really of more importance in determining the underlying causes of the War.

His main findings may be summarised as follows:—First, the policy of the Balance of Power inevitably results in conflict. Second, armaments inevitably lead to war; and therefore the adage *Si vis pacem, para bellum* is fundamentally deceptive and dangerous. Third, the non-moral nature of the relations between the various competing nationalities of Europe, whose universal policy may be summarised as that of "My country right or

wrong," rendered war unavoidable. Fourth, the strengthening of the League of Nations is the only hope of humanity for the future. Fifth, "the nationality problem in Europe is unsolved (even to-day); and, it may be added, it is insoluble by any frontier-drawing so long as race-hatred and contempt dominate the nations. But those feelings are only intensified by war, which is thus the worst way of attempting a solution. There is no solution except justice, temperance, and benignity; and how should such qualities supervene upon years of savage warfare?"

This last quotation is the author's final conclusion regarding the causation of war and the essential preliminaries to its elimination. It is a problem of the changing of the evil will into the good will over vast areas of humanity; and therefore, we may say, though the author of the book would not say it, the problem is at bottom essentially a religious problem.

It is impossible here to do more than name a few of the contributory factors to the causation of war, which Mr. Lowes Dickinson passes in review. Fear on the one hand, national acquisitiveness on the other: the desire for fresh markets, and the effort to protect home industries; the Press: the characteristic nationalistic assumption that anything calculated to advance the national cause is "Holy": the overbearing pride of big Powers, the irredentism of small ones: the belligerent utterances of chauvinistic politicians (Mr. Lloyd George, for instance, in his famous speech at the Mansion House in 1911): the Bismarckian tradition; the sabre-rattlings of the Kaiser; secret treaties; levity in face of terrible issues; and everywhere and all the time duplicity, duplicity, duplicity:—these are the ingredients of the witches' cauldron wherein the War was brewed.

Of them all, perhaps the last-named is the most noteworthy. The reader is impressed over and over again by the fact that these great States lie to each other incessantly, cheat each other, hoodwink each other, over-reach each other at every possible opportunity, and without the least shadow of compunction. "China was invited to join in the war, in order that she might expel German traders and missionaries. She did so, and it was not until the Peace Conference opened that it was revealed to her that her allies had previously and secretly bargained away her own territories

and rights." On the occasion of the Agadir crisis, "England in any case and under all circumstances would fulfil her obligations to France! . . . This last phrase looks as though it could have only one meaning; namely, that England would support her ally, if necessary by arms, supposing that that ally should tear up an international agreement (The Algeiras Act) signed by fourteen States." "The partition of the Turkish Empire, so far as North Africa was concerned, was now (after the Italian seizure of Tripoli) complete; England, France and Italy, all signatories of the treaties guaranteeing that Empire, being the beneficiaries. . . . The five Great Powers of Europe, having all of them solemnly affirmed in public treaties, the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire, agree with Italy, in a series of secret agreements, that as far as they are concerned she may take Tripoli." "Taking the most genial view of the position of English Ministers, the facts are these: That while, on the one hand, they are assuring Parliament and the Germans themselves that their relations to the latter are friendly and correct, on the other hand, they are assuring the Russians that if war with Germany should arise (by German provocation, it is assumed) then they will stake everything to inflict the most serious blow on German power." "Our political interests," the (Russian) Foreign Minister goes on to observe, "are directly opposed to the maintenance of China's territorial integrity"—an interesting commentary on the public treaties making that territorial integrity the object of the policy of Russia and Japan."

These are merely a few instances, chosen at random, of the universal duplicity which overspread European statecraft during the period which led up to the War. Often this diplomatic lack of honesty degenerates into downright lying. "When, on 10th March, 1923, Lord Hugh Cecil asked whether this country was under any obligation to send a very large armed force to co-operate in Europe, he received the reply, short and simple, 'I ought to say that it is not true' ". "There existed, so (the Minister) told me (i.e., the German ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky), no agreements between Great Britain and her Entente companions that had not been made public." "There is no doubt that what followed was a case of the lie direct. On the 23rd (of

July) von Jagow telegraphed to the German Ambassador in London that 'we are not acquainted with the Austrian demands.' On the 24th (or 25th) he 'repeated very earnestly' to the British Charge d'Affairs at Berlin that, 'though he had been accused of knowing all about the contents of that note, he had in fact no such knowledge' The determination to keep the Powers of the Entente in the dark was certainly carried out with thoroughness."

There is no need to multiply instances of this fact—that international diplomacy in the years that led up to the greatest disaster in history was poisoned by selfishness, duplicity and mendacity. The last two may seem venial faults when committed in the cause of nationalism; but the atmosphere of universal distrust and suspicion to which they gave rise, made the final result inevitable. The European international society of those days was about as completely immoral as it is possible for any society to be. There was no truth; no generosity; no mutual confidence; nothing but treachery, craven fear, blustering swagger, the despoiling of the weak, the continual appeal to force, colossal and insolent selfishness. It may be seriously questioned whether things are very much better now.

Again, Mr. Lowes Dickinson does not seem to be always quite fair to the point of view of Serbia, which is spoken of over and over again, as "desirous to extend its power by the disruption of its neighbour, the Austrian Empire." After all, Serbia was straining every nerve to bring about a national union with what she regarded as "Serbia irredenta," and the disruption of the Austrian Empire was merely a means to this end. Hence the sarcasm of the following highly characteristic passage falls a little flat:—"Three short years, and where would Russia be, and where the Tsar? But the Montenegrin Princesses were not disappointed. From the ruins of the Tsardom, from the fragments of the Austrian Empire, from Germany tortured, mutilated and starved, from France triumphant but prostrate, from England staggering and blind, rose, like a phoenix—Jugo-Slavia!"

We cannot close this lengthy notice of a great book without yielding to the temptation to give one or two examples of the author's distinctive mark, his sardonic humour:—"The president (of France), as always, was faultless

in his orations (during his visit to St. Petersburg in 1914). The strains of the Marseillaise celebrated his comings and goings. And it is interesting to learn that at the same time workers in the suburbs of the capital were being cut down by Cossacks for singing the same tune." There is the account of the Montenegrin Princess in whom the sacred flame of (vicarious) nationalism burned so brightly that during a visit to France she went to the German frontier, advanced (presumably) a few yards across it, and gathered up some of the soil of Lorraine, together with some seeds of the thistles that grew on it. She kept the soil in a bonbon-box, which never left her, and she sowed the thistles in her garden, decorating her tables with them for distinguished visitors.

Again, "Sir Edward Grey said that he 'had never before seen one State address to another independent State a document of so formidable a character' (as the Austrian note to Serbia after the murder of the Archduke). But precedents are rapidly established in international affairs; and after the Italian note to Greece in 1923, and the British note to Egypt in 1924, the procedure adopted by the Austrian Government seems to have become normal." "All this time (during the Agadir crisis) it was hanging in the balance whether millions of Europeans should perish because the Governments of two States could not agree as to how they would divide between them a piece of equatorial Africa to which neither had any right except that of theft by arms."

Finally, "The Algeiras Act opens as follows: 'In the name of God Almighty! (The signatories) inspired by the interest which attaches to the reign of order, peace, and prosperity in Morocco and having recognised that this desirable end could only be attained by means of the introduction of reforms based upon the threefold principle of the sovereignty and independence of His Majesty the Sultan, the integrity of his Dominions, and economic liberty without any inequality, have resolved,' etc. The sovereignty and independence of His Majesty and the integrity of his Dominions! Let the reader recall the terms of the secret treaties between France and England, and France and Spain, partitioning that same territory; let him remember the previous suggestions for a partition between England and Germany; let him recall the struggle at the Conference over the police, and the

motives underlying that; and let him then estimate the exact significance of that opening phrase: 'In the name of God Almighty.' "

The *International Anarchy* is a great and terrible book. Although it is history, and firstclass history, it also contains all the materials of high tragedy. As one reads of this welter of deceit, selfishness and blustering force, and as one remembers the appalling self-slaughter of civilisation to which it led up, one seems to see, on a vaster stage than *Macbeth*, and in grim reality, not in make-believe, the powers of evil gathered to the prey, eager to put down to destruction not one, but many million noble souls. We see mankind corrupted by the wrong choice, doomed by its own passion to futility and ruin.

Moreover, this book shows us no sure ground for hope in the future. At the heart of it there is indeed despair of the future. That is a sign of its excellence; for only in religion is there hope of the casting out of this evil spirit; and religion the author definitely leaves out of count.

There are one or two mistakes which should be corrected in a future edition of this absorbingly interesting book. There is a mis-

print on page 393, line 14, where the word "themselves" is left out after "declare." On page 300 the word "west" should be substituted for "east" in "Sir Edward's fear of a German naval station on the east coast of Africa was probably genuine." On page 487 "left" should be substituted for "right" in "The whole German territory on the right hand of the Rhine was to be cut off from 'political and economic' dependence on Germany." There is some curious historical confusion in the statement, on page 281, that "During the last half of the nineteenth century, China lost . . . to Britain Burma."

These are very small matters. More serious is a certain over-smartness which occasionally makes its appearance, for instance, in the following: "The translator of the dispatches remarks that 'M. Nelidoff must have mistaken his own for public opinion,' and the suggestion does not seem improbable, except that the word 'mistaken' is perhaps itself mistaken."

Then it seems to be a serious defect that after an elaborate and most interesting description of what led up to the delivery of the German ultimatum to Russia on 31st July, there is no account of the nature of the ultimatum itself, or of that sent to France.

ON SUICIDE: A CAUSERIE.

By MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

There is a good case for everything if we only care to think about it. Nothing is so bad but can be shown to have a fair aspect—on consideration. Truth is not a harmonious whole; and it is not the exclusive property of this or that group of thinkers. Some slight part of it is shared by everybody: it enters into the composition of all individuals. It is universal in quality; and by too much stress of any one division of it, we are only apt to mar or disfigure the whole. It is to give one idea too much prominence at the expense of others. It is to take a part for the whole: it is to mistake the wood for the trees. The right thing is to have an open mind: to have access to all ideas

and to give each one of them its due ; and to hold that in this God's world everything subserves some useful purpose. As Friar Laurence says in *Romeo and Juliet*,

"O, mickle is the powerful grace that lies
In herbs, plants, stones, and their true
 qualities :
For nought so vile that on the earth doth live
But to the earth some special good doth give ;
Nor aught so good, but, strain'd from that
 fair use,
Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse ;
Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied,
And vice sometimes by action dignified."

Or, in Hamlet's words, "there is nothing good or bad but thinking makes it so." Truth, indeed, is a prism that has many facets. We can gaze at only one of its facets at a time: we cannot comprehend the entire prism at a single glance. The while it turns one of its faces to us, it presents a different face to another individual; and thus the seeming diversity of views arises. We must bear this in mind always; and then only shall we be able to realise that most of our startling differences of opinion are at best ephemeral, that they are but so many storms in a tea-cup. This is what Stevenson meant when he spoke of splitting differences "between two degrees of the infinitesimally small, such as a tobacco-pipe or the Roman Empire, a million of money or a fiddlestick's end."

Just now, however, we are concerned with the subject of suicide; and the foregoing part is not without relevancy to it. Nowadays, it has fallen in the world considerably; there is none so poor as to do it reverence. It has become a term of disgrace; and all the plagues of Egypt are supposed to be inherent in it. It lacks respect; and when people speak of it, the silence of the grave marks their voices. How far it has come down in the world can be realised when we consider that even the law takes cognizance of it as a punishable crime; and when the law takes cognizance of anything, then we know where we are in respect of that thing. Just think of the humour of it! A man, probably tired of the world and its ways, probably having come to the end of his tether, determines to take away his life and thus end all troubles. He is espied in the act; and off he is taken to the police-court and then to prison. The humour of it is too, too piercing: it would be too funny were it not so charged with tragedy. The world is a curious place, and let us take consolation in that.

Suicide, we imagine, is not so bad as all that,—even if it were so easy. Let us look at the reverse side of the shield. In the first place, great courage is required of a man contemplating suicide. Anybody can see that: for instance, cases of suicide are not as plentiful as blackberries, they are not

"Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallambrosa."

Sometimes, no doubt, the courage takes on the hue of a last desperate attempt to cure things

of their evil, it smacks of bravado rather than of real valour, and though the outward manifestation of it is all creditably bold, the things that prompt it, the inner springs of action, are cowardly, base. Well, the charge is sometimes true: tracked to its source there is cowardice in it very often. But you must dig a long while before you touch it; and not seldom the effort is useless: your spade does not strike anything as hard as that. It may be likened to Gratiano's reasons: "His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff: you shall seek all day ere you find them; and when you have them, they are not worth the search."

We must not analyse things too much. For one thing, they do not bear analysing too much. Analysis is a bane of modern times. Of course, we need not go to the other extreme of taking all things at their face-value: we know only too well that all that glitters is not gold, that gilded tombs do worms unfold, and all that sort of thing. What we mean is that a merciless dissection of anything leaves only the skeleton of it behind; that even the most vaunted beauty looks ugly when subjected to the process; that in so doing we are apt to forget "the first, fine careless rapture"; that, in that case, even the sun can be shown to have spots; that nothing is but is tarnished with some fault. Things mortal are bound to be bad somewhere or other,—at the top, or at the base, or in the middle; if we want perfection in anything, we must seek another planet. As someone puts it beautifully: "Geologising on Parnassus leads us to forget what the hill looks like. Afterwards, it may be, we shall know its loveliness better than we did; but for the moment we wander in a sort of limbo between innocence lost and wisdom not yet gained."

So, then, cowardice may be at the bottom of most cases of suicide: but it is not always so; and, even when it is so, the bottom is very often an unfathomable bottom, and it really does not matter anyway. The whole superstructure, at any rate, may be allowed to be made of superior metal. Let us take heart of grace from that consideration: crying for the moon never did anybody any good.

Our whole point is that suicide, considered in a general way, is a most honourable thing, and deserves to be adjudged accordingly; and, done in the grand manner, is a thing of exquisite beauty indeed. The ancient Rājputs

had a way (in the hour of defeat) of first killing all their womenfolk, and then themselves falling upon their swords, rather than be dragged as captives behind the chariot-wheels of their conquerors. The ancient Romans, too, were capable of that. The Roman plays of Shakespeare are full of such incidents. We are constantly reminded of "the Roman way," "the high Roman fashion," "a Roman's part," and other things of like import. Their (the Roman characters') farewell speeches all touch upon this note. Titinius, about to fall on his sword, says:

"By your leave, gods:—*this is a Roman's part.*"

Then there is Brutus's end:

"It is more worthy to leap in ourselves
Than to larry till they push us. Good Volumnius,
Thou know'st that we two went to school

together:

Even for that love of old, I pray thee,
Hold thou my sword-hilts, whilst I run on it."

Antony's death was not less glorious:

".....but I will be
A bride-groom in my death, and run into't
As to a lover's bed. Come, then; and, Kros,
Thy master dies thy scholar."

Cleopatra's end was noble, too:

"Good sirs, take heart:

We'll bury him; and then, what's brave,
what's noble,

Let's do it after the high Roman fashion,
And make death proud to take us."

(*Our Italics.*)

Surely, there is a case for suicide!

The causes of suicide are many: the chief of these is despair, loss of hope, of happiness. What else is there for the desperate but to wish for death in such circumstances? When the cup of misery, of humiliation, is full to overflowing, then it is not a bad time to sever oneself from this painful world. As Kent says of the dying Lear,

"Vex not his ghost: O, let him pass! he

hates him

That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer."

There is a point beyond which suffering cannot be borne; and there is no sense in bearing it, either. The human heart is a delicate thing: it is the abode of the most heart-rending tragedies. When a man's troubles get the

better of him, then all is over, the fat is in the fire. Even if he does not lay violent hands upon himself, he is, for all practical purposes, dead: he is almost a sort of living ghost. When a man contemplates, as George Meredith says of Shakespeare, "the seas without upon the reflex of that within," he is, no wonder, sometimes overwhelmed; and then he is capable of doing anything. Mr. Charles Whibley writes of Montaigne, "So while he loved life he had no fear of death. He even contemplated suicide with a benignant tolerance. He thought the hour of death had come when life held more evil than good, since death is the remedy of all ills, and the more voluntary it is, the fairer it seems."

There is only one consideration against committing suicide; and that is the fear of what may come hereafter. The contemplation of death gives rise to many feelings: one of these is a ghastly doubt about the future state. For a man that holds that there is nothing after death, the thing becomes easy enough: it is all plain-sailing. He has made up his mind once for all, and such a one lives (at any rate, for all outward purposes) in a land of eternal bliss. No brooding disturbs the even tenor of his thoughts: he has neither hope nor fear. His is the type of mind celebrated in the well-known lines of the poet:

".....Where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise."

It is only a little reflexion that spoils any child's paradise. Our first parent's curse is ours still: it is after we have eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge that all our misfortunes seem to arise. Contemplation hinders action; and too much intellectualising leaves us where we were. Hamlet was a philosopher that failed: had he throttled the doubt at his heart the moment it raised its hideous head, he would have been a more successful man, though a less charming one. Thought leads to uncertainty; and so he who thinks before he takes the plunge, rarely takes the plunge at all. A certain amount of hard-heartedness and dare-devilry is essential to the process. He who would commit suicide must "take th' instant way." The man who stands shivering on the bank with thoughts of what is to come hereafter is not your man for that. Indeed, "the hereafter" may prove to be a very fearful place; and then committing

suicide will be very like falling from the frying-pan into the fire.

".....ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause: there's the respect

That makes calamity of so long life;
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of?"

ARCTURUS: A PHENOMENON.

By MR. S. G. TIWARI, M.Sc.

More often than not it has been uttered that astronomy is the oldest science, but probably it is as less perfect as any other science. There is such an immense field of knowledge yet to be explored, that it is practically beyond human power to complete even a part of it in countable number of years. In this vast expanse of sky, innumerable number of worlds, and systems, great and small, are set like gems, mysterious as ever.

The Golden Arcturus, now a prominent stellar gem high in the eastern heavens of an evening, cannot even be called an atom in space high above. He is the brightest and most striking of all the stars in that part of the sky, and there should be no difficulty in identifying him. His golden colour, and steady planetary lustre, together with the fact that he is the first very bright star to the east of the Great Bear's tail, or the Plough, will remove all doubts. It can be located by another method as well. The two stars farthest from the handle of the Plough or the Great Bear,—the constellation very familiar to us as चरित्र—, and which form the bottom line of the rectangular-like portion of that constellation are known as the "Pointers," from the fact that they point towards the pole star. By following the line of the "Pointers" in the direction away from the Pole Star, our eyes are at once led to a group of a few bright stars, which roughly outline the figure of a lion, and is known as the constellation of Leo. Following the paws of this, we notice another

small constellation of Bootes, of which Arcturus, is the principal and most prominent star.

Arcturus is of supreme interest because so much is known about him. His immensity was for long estimated from the enormous amount of light that he radiates into space, about 142 times that of our sun. But in 1921, astronomers succeeded in actually measuring him by means of the interferometer apparatus attached to the great 100-inch telescope at Mount Wilson Observatory. There it has been found that Arcturus is 0.024 of a second of an arc in width. Visually this is an infinitesimal quantity less than 1/41st of a second of an arc. To realise what it amounts to let us understand what a second of an arc is. A piece-piece seen a mile away, its disc appears approximately there and a quarter seconds of an arc wide; so a second of an arc is less than even one third of this. This "second" measurement is all a matter of appearance and counts for no more, unless the distance of the object is known, and then it is possible to give with some exactitude the size of the object. Now the apparent size of Arcturus being found to be 0.024 of a second, we learn that his disc appears about an eighth the diameter of a pin's head seen about a mile away. This even in the most powerful telescopes is but a point of light. By means of the interferometer method, the astronomers have been able to find, however, that he is situated at a distance 2,825,000 times that of the sun, his disc is about 19 millions of miles wide. Further

he consists of an immense gaseous globe of fiery elements, and twenty-two times the width of our sun. As the sun is 109 times the width of our Earth and 1,300,000 times the size, we thus get some idea of the size of Arcturus.

In point of temperature, he is classed below our sun. The principal stages from hottest to the coolest of these "giant" stars are devoted by the letters B, A, F, G, K, and M. Our sun is classed as G, the effective temperature of the

sun being 6000°C. Arcturus is, however, classed as K, and thus his density is also greater than the sun. The light of this gigantic star which reaches us to-day had left him 43 years ago. Were Arcturus as near to us as the sun, we should behold an immense disc in the sky, large enough to cover completely the four stars forming the irregular rectangle of the Plough. But with 142 times the heat, we should rather prefer him to remain where he is now.

SO YOU'RE GOING TO INDIA—III.*

XIII. SCENES, SIGHTS AND SITES.

Now, what should the tourist attempt to see in India during his necessarily hurried visit? It need scarcely be observed that India is a big country and, therefore, it would be impossible for the ordinary winter visitor, even if he attempted sight-seeing on the well-known American principle of doing the maximum of sights and sites in the minimum of time, to see everything but a mere fraction of the places of interest in this country of magnificent distances. He will be well advised to confine himself, say, to a half-dozen of the great show cities of Northern India, of which Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Benares and Lucknow are perhaps the leading ones, from the tourist's point of view. Cawnpur, of course, though it can show little of note in historical or artistic relics, is hallowed by the sad memories of the mutiny. How India can be best "done" within a reasonable time, with most pleasure and profit, is, in short, the leading question most tourists put to themselves, or at all events, that is the chief point on which advice is sought. Of course, much depends upon the traveller's individual tastes and temperament, putting aside questions of means. He may be interested chiefly in Moghul, Brahmin, Buddhist, or Jain architecture, natural scenery

or simply "sights." Probably the ambition of nine out of ten is merely to see as many as possible of the innumerable "things best worth seen in India" during the time at his disposal.

Now the regulation "Grand Tour" of India which usually occupies five months (November to March), will enable the tourist in the three and a half months left for his disposal (after deducting the time consumed on the voyage out and home, and at Bombay and Calcutta, the two "front-doors" of India), by adopting a judiciously selected itinerary based upon an intelligent disposition of time, the "show cities" and the great tourist centres with due comfort. There is, perhaps, a sameness about the popular itineraries, which almost invariably begin at Bombay and end at Calcutta. Of course, the great shrines of tourist culture—Delhi, Agra, Cawnpur, Lucknow and Benares—must be included in every itinerary. What self-respecting tourist would dare to undertake an Indian tour and omit the Taj? Indeed, there are those who unhesitatingly declare that the Taj by moonlight would alone repay the voyage from Europe.

Starting from Bombay, with Delhi as his first goal, the traveller should break his railway journey at Baroda, Ahmedabad, Mount Abu for its wonderful Jain temples, and Jaipur for the ancient ruined capital of Amber. This programme would occupy a week at least. Then it is impossible to appreciate the architectural splendours of Delhi and its zone of ruined Delhis, Kutub Minar, Ferozabad, etc., in less than a week. Then on to Lahore, the capital

*Compiled from the writings of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, Mr. D. C. Boulger, Mr. Reynolds-Ball, the late Mr. William Caine, Mrs. Flora Steel, Mr. A. R. H. Moncrieff, and the special Indian numbers of the *Times* and some other sources.

of the "Land of the Five Rivers" stopping a day at Amritsar to see its world-famed Golden Temple. Then when the traveller has arrived so far, a railway journey to Peshawar—the *ultima thub* of the tourist in India—should certainly be taken. He will now begin perhaps to realise what the North-West Frontier signifies—at all events he will have reached a new India. Returning southwards, the railway journey to Lahore and Delhi must be repeated so as to take in Agra—and some days at least should be devoted to the incomparable and indescribable Taj Mahal, Gwalior with its noble palace fortress and its famous Jain temples and then Jhansi with its historic fort.

The "Mutiny cities" Cawnpur and Lucknow, will, of course, delay the tourist for a few days, and then we resume the direct journey to Calcutta stopping a couple of days at Benares. Though Benares may be the most interesting and the most typically Hindu City in India, and may boast of a greater number of shrines, temples, and other holy places than any other city in the Indian Empire, yet a couple of days in this appallingly odoriferous and over-crowded city will probably be as much as most travellers can stand. From here to Calcutta there is nothing to detain the ordinary traveller, though those interested in archaeology would find it worth their while to break the journey at Patna in order to visit the famous Buddhist Temple at Bodhi Gaya. Calcutta, arbitrarily termed "the City of Palaces"—a title which would seem more appropriately applied to Bombay—need not detain the "grand tourist" more than two or three days. From Calcutta a week's excursion up the Brahmaputra, which is called the Rhine of India, might be taken; but if the tourist has at least a fortnight left, it would be worth while to devote this extra time to an excursion in Burma. He would be able to visit Rangoon and Mandalay; only he would have to forego the Irrawady route and go by rail. Rangoon is only four days from Calcutta by steamer. The next stage in the regulation tour round India is by rail direct from Calcutta to Madras, but a break should be made in order to visit the Nizam's capital, Hyderabad. Madras makes a centre for many interesting railway excursions, chief of which is Tanjore, with its famous Pagoda, one of the finest of its kind in India. The final stage of the tour is now reached. We go by rail from Madras to Bombay breaking the

journey at Mysore, from which excursions should be made to the deserted capital of Seringaputnam and the Falls of the Kaveri. All these places are served by one or other of the network of railway lines with which India is now covered, so that all these varied and remarkable places can be comfortably seen in some six weeks or two months.

E. R. B.

XIV.

It would be work of years to "do" India as it deserves; and the traveller, with only a few months at his disposal, will probably be distracted by various suggestions of points by no means to be missed in the judgment of this or that adviser. As to how he decides on spending his limited time, much will depend on his tastes in sights, scenery and climate. We can only help him by indicating a skeleton tour, that might be called the "regular round" taking in the most famous "lions" of India, to be reached without going far from a railway, by the aid of which one may hurry over those points in a month, or may linger among them throughout the winter. From Bombay, now the common starting-point of Indian travel, he will naturally make for those cities which are the main focus of interest for easy travellers. To Calcutta, the peninsula may be crossed by two main routes, one by Delhi, the other more direct, a journey of two days or so. It might be well to begin with the former, as the point of interest on the latter are not so many. On the way to Delhi, by stages of few hours' railway journey, Baroda might be halted at for a peep into a progressive city, where, among other sights, are to be seen the Gaekwar's gold and silver cannon, and his collection of wild animals. A little farther on, Ahmedabad is a fine city, worth a halt among its curiosities of oriental architecture. Changing here on to a narrow-gauge railway, one should certainly turn aside at Abou Road for the wonderful Jain temples of Mount Abou. Ajmere is another striking place. Jaipur makes a sight in itself; and the great lion is the ancient ruined capital and palace of Ambar, a few miles off, to be visited on elephant-back. Delhi may well detain the traveller for weeks, if he please, so great is its wealth of its sanctuaries and ruins of former greatness spread over many miles of the surrounding country, which also abound in

interest through its reminiscences of the Mutiny. From Delhi he may turn aside to the Punjab, to its ancient capital Lahore, and to the wild scenery of the frontier; he will certainly go on to Agra, for the sake of Taj alone, if days of sight-seeing were not also afforded by the Fort, whose high red walls enclose a vast maze of Arabian nights scenery—galleries, pavilions, domes, vaults, gardens, arcades, and lordly halls; chief among them Akbar's glittering palace and the exquisite pearl Mosque. Some 20 miles off are the ruins of Futehpore Sikree, another striking monument of Moghul grandeur, which is one of the many "things best worth seeing in India." Unless tempted to make a digression southwards to Gwalior and Jhansi, the excursionist may now push on at once to Cawnpur, where there is little of note beyond the sad relics of the Mutiny. He may spend some days in Lucknow, a vast city abounding in architectural shows. The next place where a halt must be made is Benares, that old centre of Hindoo devotion, whose countless shrines would invite a longer stay. Most tourists now hurry on to Calcutta, traversing Bengal in a long day's journey, yet the more adventurous might well turn aside at Patna to visit Gaya and the scenes of early Buddhism, that ancient faith which has spread so widely over Asia. Calcutta is not so well worth seeing as Bombay; and by March, the weather here may be found trying. Those who wish a touch of real cold weather can hence run up to Darjeeling, which some globe-trotters have pronounced the most beautiful spot in the world. Another recommendable excursion is up the Brahmaputra, "the Rhine of India," for a peep at the tea-gardens of Assam. Those who have no time to cross over to Rangoon might now like to take steamer or rail for Madras, a Presidency rather neglected by tourists; yet there is much of interest here in the Nizam's capital, Hyderabad, in Tipu's stronghold Seringapatam, in Tanjore and its renowned temple, as in other southern cities; while, if the weather prove trying refuge may be taken in the Nillgherry Hills, or at the large station of Bangalore which enjoys almost an European climate. If the return be from Calcutta by the central route a halt should be made at Allahabad, another famous and sacred city, then again at Jubbulpur, for the sake of the grand "Marble Rocks" of this neighbourhood. Having come back now to Bombay, should the traveller have still time to

spare, the increasing heat may drive him up to Poona, or still higher to Mahabaleshwar, where a temperate climate may be enjoyed among fine wooded hills. Another favourite refuge of the Bombay people is Matheran, whose beauties would tempt artists. The engineering feats displayed by the railway crossing the Ghauts to Poona rank not least among the sights of India, innumerable as they are.

A. R. H. M.

XV.

It depends greatly on the mental position of the tourist towards India whether he should choose Bombay or Calcutta as his port. Certainly if he wishes to gain the glamour of the East once and for all, he should choose the latter, changing his steamer at Ceylon and if possible landing at Madras. He would thus see India from the point of view which was that of its earliest English settlers; since the first British possession was undoubtedly Fort George, the nucleus of Madras. A few days spent in Ceylon, therefore, are surely, a more fitting prelude to romantic India. Here, amid beautiful gardens, fragrant with exotic flowers watching, as the dusk comes on, the gauzy dance of the fire-flies in the overarching palms, or casting sidelong glances at the trays full of sapphires, rubies and diamonds which the pedlars are sure to dispose at your feet, while the spice-laden breezes from the cinnamon groves fill the air, one can at least approach India as she should be approached, that is with a stimulated imagination. What if the gems be sham, the glamour of the East is true. So, having seen Ceylon, let us set sail again. Thus to Madras—through its surf if you can, in a mussulah boat. In Madras, that city of magnificent distances, one can go back some two hundred years with ease. From Madras, endless are ways for excursionists, but wherever we go, one thing is certain we shall see Hindustan full of glamour of pictures to be seen against a background of vivid green. And so, if we have time, away we go once more up the Bay of Bengal to the mouths of the Hugly, and reach the City of Palaces. Calcutta is not nearly so obtrusively European as Bombay, but sufficiently so to make the ardent student of India proper leave it behind him as soon as may be. And now either side of the tourist lie the fertile plains

of Bengal leading to many wonders. Darjeeling for the seekers of sunrise and snow, Murshidabad for the patriot, Assam for the fisher, Central India and Mysore—though the latter is better done from Madras—for those whose creed of progress is gold. But ahead of us lies more than can even be mentioned in a brief note. As we travel northward through the most densely populated rural district in the world, a fertile land of compressed fields, we leave Patna behind us with a dim regret for almost 'the oldest town of India', for it is the Patliputra of Megasthenes that is, the ancient capital of India. Then by a side-walking there is Bodhi-Gaya if we choose to give time to see the 'Tree of Knowledge. Benares, however, blocks the way even for the most unimaginative. Dim, dark alleys twine themselves like snakes between the Temple of Vishweswara, the Giver of Life, and the slow-sliding River of Regeneration and Death. To know Benares well, to shrink from her sins, to glory in her goodness is the lesson of lifetime. But Benares during a *mela*, when millions of people congregate to bathe in the sacred stream, is a sight, once seen, never to be forgotten. Benares is Hinduism incarnate.

The next conventional stop for the tourist should be Cawnpore, that city of the tragedy. But despite this there is nothing really worth stopping for at Cawnpore, either for the patriot or the lover of the picturesque. Lucknow should be our next objective, that city of stucco and sentiment, of shams in everything. One glance at the street rabble of Lucknow is eloquent, even in these days, of the urgent need of wholesome reform. Here again we touch on tragedy. It is inevitable with the Residency still flying the English flag; and yet the tourist should be on his guard against allowing this tragedy of conflict between the white race and the dark to usurp the whole stage of India's greater dramas. At Delhi, however, it is different. How many ancient towns lie hidden under those rolling purple waves of broken bricks which stretch between the modern town and the spear-point of the Kutub? Who knows! Hastinapore, Indraprestha, Firozabad, at any rate, before the Emperor Shahjehan's city—"Shanjehanbad"—resumed its old name of Delhi. And how many dynasties has not this "rose-red city half as old time" outworn! Yet here again the modern tourist lets the brief record of a few months' struggle, heroic as that

struggle was, out-weigh the history of centuries which clings around this city of kings. Delhi still clung tenaciously to her title of the Imperial Town, a title which dates back to the days of Prithivi-Raj, the model hero, the model lover of India even in these present days. What tales could not those old bricks tell if they could but speak! What wisdom might we not glean from these old stones! Let the first visit at Delhi be the Kutb-Minar. It is a good lesson wherewith to begin on Delhi, that town overlaid with memories of the storm and stress of creeds. Hinduism, Mohamedanism, Buddhism, Christianity—all have had their swords unsheathed for Delhi. It is a place of sharp contrasts. One can go from the Diwan-i-am in Shah Jehan's famous palace, through the delicacy of decoration—Oriental in design, Italian in execution—of the Diwan-i-Khas with its vainglorious surrounding motto:

If earth hold a Paradise dear,

It is here! It is here! It is here!

and, wearied perhaps by the lacelike subtlety of carving in the marble screens, go out to Tughlakabad and refresh oneself with the fierce simplicity of its rough hewn walls. Or find our way to the Jain temples, hidden away in the heart of the city. There are so many things to be seen in Delhi that time is often wasted over trivialities. But time runs short, and at Delhi the ways part. Shall we go northward towards Amritsar, sacred city of the Sikhs, with its golden temple? to Lahore with its many sights worth seeing, and but one worth remembering—the tombs at Shahdara, beyond the river,—of those faithful lovers, the Emperor Jehangir and the beautiful woman who after long years of denial became his wife? But before us, if we will, lies Jhelum with its memories of Alexander's great failure. A marvellous picture, that, of the late October dawn when the Great Macedonian Conqueror in his foremost galley poured a libation to his gods into the sliding river Hydaspes, and flinging the golden cup into its stream gave the signal for starting seawards, and so, to quote Arrian the historian, "in stately, orderly procession, the noise of the rowing mingling with the cries of the captains, the shouts of the boat-swains and the choric songs of farewell from the natives who ran along the banks rising into a veritable battle-cry," passed down

to the great ocean, never to return. Beyond that Peshawar, mayhap the Khaiber Pass.

It is not far down before we branch off to Agra, and beyond that to Fatehpur Sikri. Now both these places are indissolubly bound together by a great personality, that of Mohamed Jala-ud-din Akbar, the greatest of the Great Moghuls. He was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth's. Of the mark which he left on India, who shall speak adequately? It is impossible, indeed, to overrate the influence which this one man had on the India of his time. Even now, the revenue system is the direct lineal descendant of the one he organised. Not so quite lovable, perhaps as his grandfather Baber, there can be no question that he was a greater man. Dreamer and man of action combined, the record of his deeds reads like a fairy tale. He tried to abolish Suttee, he swept away the barriers enforcing widowhood, he scouted the claims of supremacy in his own church, and insisted on a half a hundred reforms abhorrent to both Mahomedans and Hindus alike, without apparently the least difficulty. As one reads of what he did and what he said, the suggestion becomes insistent, that we have here to do with a great hypnotist, able to bend all to his will. Agra, then, is Akbar's despite the Taj, which erected by his grandson, Shahjehan, remains undoubtedly the finest piece of Saracenic architecture in the world. It was built in memory of his wife—a monument thus to a conjugal constancy which we of the West hardly associate with the name of the Great Moghul. It is small use to speak of the Taj. It is easy to pile adjective on adjective; but impossible to define its charm. That, the eye alone can recognise.

The Fort, however,—every stone knit to stone with iron clamps,—is Akbar's. Why did he leave Agra, almost ere he had finished building the Fort and betake himself to the barren ridge of Fatehpur Sikri; not twenty miles away? On it he lavished himself. It is his dream cut in red sandstone. Then, as the years passed on he left the city of Puttehpore Sikri for ever. But his Great Arch of Victory remains. So time pressing once more, we return to look at Gwalior with its dominating rock, its many memories. Jeypore, at any rate, must not be missed; that city wherein every one seems happy, cheerful, and contented. The apotheosis of physical comfort, the world in its best dress; in this Coral City,

stucco though it be. There is nothing in all India so bright as Jeypore. This biscuit-coloured city of mingled dust and sunshine seems to show up the colours that are seen against it in still sharper contrast. And in Jeypore the dye pot is in evidence everywhere: it shows lavishly on every piece of muslin worn, or unworn, its refuse streams into the streets, dyes that are bright, modern, and evanescent. And so, despite its attractiveness, Jeypore is not so interesting as the old Rajput city of Amber which can be reached in a short elephant ride. Ruined though this be, it gives a glimpse of the past romantic, chivalrous life beside which the code of honour of medieval Europe seems strained and artificial.

If we wish to take back with us an indelible memory of the Rajput race, we must branch off at Ajmere and give due pause at the great rock of Chitore, which rises, courteously aloof, out of the desert sands, as do so many fortresses in Rajputana. But this one has a history indeed, and to this day the oath, "By the sins of the sack of Chitore," is one which no Rajput will violate. For no less than three times has the great rite of Johur, the supreme sacrifice of the war, been celebrated within the walls which crown the barren, almost impregnable rock. In other words, when the fortress was doomed beyond hope, every Rajput who could carry sword or poniard donned the saffron robe of the ascetic, and, crowned with garlands, sallied forth in the dawn to desperate death; while the women, attired in their bridal robes, their babies at their breasts, their little toddlers clinging to their robes, the slim girls with wide eyes full of proud fear, trooped to the great caves which borrow in the rock, and there raising a funeral pyre, died on it without one cry, one sigh gaining the upper air—only a puff or two of smoke raising to hang like a cloud-pail over the rock of Chitore.

After the last sack, the memory of which is still preserved by the marking off all documents written by Rajputs with the figures 74½, the Rajah of Mewar removed his capital to Udaipur, showing his good taste thereby. For nowhere in India are there more picturesque palaces than those which spring from the very bosom of the placid lake which, studded with many islets, stretches itself out idly amongst the wooded hills—palaces that are in themselves paradoxical, since, though built of marble and shorn granite, they are whitewashed all over! To

some this may seem a vandalism; but those who have seen the vast purity of Udaipur reflected in the water, and have noted how sunrise and sunset die down to deadly pallor in the dusk, will doubt if this hiding away of all marks—even beautiful ones—of age is not a cunning enhancement of beauty!

And now we may retrace our steps if we will, and, desirous of seeing all sides of life in India, dip into the great desert which stretches away between Hissar in the Punjab and Hyderabad in Sindh. There is a railway now to Bikaner, the desert capital; but as there is nothing for the tourist to see in the latter place, we might as well spend a day in the nearest desert town on the line. There is something very attractive in the wide stretches of white ground, hard almost as cement, over which the sand drifts in wrinkles with the slightest breeze to pile itself into shifting sand-hills. Here the wild caper bushes bloom coral rose, and the tinkle of the far-off goat-bells comes clear through the baking sunshine. But Ahmedabad claims us with its ancient histories. It is a fine old town. It is a lovely country through which we pass, and Surat, with its dense greenery, looks so attractive that one feels inclined to pause at it. But there lies before us Bombay, with its palatial buildings and offices, its absolute air of wealth

and ease and prosperity. Here, without doubt the Western gospel of comfort has been brouched to some effect, and here, therefore, are good hotels, where we can spend a day or two comfortably before the siren of the P. & O. calls us to find more comfort in their floating caravan. But we have left India. Its glamour has gone, unless we take a run down the coast to see the sharp scarped hills, the massive forests, the deep roaring ravines streaked with swift torrents after every rainfall, where Sivaji, was born and bred; thereafter to flash out beyond his own mountain land as pioneer to one of the four great powers which have practically held India for all time up to the present Hindu, Mahomedan, Mahratta, English. Thus our last glance would be as full of romance as our first in Ceylon.

Yet we should have left unseen half the sights of India. The great Brahmaputra sliding miles wide through its rice-fields, Kashmir with its far snows showing through tall popular avenues; the wild Bhil mountains; the opalescent hills and peachgardens of Quetta. Then all the wonders of Burma and the Malay coasts. Let this assuage our regrets. We can take another return ticket by the P. & O. and see them next tourist season.

F. A. S.

GEORGE MACDONALD: A CELTIC PROPHET.

By MISS MURIEL KENT.

If we had been asked to guess beforehand who would write the Introduction to the memoir of *George Macdonald And His Wife* (George Allen and Unwin, London) by their son, probably very few of us would have held up our hands with the right answer. Yet Mr. G. K. Chesterton strikes the harmonious note, with his usual positive touch, by his appreciation of George Macdonald's temperament and work, and by his personal confession as to the influence which *The Princess and the Goblin* had exercised on his mind.

Jaded reviewers who praise the biographies

which spare them details of the childhood and early youth of their subjects may rebel against the more remote family history given in the opening chapters of this massive book. Perhaps, it needs Scotch blood in our veins to respond fully to the good old motto, "Hand fast by the past;" to realise how greatly responsible for George Macdonald's thought and life was the ancestry which included a survivor of the Glencoe massacre, and a great-grandfather who held the high rank of Town Piper of Portsoy, and marched with the Frasers to fight for Prince Charlie. He was one of "the

few who escaped Cumberland's ruthless stalking of every fugitive" after the Culloden tragedy by hiding among the caves of Portsoy for months. George Macdonald's grandfather was born three months before Culloden, and was named Charles Edward after the Young Pretender. His wife was a remarkable character, even in the Highlands of her day. We are told that her father would not allow his daughters to learn writing "lest they should be writing to the lads"—an almost incredible instance of Scotch foresight and caution—but she taught herself the art after she was sixty. She passed on to son and grandson her own fervent and zealous spirit, though in the younger George it was to break loose from Calvinistic fetters at an early age.

George Macdonald was born in 1824, and the story of his life moves with leisurely order and detail—from the sunny bleaching-fields and the dairy-farm by the River Bogie, which were the play-grounds of his boyhood—to Aberdeen University, and "meet nurse" of his poetic and philosophic tastes—thence to London and the ideal wooing of his future wife, Louisa Powell with the wonderful eyes and ardent mind. We can watch the growth and development, through poverty and frequent ill-health, towards the faith which became "at once childlike and critical, prophetic and triumphant."

Family love in George Macdonald was extraordinarily strong and tender, and the relations between him and his father were always of the closest—though the elder man might wish at times that George were "more like other men." He wrote once to his son, after his ordination and marriage, urging him to "give over the fruitless game of poetry, and apply yourself to the preaching of the Gospel and the instruction of your people. A nervous temperament and a poetical imagination are too much for a frail clay tabernacle, as witness your hypochondriac Cowper and many such like."

But whether his poems were in question, or the giving up of his orthodox ministry, as it seemed to them, nothing could shake the confidence and sympathy between father and son.

Dr. Greville Macdonald writes with great fullness and absolute frankness, of his parents, who in all the thwarting circumstances of their lives, met with unfailing hope and trust on his part, with abundant humour and fortitude on her's. The list of his works in verse and prose assures us that when George Macdonald had to depend entirely on literary work for the support of his family, it was no lack of diligence, nor any failure of his immense imaginative faculty, which accounted for his financial difficulties. A wise man once remarked that "worldly success is due to an unusual combination of second-rate qualities," and George Macdonald never possessed those ingredients—as Mark Twain, doubtless, realised when he wrote to him in 1882:

"I perceive now, after all these wasted years, that an author ought always to be connected with a highwayman."

The chapters which describe the lecturing tour in America of 1872-3 are of special interest. He had a wonderful reception from the people who recognised him as a seer, but while the poet and mystic made friends everywhere, he was the despair of publicity agents. His modesty had refused to advertise his literary reputation beforehand, and terms were made for his lectures before they discovered that "there had been nothing like it since Dickens" in his way of taking his audiences by storm. On October 30th, 1872, he visited Whittier at Amesbury, and of all those he met, there can hardly have been another so closely akin spiritually to George Macdonald.

This sincere and reverent study will not appear too long to those who knew the lovable pair; nor to those who recognised that "George Macdonald had done for Scotland what St. Paul did for Asia Minor: he opened the windows."

Henry James once said that he held any writer justified "who is himself in love with his theme." Dr. Macdonald's biography appeared fitly at the centenary of his father's birth, and nearly twenty years after his death—for such a monumental work of devotion and scholarship could not be hastily undertaken or completed.

THE NIZAM'S ADMINISTRATION TO-DAY: A SURVEY.

By PROF. G. R. ABHYANKAR, B.A., LL.B.

The publication in the papers of the news that an ultimatum had been sent by the Government of India to His Exalted Highness the Nizam to correct serious abuses in the State, to re-organise his administration and to award justice to his subjects and that he had (though perhaps unwillingly) accepted the proposals, has evoked considerable excitement in the press. As yet no authoritative corroboration has been supplied. But the statement issued to the press by the Nizam's Government clearly shows that some communication has been received from Simla offering friendly advice to the Nizam. And since Lord Macanlay's time "advice," in the language of the Political Department, means command.

Every one interested in the welfare of the subjects of Hyderabad State is anxiously watching further developments in this case. The self-complacent attitude displayed by the Nizam gives reason to believe that he is not disposed to question the authority of the Paramount Power to interfere in the internal administration of his State. Since British sovereignty was unequivocally established over the Indian States, only two Indian princes have ventured to question the authority of the Paramount Power to interfere in the internal administration of their States. One was the ex-Maharaja of Indore, who wrote to Lord Chelmsford that he was the supreme ruler of his State and no power in the land had any right to exercise any control over him. He repudiated also the authority of the Paramount Power to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate into his alleged misconduct. But the ex-Maharaja came down from this high pedestal and agreed to abdicate his *gadi* to save his skin and to safeguard the interest of his legitimate heir. His Exalted Highness advanced a similarly preposterous claim in his second letter to Lord Reading about the rendition of Berar. Lord Reading emphatically denied this claim, and told the Nizam in very plain words that the faithful ally was only a dependent vassal.

Lord Reading has reiterated the sovereignty

of the British Government over the Indian States with such emphasis that so far as the Indian States are concerned this question is now finally settled and cannot be reargued. All subjects of Indian States are extremely glad that the relations of the Paramount Power to the Indian States have been so clearly and forcibly defined after a specific denial of the sovereign right, so far as internal affairs are concerned, had been made by the Nizam. The British Government has now another great responsibility to shoulder—that of securing the well-being of the subjects who are entrusted to the care of these Indian princes. The British have set before themselves an entirely wrong standard of their duties in this respect. Unless maladministration reaches the maximum of insupportability they are reluctant to interfere. When once the position of a sovereign power is firmly assumed and enunciated for Imperial purposes, why should there be this dereliction of duty? Why should the subjects of the Indian States groan under misrule which is perpetuated by the mistaken courtesy or the negligence of the British Government? Would such misrule be tolerated in British India? Would even Parliament remain for ever blind to such misrule in territories under direct British administration? Why should there be two different standards of removing injustices, redressing wrongs, and alleviating sufferings in territories which are directly and indirectly under the sovereignty of the British Crown? The position of the British Government in the Indian States is that of a trustee, and any negligence on the part of the trustee is culpable from the point of view of justice, equity and morality alike.

The responsibility, therefore, to maintain good administration in Indian India is just as great as it is in British India. Misrule should not be tolerated at all. It is criminal negligence of duty on the part of the sovereign power to wait until oppression exceeds all bounds before taking any steps to redress it. Sir William Lee Warner has stated that "intervention, when called for and granted in consequence of mis-

rule, has only been accorded where the circumstances were exceptionally grave and misgovernment both long-continued and gross."

Long-continued and gross—these are deemed to be the essential qualities of misrule before the Paramount Power sees its way to interfere. This conception of duty is antiquated and thoroughly unsuited to an enlightened and firmly established government. Such a policy might have been thought expedient when the foundations of the British power were not firmly laid, when the allegiance of the princes was suspected, when the Indian States had not reconciled themselves to the new order, and when the interests of Indian India and British India were not considered identical. But much water has flowed under the bridges since the early part of the nineteenth century, when the criterion of "long-continued and gross misrule" was laid down. At that time the British Government thought that there was identity of feeling between the rulers and the ruled in Indian States, and that the seven crores of Indian States' subjects would stand by the seven hundred Indian potentates in case of any revolt or disturbance that these princes might choose to lead. But it is patent now to any dispassionate observer that no such identity of interest exists at present between the rulers and the ruled in Indian States. The subjects would never countenance any wild effort of their rulers to assert their independence. Every subject of an Indian State realises the foolhardiness of such an idea. He is disgusted with the autocracy of his ruler. He is anxiously waiting for the British Government to come to his rescue. He is thankful for the dispensation which has linked the Indian States to the chariot-wheels of British sovereignty. He fervently hopes that in the establishment of responsible government in British India under the British Crown lies his salvation. The British Government, therefore, need entertain absolutely no fear of the seven crores of Indian States' subjects in any crisis, even if the Indian princes choose the path of disaffection.

The old and obsolete doctrine of watching misrule in Indian States until it has become *long-continued and gross* must, therefore, be discarded. Such a policy is discreditable and unworthy either of a trustee or of a Paramount Power. Lord Northbrook stated so far back as 1875 that "misrule on the part of a government which is upheld by the British Power is misrule

in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved." He did not qualify this by the limitation that the misrule was to be long and gross before this responsibility devolved on the Paramount Power. Lord Mayo also unequivocally stated: "If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and regard the privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere throughout the length and breadth of your territories justice and order shall prevail; that every man's property and person shall be secure; that the traveller shall come and go safely; that the cultivator shall enjoy the fruits of his labour and the trader the produce of commerce."

These are broadly the outlines of the course which the British Government has to pursue as a sovereign power towards the Indian States. Hyderabad is the premier State in India. It is a good thing that the British Government has reaffirmed its status as a sovereign power in the face of the Nizam. It is one of the ironies of fate that it is with reference to his dominions that the occasion should have arisen to shoulder the responsibilities of a sovereign fearlessly and courageously. We hope that Lord Irwin will rise to the occasion and follow the precepts of Lord Northbrook and Lord Mayo. Rights have corresponding duties, and if the Paramount Power has asserted its right in March, 1926, we hope and trust that it will not be indifferent to the imperative consideration of discharging its duties when an occasion offers itself. So far as Hyderabad State is concerned the catalogue of grievances has assumed a disproportionate magnitude during recent years. Great discontent prevails and serious allegations are being ventilated. The Dakshini Sansthan Parishad, at its sitting held in May last, passed a resolution against the high-handed policy of the Hyderabad State toward nine-tenths of its subjects, who are Hindus and thus differ in religious belief from their ruler. Broadly stated, the allegations against the Nizam and the features of his maladministration may be summarised as follows:—

(1) The Hindus, who form nine-tenths of the population of the dominions of the Nizam, are not allowed the legitimate exercise of their religious faith and are molested in the performance of several rites by vexatious firmans.

(2) The Hindus feel an insecurity of person and property under the autocratic rule of the Nizam. (3) Educational facilities are not given to the Hindu population and even private efforts at spreading education are being stifled. (4) From the State Service, whether superior or inferior, civil or military, Hindus are studiously excluded. (5) Public offices are filled by unqualified persons (including outsiders), solely because they are Muhammadans, and the public service has become a field for jobbery. (6) There is a huge waste of public funds in the administration. (7) The Nizam engages in the vicious practice of taking *nazars* from his subjects. (8) *Inams* and *Jaghirs* are illegally confiscated and properties are taken under the court of wards without any justification. (9) Numerous complaints of violation of personal liberty and also of the honour of men and women are constantly brought to the British Resident by the aggrieved parties. (10) State resources are squandered outside the State limits on objects which have no concern whatsoever with State interests. (11) The management of the Customs Department is very harassing to the people. The income of this department is not appropriated to the needs of the State, and not more than 20 per cent. of the Customs revenue finds its way into the public treasury. (12) The administration of justice is often in the hands of incompetent officials, chosen simply because they are Muhammadans or related to some high Muhammadan official; failure of justice is thus occasioned in many cases and causes serious discontent. (13) State resources are utterly neglected and no efforts are made to improve the moral and material condition of the population, who are labouring under the incidence of heavy taxation and are suffering from chronic poverty owing to the Nizam's misgovernment. (14) The Nizam has not shown the slightest inclination or capacity to introduce any form of representative government. (15) No local self-government exists in the State. (16) In spite of the pretension of the Nizam to confer responsible government on the people of Berar, there is absolutely no association of the people with the administration, no freedom of the press, no liberty of meeting and no desire to establish constitutional rule. (17) Every agitation is ruthlessly suppressed, and orders of extermination and internment are passed in a

high-handed manner. Even men like Mr. Jinnah are ordered summarily to leave the Nizam's territory.

The population of Hyderabad State is 13,374,676, nine-tenths of whom are Hindus. Not the devices of political expediency, but bare justice to these helpless millions, is what is demanded by the facts of the case. We hope that Lord Irwin's government will rise to the occasion.

II.

The gravest allegation against the Nizam's rule is that the Hindus, who form nine-tenths of the population, are not allowed the legitimate exercise of their religious faith and are molested in the performance of various rites by vexatious firmans. One salient instance, which will convey to the reader the manner in which Hindu sentiment is trampled upon, is that of the Gulburga riots of 1924. The following quotation from the *Servant of India*, a paper highly respected for its moderation, sobriety and balanced judgment, will bear out this statement. "The outburst of Mohammedan fanaticism at Gulburga in the Nizam's dominions was in many respects much worse than similar recent outbursts in the Punjab and the United Provinces. From such accounts as have appeared in the papers there does not appear to have been any predisposing cause such as communal ill-feeling between Hindus and Mohammedans, owing either to previous disturbances or rabid writing in irresponsible journals. The Hindus gave no special provocation, acted quite law-abidingly, and took the assistance of the authorities right through. The atrocities committed by the Mohammedans were unparalleled, almost every Hindu temple in the town, big or small, (and they were about 50), being desecrated and the idols broken, and women and children being assaulted and molested. As a result many women of respectable families have left the town and sought refuge elsewhere. A most remarkable incident is the killing by gun-shot of the Superintendent of Police by the rioters because he obstructed their entry into a temple to desecrate it.—According to one version he was killed by a Police-man who had joined the rioters. According to another the rioters themselves were armed with guns and swords." This wanton attack filled the minds of the Hindu

community with a thrill of horror. A public enquiry was demanded. The Nizam's Government appointed a Commission, of which the Inspector-General of Police was a member. There was considerable complaint against his nomination. Its impropriety was too patent and the Nizam's Government removed him from the personnel of this Commission. Ultimately it was composed of one Hindu judge and two Mohammedan gentlemen of the Nizam's judicial service. Nearly 180 persons were accused of the offence, and 123 were arrested. Eighty-eight of these were charged with the offence and 35 were discharged. The Commission unanimously held them guilty. But His Exalted Highness by a firman let off all the accused without any justification.

The bare enumeration of these facts will show the high-handed manner in which the Nizam acted in professing to do justice to the aggrieved community. The sense of disappointment and despair which this firman created in the minds of the Hindu community may be better imagined than described. If, when such a piece of aggression had been committed by the Mohammedan population, in defiance of authority and under the very nose of the custodians of peace, His Exalted Highness could treat the affair so lightly and use the prerogative of pardon in such an unjust and audacious manner, what hope could the Hindu population entertain of living peacefully under such rule? Can any just man think that the rights of the community had been adequately protected by their ruler? Yet if he showed himself unsympathetic and ill-advised, whom could they approach for redress? Was it not a matter deserving immediate interference on the part of the Paramount Power? "The obligation to secure religious toleration is accepted not solely in consequence of the solidarity of religious feelings throughout the empire but also in the interest of the States themselves. When it is borne in mind that the British Government owes it to its own subjects to secure for them religious tolerance from foreign potentates, its duty in India is enhanced by the relations which subsist between the Government of India and its protected allies." These observations of so great an authority as Sir William Lee Warner, clearly lay down the policy which the Government of India has followed in the past with a view to guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religious toleration

to the subjects of Indian States. He further states that interference is justified if the need arises to secure toleration for the subjects of the protected States. Instances have occurred of such interference in such matters in Gondal, in Jodhpur, in Raigarh, and Indore in the last century. If the proceedings of the Gulburga riots are called for, if the views of the Commissioners and the firman of the Nizam are perused, they will prove to the hilt that a very strong case for interference into the affairs of the Nizam exists on this ground alone.

Over and above this, the Hindu subjects of the Nizam and outsiders who sympathised with them appealed to His Exalted Highness for permission for the performance of the installation ceremony of the image of Sir Sharanbasappa, which had been mutilated and desecrated by the rioters; for pecuniary assistance for the installation ceremonies of the broken images; for sanctifying and repairing the desecrated temples; for placing the *kalasas* upon the domes of their temples; for erecting a compound wall near the principal temple at Gulburga; and for the playing of music in connection with the worship of their sacred images. But all these appeals have remained unheeded by the Hyderabad Government, and no proper response has even been given to the wishes of the injured and humiliated Hindus. The President of the District Board at Belgaum, who desired to appeal to His Exalted Highness for bare justice to his Hindu brethren in the Nizam's dominions, was told that no outsiders could be allowed to interfere with the internal affairs of the State. The aggrieved subjects had no means of redress. They were helpless and demoralised by the oppression so grossly perpetrated against them. The administration turned a deaf ear to their grievances. There is no Press worth the name in the whole of the Nizam's dominions to ventilate their grievances. Papers published outside his territory criticising his Government are prohibited from entering the Hyderabad State. Even the *Servant of India*, the organ of the liberal and progressive party, is banned. There is absolutely no association of the people in the government of the State. No one however respectable is allowed to come in from outside the State to advise the Hindu community. Even so highly respected a British Indian statesman as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was prohibited from entering the State. The

Bombay Chronicle, which cannot be accused of anti-Moslem bias, observed about this incident that "the Nizam's inexcusable and arbitrary interference with the rights of his Hindu subjects will create a sense of genuine grievance, the reaction of which on Hindu-Moslem relations not only in the Hyderabad State but also throughout the country will be most deplorable. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is one of the most respected of Indian leaders and the high-handed and unceremonious manner in which his entry into Hyderabad territory as the guest of the Hindu subjects of the Nizam is sought to be prevented will be regarded as an affront to the country."

Equally exasperating and intolerant firmans, actuated by religious bigotry, are issued from time to time against the Hindu population. Complaints in the Press are heard constantly. It is alleged that firmans have been issued to the effect that no repairs to old Hindu temples should be allowed; that new Ganpati should not be installed anywhere; that processions on Dasara Day should not be held; that festivities and merry-making should not be enjoyed on this day; that the time-honoured custom of worshipping the birthday of Sri Ram and the holy day of Nag Panchami are not to be observed if they clash with the Moharram Festival. The prohibition against the installation of Sri Ganpati is particularly shocking to Hindu susceptibilities. Ganpati is regarded as the presiding genius of learning and no Hindu religious rite can be performed without the initial propitiation of this deity. It is also one of the most harmless of Hindu festivities.

How far these allegations are correct we leave it to the Paramount Power to investigate; but we know for certain that there is intense discontent and heart-burning among the Hindu population in Hyderabad State by reason of the bigoted and intolerant policy which has been pursued in religious matters by the Nizam during the last six years of his administration.

III.

The second important allegation against the Nizam is that his Hindu subjects feel an insecurity of person and property under his autocratic rule. An investigation of the file of complaints preferred to the Resident at Hyderabad would disclose abundant material deserving of serious investigation at the hands of the Government of India. In this connection

it is necessary to note the fact that it is most difficult for any subject of an Indian State to substantiate allegations of ill-treatment against a ruler. In the first place, there is no rule of law in an Indian State. An Indian autocrat can imprison a person for any length of time without placing him before any Court of Justice. Property can be confiscated by the edict of a self-willed ruler and there is no power in the State to call him to account for such injustice. The political officers indifferently watch the unbridled career of an Indian Prince and they pull him up only when Imperial interests are interfered with. There is no public sympathy or public support for a man when he has to fight against the authorities of the State. It is difficult for him to secure evidence as the people are thoroughly demoralised under the oppressive weight of autocracy. The judiciary is not as a rule independent and can hardly go counter to the known wishes of the ruler. The bar also is unwilling to take the lead by accepting briefs from a man who has incurred the displeasure of a ruling Prince and who has the audacity to brave it. Alone he has to take courage in both hands and begin to fight the *zulum* of the despotic ruler. Unless he is prepared to be wiped out of existence from the State or unless he is ready to sacrifice everything near and dear to him he cannot think of raising any voice against the high-handedness of his ruler. There is no hope of any appeal to a superior tribunal, to public opinion or to the Press. These limitations, therefore, imposed upon a subject bent upon exposing his ruler, ought always to be borne in mind in weighing the strength of any evidence adduced by any party. We do not, therefore, propose to give a catalogue of such grievances. Nor would it be fair to make any *ex-parte* statements against the Nizam. The proper place to ventilate such grievances is a validly-constituted commission. We only request the Imperial Government to consider whether a *prima facie* case does not exist for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into these allegations, and to this end we invite the attention of the Political Department to the complaints made to the British Resident from time to time during the last few years.

One case we may cite as an example. Mr. Kuber was a Jaldigardar of the Hyderabad State. On a Dasara holiday he took part in a proces-

sion, as is customary among the Hindus on this occasion. He was assailed by a Mohammedan who inflicted sword-cuts on his body and disabled him, causing grievous hurt. A case was brought and the assailant was ultimately acquitted. After this Mr. Kuber was shot dead in broad daylight in his village. Investigations began. The old assailant was suspected, but after some time the investigation seems to have been dropped and the crime remains undetected until to-day. Mr. Kuber was not an insignificant man. He was a rich landholder and was associated with an eminent family in Berar, one of whose representatives is a member of the Council of State. The murder of such a man, though committed in open daylight, goes undetected, and the criminal escapes with impunity. If this is the fate of a respectable citizen and a Jahgirdar, what likelihood is there that humbler folks can receive protection or justice?

The Nizam has been in the habit of confiscating Jahgirs and lands of his subjects. He has forcibly taken the property of adult persons who are neither minors nor under any disabilities, without any sufficient justification. A large number of such properties are now under the control and possession of the State authorities taken under the firmans issued by His Exalted Highness. The injury which this procedure has caused is irreparable and has ruined many families of respectability in the State. The members of the families who have been thus forcibly evicted from their estates are often on the brink of starvation and are dragging out a miserable existence. Only a month ago Nawab Rohim Nawaz Jung, a brother-in-law of the Nizam, was arrested by the Secunderabad authorities in execution of a decree against him. The Nawab was asked to show cause why he should not be put in civil jail for not paying the decreed amount. He pleaded poverty and said that his estate worth 20 lakhs a year, had all been confiscated by the Nizam and put in the hands of the Sadr-ul-Mohon of Pajhios (the department of the Court of Wards). These allegations against the Court of Wards are capable of proof without entailing any trouble or any great expense. If a commission of three independent judicial officers of the status of High Court Judges were appointed by the Government of India and if they investigated each case of forfeiture or dispossession through the Court of

Wards (which is similar to the Star Chamber of old), abundant evidence would be forthcoming of the rapacity, inequity and relentless oppression that prevails in the Hyderabad State. The seething discontent on this point cannot be assuaged without the appointment of such an independent commission.

The Government of India would be perfectly justified in interfering into the internal affairs of this State when such grave allegations are made. The policy of the Government of India under similar circumstances has been very lucidly stated by Sir William Lee Warner in the following words: "As regards the rulers of the States, they must remember that they cannot be of the empire and yet not of it. They cannot enjoy the privileges and ignore the responsibilities of the union. As members of the single political organism they owe allegiance to the union and must shoulder their share of the common burden. *They will save themselves from interference if they recognise their obligations for the preservation of their sovereignties against dismemberment and for the promotion of good Government and religious toleration, which the King's Government has undertaken.*"

IV.

We have stated above that the Nizam has confiscated property in a ruthless and high-handed manner. The gravity of this form of oppression may be demonstrated by citing a number of instances which speak for themselves. The *Daily Herald* of London published the story of Lady Vikar-ul-umra, the widow of Sir Vikar-ul-umra, who was at one time the Prime Minister to the Nizam. Since the accession to the throne of the present Nizam, this lady, who is the heir to the great wealth of her husband and a member of the Royal Family of Hyderabad, has, it is alleged, been kept in virtual internment in her own palace by order of His Exalted Highness for fear she may leave his territory and take away her extensive wealth with her. Her trusted servants are dismissed, and her relatives, even her grandsons, are not allowed to visit her. Inside her palace she is surrounded by a host of spies and eavesdroppers and outside it by cordons of police. She is not even allowed to go out for a drive. Her husband, who is a British subject, is not allowed to enter the Nizam's territory.

(2) Another glaring instance published in

the *Daily Herald* is that of Nawab Moinuddin Khan, the first cousin of the Nizam and the only son of Sir Asmanjah, a premier of the State. This young man is the richest noble of the State, and his landed property alone brings him an income of £300,000 a year. In addition to this he possesses a fine collection of jewels, the value of which runs into millions. All of a sudden his property was taken possession of by the Nizam and placed under an officer called the Controller. He is now deprived of all the comforts of life and placed in an old palace with his mother with an allowance of £3,000 a year.

(3) A third case is that of the Paigah Brothers. These three brothers are the foremost among the landed aristocracy of the State, possessing property which produces an annual income of about 24 lakhs. Their estates were taken possession of by the Nizam twelve years ago. The Paigahs, who are reduced to poverty, complained to the Nizam about this injustice. A Commission was appointed. Their case was defended by the late Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh. The Commission gave a verdict in their favour. The Nizam simply ignored the decision, and has continued the attachment to the present day. To add insult to injury, the brothers were fined Rs. 25,000 each without any justification and without even the formality of a trial.

(4) We should note also the treatment of property designated as *Alia Sultani*, or grants of property conferred on individuals for merit, or for services rendered to the State in the past. There are no rules of succession in the case of these estates, which are not a permanent freehold. They are not alienable and cannot be pursued by creditors in satisfaction of the debts of the holders. Orders are constantly issued at the arbitrary discretion of the Nizam to declare any piece of property free from liability to attachment, and thus great loss is caused to secured creditors. Judicial decrees are set at naught by firmans of the Nizam declaring such property to be inalienable. The absence of any rules or any specific legislation has caused intense hardship to many creditors who have advanced money on the security of such estates in the absence of any definite prohibition.

We have given these instances, which are typical of many others, in order to make clear the magnitude of the evil. They at least show unmistakably that the complaint of unjust deprivation of property by the Nizam is not

confined to Hindus or Mohammedans, to men or women, high or low. These complaints have been openly made. They have not so far been challenged or repudiated. There can be no doubt that they constitute a *prima facie* case for a Commission of Inquiry by an independent tribunal. Even if such complaints are found to be baseless it will put a stop to the widespread allegations which are being made openly in the Press, and this would certainly enhance the reputation of the Nizam. If, on the other hand, these complaints are proved to be true, and if the forfeitures, confiscations, resumptions and deprivations are found to be utterly unwarranted, it is the duty of the Paramount Power to protect the Nizam's subjects. The Nizam's government is one of personal rule, pure and simple. If he deprives his subjects of their legitimate inheritance or their vested rights of property, whom can they approach? If he had not been protected by the sovereign power of the British Government, the aggrieved parties would, doubtless, have squared their account with their rulers by an open revolt. The paramount power does not and cannot allow this. The pinch of despotism is thus doubly felt. One is forced to ask, who are protected, subjects or Prince? Does the protection extend to the misdeeds and high-handedness of the ruler? If this is its meaning, it is indeed protection with a vengeance. If, on the other hand, protection means guaranteeing good government to the subjects of an autocratic ruler and securing their welfare, is it not the supreme duty of the paramount power to interfere in the internal affairs of a State on behalf of its oppressed subjects?

"The policy of non-interference, which is correctly represented as the policy of 'stewing in their own juice', is calculated to lead in the long run to maladministration which compels an interference of a far more active kind, if not actual annexation". The truth of this pregnant remark, made by a shrewd writer as long as 1895, is fully borne out by the recent abdication at Indore. We trust that the Imperial Government will not shrink from interfering in time, and will secure justice to the Nizam's hapless subjects. Whatever may be said of other grievances, usurpation of property entails ruin not only upon individuals but upon whole families. The grievances which we have narrated above, being purely of a civil character, can be easily verified by a judicial inquiry.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA.

By LALA LAJPAT RAI.

I

The political situation in India is overhung by big and dark clouds. Firstly, we have the communal riots which have thrown everything else into the shade. The Viceroy has spoken, and considering his antecedents, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity and earnestness. Every one in England is agreed that he is an absolutely honest man, without any diplomatic bias, who does not lie, and does not use words to conceal his real thoughts. We may, therefore, take his utterance at its face value unless subsequent events give us any reason to change our opinion. Then we have the other members of the Government of India. Whatever may be our opinions about their politics or their political actions, we can safely hope that their policy will be more or less determined by the Viceroy's attitude.

Thus far we may safely go. Beyond this there is suspicion and distrust. The general Indian opinion tends to think that the present situation is the creation of the officials. We have helped it, we have aggravated it, but the original design and the hand that carried into action that design, was that of the foreigner. The Secretary of State for India, the late Viceroy, and the present Viceroy, all have said that the belief is entirely unwarranted and that the officials, all over India, are innocent of the charges brought against them as a class; that they are absolutely impartial in their action in the matter of Hindu-Muslim quarrels, and that they are actuated by the sole desire of maintaining the scales even and furthering the interests of India. No one can deny that individual officials have their own individual opinions. Some are biased in favour of the Muslims, some against them. So, the scales may be kept even by some siding with them in certain places and others showing bias in favour of the Hindus at other places. The Hindus believe that the whole officialdom is in conspiracy against them. They have some reason to think so. The Muslims complain of the conduct of

individual officials in certain places. They may also have reason for the complaint. (These remarks pertain to riots only and leave aside the wider question of 'the favourite wife' recently raised by Lord Olivier in the *Times*.)

The fact remains that the frequency, the intensity and the bitterness of these riots and quarrels have relieved the officials of a great deal of worry and anxiety that was caused them by the popularity of the non-co-operation movement. From their point of view the situation is not only safe but easy and favourable. They are quite happy and jubilant. They can now snap their fingers at all "malcontents" and "rebels." They can not only breathe freely, but can once more carry things in their own way. Of course, the frequency of these riots, the Government's failure to prevent them and to manage them as well as they would wish, raises fresh questions and causes them a certain amount of anxiety. But this anxiety is of a different kind. It does not threaten their supremacy or their Government. It presents an administrative problem. Having got rid of the real danger, they believe they will be able to manage this new situation to their satisfaction. We cannot say, we have no reason to say, that this bloodshed, mutual butchering etc., pleases anybody. It perhaps troubles a great many of them, but this trouble obviously is one of the kind for which they exist. It has always been a matter of pride with them to be able to manage 315 million Indians with so little friction and bloodshed and disorder and disturbance. The present trouble is only a passing phase. It will perhaps not last longer than 1929. It is possible it may grow, and if it grows so much as to be uncontrollable. Looked at from that view, the present situation may be serious even for the British Imperialist. But our masters are confident they will manage it quite in time.

This, then, is one way of looking at it. But there is another that concerns us most and at once. We have burnt our boats, deserted our

ship to the mercy of the waves, destroyed our light-houses and thrown our life-boats into the sea. We are out for letting nature work itself out. We are in, for measuring strength and building up power on the concrete foundation laid in the mortar of our own blood and bones. May we appeal for a pause to calculate our losses and gains? I put the losses first as they come first; they lie on the surface, can be seen with bare eyes and do not need much reckoning. The gains, on the other hand, are, after all, problematic, more or less imaginary to be calculated and then substantiated. Personally I approve of the Gandhi frame of mind. The more you talk of unity the more disunity it brings in its train. The thing cannot be settled by pacts or resolutions passed by Unity Conferences. The latter are absolutely useless unless there is change of heart on both sides. Are there any signs visible of such a change of heart? We may pause and consider. We may even quietly investigate and find out.

One thing is, however, clear, that the communal differences, political and economic in their nature and origin as I believe them to be, have for the present destroyed the political mind and deeply coloured the political horizon. The political outlook is not merely gloomy or dark; hope is simply *non est*. Of course, people still think in political terms, they talk and write of politics and they conduct political campaigns. But the whole thing is lifeless and spiritless. There is no reality behind. It is a mere shadow. There is no zest, no zeal, and no go in it. Our rulers have seen through the game, they have made up their minds about it and have no fears or anxieties on that score. The burden of their pronouncements, speeches and manifestoes is clear, unambiguous, unmistakable, "Nothing doing" sums up all. They have given up qualifying and speaking conditionally. They no longer say "if you do this, we will do that." They simply say, "we will do what we will do and do it when we like." There is no pretence at compromising, bargaining, cajoling or even concealing their real purpose behind diplomatic phrases or unmeaning words. What then should we do?

II

I have discussed above the political situation as affected by the communal tension. Let us now examine it from the purely political angle. I

do not propose to indulge in criticism of what has been done in the past. Self-analysis is the most difficult of all tasks which a person imposes on himself. It is a rare virtue. Even rarer is the courage to confess mistakes and admit failures due to one's own faults. Oftener than not even in the most righteous moods one is inclined only to make half-confessions. It injures one's dignity and wounds one's *amour propre* to say that what one had said or done, was or has turned out to be wrong. Criticism, specially when it is accompanied by vituperative or bitter language or contempt, is rarely welcomed. It will be no good, therefore, to review the past rather too critically. Yet it is impossible to look into the future clearly without removing the cobwebs which have been woven round the present by the past. I shall try to do it as lightly and inoffensively as I can.

The non-co-operation programme was a revolutionary programme. We were out to bring about a bloodless revolution. It is in the nature of revolutionary movements to be swift if they succeed or to bring reaction if they do not. The author of our programme fixed a period of twelve months for its fruition. He asked for country-wide sacrifices to make it a success. The idea was a noble one, nobly conceived and nobly supported by the country at large. Its critics characterised it as a mad scheme. All revolutionary schemes look like that. The support necessary to make it a success was not forthcoming. It failed but it left a mentality behind which made it extremely difficult for all concerned to recede and retire rapidly. Going back was, therefore, a slow process. In this process, too, one had at every step to reconsider the present plans with the principles and practices for which one had stood in the past. If the leaders had not tried to do so, the people would not have followed them. As it was, even the slow process was, of necessity, accompanied by a great deal of bitterness and travail arising out of clash of ideas, plans and practices. The first step backward was taken towards the end of 1922; we are now near the end of 1926.

These four years have witnessed many changes. Much water has passed under the bridges. What is the present position? We have parties in the political field which about most matters think alike and act alike, yet quarrel and keep up their differences. The

mentality behind these thoughts and acts does somewhat differ. The outlook also perhaps is a little different, but otherwise their differences are really not very substantial. At every step one has to ask: what will our friends say? how will our enemies react? how shall we reconcile this with what was said on such and such occasion? All this makes the process of reconstruction and readjustment slow, tedious and difficult. In the case of other nations, this might not have mattered much. But in our case it tells materially on the progress we would otherwise make in the task of nation-building. I am one of those who believe that failures and mistakes also play their part in nation-building. Sometimes failures are more important and more effective than transitory or meteoric successes. What is, however, needed, is clarity of thought and sanity of judgment. We are in the throes of a great crisis. I wonder if the present crisis can be compared with anything that happened before in the life-time of the oldest of us. Under the circumstances it behoves us to think and act nationally. Unfortunately the communal canker prevents our doing so. But that is not all. Even politically we are not thinking and acting nationally. Oftener than not party comes before the nation; the past raises its ghost's head and paralyses our thought and action in the present. In the name and for the sake of consistency we hesitate to go where our present instincts and needs and thoughts lead us. On one side the bogey of constitutional agitation, the desire for respectability keeps us enthralled; on the other, the ghost of non-co-operation with all its conventions and implications follows us even in our dreams. We keep on shifting between co-operation, non co-operation and responsive co-operation.

In our best moments we think and act alike. When Pandit Motilal was asked to join the Sken Committee, he instinctively did the right thing. When Mr. Jayakar was offered the High Court Judgeship, he also instinctively did the right thing. When Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya saw that the best interests of the cause demanded civil disobedience, he instinctively did the right thing in defying the Bengal Magistrate's foolish and illegal order. Why then this constant party war and this unending bitterness? There are of course reasons—good or bad—for it. Every time an attempt is made for unity, these reasons are dressed up and

made to appear in formidable array. The real culprit, however, is the fear of the past. The general public are apt to look with suspicion and distrust on those who seem to be acting contrary to what they once preached. The changes in the circumstances that have taken place matter little to them; but the word that was once uttered stands up on all occasions and is produced as a witness.

Gandhiji was invited by the Governor of Bombay to see him in connection with the Agricultural Commission. He accepted the invitation and went. His followers, however, demanded an explanation. They forgot that Gandhiji had acted similarly in 1921, when non-co-operation was in full swing. The convention of not seeking interviews with high officials and not seeing them is good under certain circumstances and for certain persons. It cannot be maintained under all circumstances and by all persons. The convention is dictated by the desire to keep public life pure, and free from the taint of seeking favours and using opportunities for personal ends. But surely there must be some in the country who could be trusted implicitly; who are above temptations and can be expected not to play false for any price. True, even the best may fall. But that risk has to be taken. If men can meet for social amenities, why should they not seek and meet each other for private conversations on public matters?

But in matters of this kind logic plays a lesser part than feelings. And feelings cannot be injured with impunity. Leaders cannot act as they please, they must not appear to tread on the shoes of their followers. Here again the past stands up to paralyse the present and the future. In my humble judgment the time has come to get out of this circle. The past has to be wiped out so far as it is a bar to effective thought and action in the present. Let us think and act in the present and for the future, taking only such guidance from the past as is absolutely necessary. August 1926, is not the August of 1920; much less is it the August of 1921. The policies and plans laid down in the Augusts of 1920 and 1921 were the best in our judgment for that time. The times and circumstances have changed. We ourselves have much changed. The points of view have changed. The outlook is changed. What then is the use of allowing the present to be

paralysed by August 1920 and August 1921? Let us make a fresh start.

In the name of our sacred cause and for the sake of the country, let us not allow our thinking to be dominated by the old phraseology; if necessary we may replace it by a new one. Co-operation has failed; non-co-operation has gone; responsive co-operation dictates co-operation if there is a response from the Government; but what if the Government does not respond? Are we to sit silent and do nothing? Even 'non-co-operation,' it may be said, cannot sensibly be interpreted to dictate non-co-operation even if there is the desired change in the attitude of our rulers. The only formula that appears to me to be sound is 'the best interests of the nation as they appear to our joint wisdom at the time of decision.' Self-government or freedom of the country from foreign bureaucratic rule is our goal. Nation-building in all the departments of national life, however slow and tedious, is our weapon.

It is also true that you cannot build the nation on the lines you desire unless you secure the freedom to do so by Swaraj. At every step the will to be free is opposed by the Government's will to resist. Progress is necessarily chequered and slow: convinced of this Gandhiji made a supreme effort. By this time that attempt has failed. But failure is the base upon which we must build up the future. The nation was not up to mark. It was not strong enough for the attempt. It was not as efficient as it ought to have been to make the attempt successful. Very well we now know at least that. Knowing that and also knowing that every attempt to be strong and efficient will be resisted and obstructed, what are we to do? Are we to give up the struggle? The Swaraj we want cannot be had for the asking. The communal tension has further reduced the quantity and the quality of the pressure that is necessary to be brought on our rulers to make them concede our demands. The *raison d'être* for the offer of a round-table conference that existed in 1921, has disappeared. The Assembly resolutions of 1924 and 1925, have fallen flat. Even a Royal Commission will not be appointed before 1929. (But one may question whether this is the time to demand a Royal Commission or to insist on it.) What then are our political efforts to be directed to? Some may say, leave the Councils and busy

yourself with "constructive work". But where is the constructive work? and which of the political parties has hitherto shown any aptitude for it? Who is to do it? and where is the money for it? What is the programme? What about the Legislatures? You cannot close them; you cannot control them. You can to a certain extent watch and check them. To some extent you can even use them. They can do a lot of mischief and positive harm if you leave them alone. What then should our line of action be?

III

After I had written so far, I happened to read a book on Parnell only recently published in England. (*Parnell in Real Life*. By Wm. O'Brien. T. Fisher Unwin, London) Parnell was one of the greatest nation-builders of modern Europe. In an article written towards the end of 1925, the London *Times* characterised him as one of the three outstanding figures of the Victorian era, two others being Gladstone and Gordon, thereby fulfilling a prophecy which Parnell himself had made about the general attitude of British publicists towards Irish Nationalist leaders. "In the opinion of English statesmen," said Parnell, "no man is good in Ireland until he is dead and buried and is unable to strike a blow for Ireland; perhaps the day may come when I may get a good word from English statesmen as a moderate man—after I am dead and buried."

That is, however, by the way. The problem of Ireland in a way was very similar to that of India; though it must never be ignored that no two countries, no two problems and no two epochs of history can ever be exactly similar. Complete historical analogy is thus out of question. The Indian Nationalist has learnt a great deal from the history of Irish Nationalism, imitating it or following it even in some of its ghastly phases. We have tried almost everything which the Irish Nationalists tried in their attempt to get free of England, except organised rebellion. Under Parnell's leadership, the British Parliament witnessed the greatest obstructionist policy ever carried on with deliberate and set purpose of obstruction and with greater success than by any one else in the history of British Parliament. Yet obstruction for the sake of obstruction was not

a fad with him. What his biographer now tells us about his methods, confirm this conclusion. Says Mr. William O'Brien:—

Parnell's policy was neither "constitutional" nor "unconstitutional," but a judicious combination of the two. The morality of an alliance with the Russia of the Penjdeh days, and of an alliance with the English Whigs or Tories was equally indisputable in his eyes, as the one or the other was for the moment the best weapon at Ireland's hand. "Policy," "Party" or "methods" "old" or "new"—were not ends in themselves, but varying and shifting conditions towards the one paramount end—which was the happiness of a Free Ireland, and not merely of Ireland and poetical abstraction, but of the concrete men and women of Ireland as they live and move in a common country delimited by God's own hands. Whatever is best for Ireland at a given time—be it "moderate" or "extreme"—is best for her statesmen. That was his supreme moral and constitutional test, and although right or wrong did not change, methods did, as inevitably as the generations of men or their weapons from the stone hatchets to the latest thing in big guns.

"He asserted, as he felt, Ireland's plenary rights as a nation, but implied no less surely a "march of the nation" from the actual to the ideal which could be hastened or impeded as the existing generation exercised their understanding and described their duty aright. He troubled himself not at all with any pretensions of England to mark out boundaries to the evolution of the Irish Nation; it was for him a question not of what Ireland "would" but what Ireland "could" in one generation's short day and according to her lights and opportunities for the moment. His business was to realise, not to prate, and for living men, not . . . a hazy perfectibility."

The Italics in the above are mine. I would like my countrymen to read and digest these words very carefully. To the "Constitutionalists" I offer the following quotations from the same book—

To be "constitutional," the first postulate is a "constitution" and Ireland has none. (The Indian constitutionalist might change India for Ireland and then the analogy becomes complete.) "He practised obstruction not at all as perhaps Biggar largely did, for the joyous impishness of the thing, but with a very far

drawn purpose, nor did he countenance Boycotting without a keen disgust for its sordid side. They were the latest things in war inventions, and war inventions do not tend to be nicely humane."

Again:—The two master keys to Parnell's success were obstruction in Parliament and Boycott in Ireland. Both were frankly "unconstitutional," both were violently abused at the start, and both have imposed themselves on the world—Parliamentary obstruction as the unbloody weapon of every minority struggling to be free, and Boycotting in substitution for armaments as the real sanction of President Wilson's League of Nations.

Again:—"How is a man to learn rules of the House of Commons," once asked one of Parnell's recruits. "By breaking them," was the answer.

Parnell never made a disguise of the foundational tenets of Irish agitation, 'that the only way of winning good laws was by breaking bad ones.' 'Politics was not an infallible revelation, nor even a science, but a high game of skill with a people's happiness for the stake.' Parnell "regarded with contempt any pretension to set up this or that particular bogey of freeing Ireland as a divine dogma." He changed from time to time, from tactics to tactics, from scheme to scheme; as the exigencies of the moment demanded, with the one object of gaining his goal. Considerations of space forbid my entering into details, but I must give one or two further quotations, because they are so very germane to our situation and are likely to be useful in setting right the present condition of change in our political fight:

Parnell had no fads, and scarcely any preferences, as to methods. So long as the old mad Rules or rulelessness made it still possible for Joe Biggar to turn the Prince of Wales out of his seat over the clock to entertain some Irish lady friends of his, Parnell devoted himself to the Platonic mysteries of Obstruction with the fanaticism of a man of one idea. But no sooner was that diamond mine worked out, and Joe Biggar forced to look for other entertainment his great master or (as some thought at the time) pupil in Obstruction turned out of the stupendous popular forces precipitated, as the chemists say, by the Land League of Devoy and Davitt. When the Land League's sentence of death came, he turned to the No-Rent

Manifesto. When that in turn had run its day, he calmly addressed himself to negotiations with his jailers, and by his Kilmainham Treaty emerged with the most amazing paper of concessions ever wrung from an Imperial Government by its prisoner—concessions which but for the tragedy in the Phoenix Park, must have blossomed into Home Rule a generation ago. Those who found in the Kilmainham Treaty a capitulation rather than a triumph would have repented in sackcloth and ashes had they only been aware of the state of facts in which Parnell had to work his miracle. When the Phoenix Park tragedy hurled him from the heights, Sisyphus set himself doggedly, although with a heavy heart, to roll up the stone again from the bottom. The field of active conflict with the law in Ireland, he had the candour to own, was closed to him as had been the field of conflict with the rules of Parliament. He satisfied himself that the work of prolonging in Ireland the deathless war with the oppressor—for the moment the most urgent, indeed the indispensable—might safely be left to younger or more fire-eyed enthusiasts; he himself soared placidly away to his eyrie on the cedar-top at Westminster to await his luck, and it soon came in the Household Suffrage Bill of 1884, which had only to be extended to the "mud cabin vote" in Ireland, as he speedily made sure it must, to revolutionise the situation from top to bottom and deprive England of any pretence of an alternative between governing Ireland as a Crown Colony or yielding to the all but unanimous claim of her representatives. Opportunism all, the purists who refuse to let their foot rest on this too, too solid earth will say; but opportunism not of the knavish politician, but of the patriot of genius who seizes the propitious hour for an advance for his disarmed nation, making quite sure it is an advance, whenever the next propitious moment arrives. The old Gaelic proverb "If you are weak, it is no harm to be cunning"—is of the essence of wisdom for a nation that cannot choose its weapons, and Parnell never offered any excuse for practising it.

To the extremists I will present the following: "Warned by the history of the past, we know that we must fight this battle within the limits of the Constitution (meaning thereby the Constitution of England). We shall not permit ourselves for an instant to be tempted beyond our strength." (The italics are mine.)

To those impatient idealists who would not use the Legislature, because it does not give them all that they want, I will present the following extract from one of Parnell's speeches about the Irish Land Act:—

Old Gladstone would think it the prettiest compliment paid to his Bill, that it will in a few months extinguish the Land League. The Irish farmer is not such a goose. You might as well think of putting out a fire by pouring paraffin oil on it. This Act won't settle the question. Of course it won't. It proposes to unsettle it every fifteen years, whether we like or no. But so far it works, it can only help the farmers. It will bankrupt one-third of the landlords, which is more than any No-Rent Campaign of ours could do, and it will make the rest only too happy to be purchased out as an escape from the lawyers. It does not abolish landlordism, but it will make Landlordism intolerable for the landlords. There is the Act, and you have either to lay hold of it or others will, and crash you. That is the only blunder that could damage the League. Irishmen have a bad habit of talking big, but they are very much obliged to you for not taking them at their word. If we had rejected this Bill, the farmers of England would very properly have chased us out of the country. If we were not to make the best of it now, the only effect would be that it would be used in spite of us but that the landlords would get off with half the reductions we can, judicious handling, knock out of these Land Commissioners."

IV.

In the light of observations made by me in the first two sections and the quotations given in the third, I would beg of the political leaders of India to come to an understanding as to the actual work to be done in the next three years, until the coming of the Royal Commission for an examination of the working of the "Constitution." Are we, or are we not agreed that the next three years are very important in the political history of our country? I think they may to a considerable extent determine our future. But we have first to find out the items of work about which there is no difference either between Swarajists and non-Swarajists, or between Hindus and Muslims. Let us see what these items can be.

(1) All of us, I suppose, are agreed that the Army should be Indianised as soon as is possible. There can be no real Swaraj without an Indian Army manned and officered almost exclusively by Indians. In 'Army' I am including all that is needed for the defence of the country—navy, air force, and the manufacture of all kinds of arms and ammunition. The Government experts have told us off and on that this cannot be done within our lifetime. We cannot accept their statements and declarations as final. The Sken Committee will have to say something on the subject. It is a pity, and a great pity, that Pandit Moti Lal shall not be in a position to put on record his views on the subject. It was instinctively the right thing for him to accept a seat on that Committee, and it was extremely unfortunate that the sensitiveness of those who are wedded to words and phrases, forms and formulae, should have in a way compelled him to resign that seat. Those who congratulated him on that step did not count the cost. They were too short-sighted to understand and realise the value of a Moti Lal on that Committee as one who should have taken part in studying the question in various countries of the world and in writing its final Report. We have lost that chance. There are men on the Committee, however, who are expected to rise equal to the occasion and place on record their real thoughts and sentiments about the steps that are necessary to be taken to Indianise the Indian Army within a reasonable period of time. The policy of the Government of India in the Indianisation of the Army will really be the acid test of their sincerity to eventually see us as a self-governed dominion. A united and a firm stand in the matter is absolutely necessary. And if I have read the people's mind aright there are no differences here among the different sections of our people. There are no political or communal divisions about it. In the other services of the State, the Muslims believe they had not a good start. Here they are already occupying a position of advantage and no Hindu grudges them that position. This then is pre-eminently a question on which we all feel alike and relating to which we should take a firm and united stand. The Report of the Sken Committee will be out before the year is ended and the Assembly will have to record its vote on it in January or February.

(2) Next in importance is the question of

Finance. Give us the Army and the freedom to lay down the country's fiscal and currency policy, and Swaraj is achieved. Sound finance depends on a sound currency system. The value of a country's coins in the international market determines its solvency. On it depends its industrial and economic prosperity. The Currency Commission's Report is out, and one of our distinguished countrymen (Sir Purshottandas Thakurdas) has not agreed with the majority on two important matters—the rate of exchange and the question of a new Reserve Bank. The country has to make up its mind as to whether it will adopt the Report of the majority or support the Note of Dissent. The question is an extremely ticklish one. It cannot be handled by demagogues or amateurs. A thoughtful debate will be needed to safeguard the country's interests, and the best expert talent of the nation will be needed to meet the best expert talent on the other side. We are not barren of this talent, but it is not confined to any particular party. It must be sought for and placed in a position in the Assembly to take care of the interests of the country. It will not do to have one or two only to lead and the rest to follow by "ayes" or "noes."

(3) Then there is a third question which is likely to come up before the next Assembly. It will be the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. We do not know what that Commission is likely to do. Its terms of reference are extremely narrow; its constitution extremely unsatisfactory, yet whatever its report, it can make or mar the future of our agricultural industry. Agriculture is our principal industry. More than four-fifths of our population live on it. While it is absolutely necessary that manufactures should be encouraged and developed and the country should not be left to depend exclusively on agriculture, it is equally necessary that agriculture be not neglected and that this prime industry of our country should receive all the advantages which agriculture in other countries—in U. S. A., in Canada, in Russia, in Brazil, in Argentine, in Australia—is receiving from the discoveries and inventions of modern science. We do not want to let our raw produce go to other countries for being manufactured there to such a large extent, but at the same time we do not want and cannot afford to import raw produce of other countries because

it is better in quality and more suitable for manufacturers.

There are other questions too which require the immediate attention of our Legislators, nay of all public men. Several of them are such as deserve to be placed on the topmost shelf in the cupboard of a nation's problems. They must be looked to first, even before we can have a good army and a sound fiscal system. They are education, health and labour. All these matters are very much inter-dependent. They are tied up, one with the other, one telling on the other.

(4) The problem of education has many sides. First, there is the question of Compulsory Primary Education with its necessary offshoots—the questions of time, period and curriculum. How to make it useful and creative, so that it may help us in adding to the physical, intellectual, occupational and economic efficiency of the nation. The present system is bad. It is inadequate, wasteful, even harmful in certain respects and one-sided. It must be changed. Then there is the question of secondary education, big with similar issues, also that of University education with its growing army of inefficient, half-educated, sickly and exhausted B.A.'s and M.A.'s. It is nothing but stupidity of vanity that leads us on to add to their numbers by establishing more and more Arts Colleges, official and non-official. How to turn the tide and what to substitute for it, is one of the greatest problems of the day. What to do with our boys, and how to bring education home to our girls, are questions which haunt every thinking patriot even in slumbers. They rob him of his sleep and rest. In our own amateurish way we have tried several experiments, the last one being a part of our non-co-operation programme. A big "P" is written on all these attempts. We have multiplied the troubles of our youths, without doing much good and bringing much relief. Our best private colleges still glory in the number of their "passes" in the Matriculation, F.A. and B.A. and Honours courses. Their great pride is in the number of scholarships won by their scholars. They never give a thought as to what these scholarly boys will do after they have finished their college courses. Their one idea is to let them pass with distinction—and then the deluge! But the worst of it is that when some of these colleges do make a provision for a different kind of education, the

boys do not take to it, and the attempt has to be abandoned in disgust. What is the reason? Have we done sufficient propaganda to educate the parents, who, after all, are responsible to a great extent as to what their boys should study? We have prated a great deal about national education, we have talked of it *ad nauseum*. But in practice the only idea of national education we have given to the people is that of an education in institutions not conducted or managed or aided by the Government and not affiliated to the Universities. National education has so far meant education in inferiorly manned, inferiorly equipped, inadequately financed and inefficiently managed institutions. Some of our best men—best from the point of view of intellect as well as of character—have sacrificed themselves at the altar of national education. They have given up brilliant careers and promising prospects for the sake of national service in this line. But with what result? To be stranded today for bread and butter and to find their pupils also adding to the list of the educated unemployed. Some years ago, on my return from America, I said that there could be no national education without a national state. It is true today as it was then. We have attempted and failed. We have experimented without any success. We shall never have a sound, and efficient and satisfying system of education unless we have a national State; but, in the meantime, we need not boycott the opportunities that may be available to influence the State (non-national as it is) to provide for a better and a more satisfying education. I am of opinion that in this respect our conduct during the last five years has been criminal. It is true that some of us may prefer to see our people remain uneducated rather than get the demoralising and unsatisfying education they at present receive in State-aided and State-managed and University-affiliated institutions. But that practically leads nowhere. People will not boycott schools and colleges. Very well, then, why not do the best you can to improve them.

The problem of the unemployment of our educated young men is an immediate problem. The Government is rather indifferent to it. It still continues to import skilled labour from the British Isles. They think our boys are not efficient or not so good as those they import. We deny the charge. But even if there be some element of truth in it, who is responsible

for this state of things? Whose fault is that? Surely, not of the boys or parents. The responsibility is mainly, if not exclusively, of the State which does not make a proper provision for them. The parents sometimes sell their patrimony, involve themselves in debt, give away all they have, sacrifice their own health and comfort in order to give their children the best education. They tear them in tender years from their bosom and send them to far-off lands and climes and societies—strange

lands, strange societies, strange environments, strange and strong temptations. They even run the risk of losing them for ever. Yet when they come back, what do they find? that all the prizes of life are reserved for others. They cannot even get the bare means of subsistence unless they humiliate themselves and bargain to an extent and in a manner that unmans them and unfits them totally for the service of their people.

MR. F. W. PETHICK-LAWRENCE: THE LABOUR M. P. IN INDIA.

Frederick William Pethick-Lawrence who with his wife is now on a visit to India is best known for his vigorous advocacy of Woman Suffrage, and for his active association with Labour and internationalism.

Born in December, 1871, he went to Eton in 1885 and in January, 1891 became Captain of the Oppidans. From there he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and became "Fourth Wrangler" in 1894. He also obtained a first class in Natural Science in 1895 and was awarded the second "Smith's Prize" for Mathematics in 1896 and the Adam-Smith prize for an essay on "Local Variations in Wages" in 1897. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was also President of the Cambridge Union Debating Society in 1896, and played billiards for the University in the match against Oxford.

After leaving Cambridge, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence made a tour of the world. He visited India twenty-seven years ago and proceeded to Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, and the United States. On his return to England he took up his residence at Mansfield House, the well-known University Settlement in Canning Town, and devoted himself to the study of Labour conditions. For two years he took an active part in the life of the Settlement in every field. Having been

called to the Bar in 1899, he sometimes sat as "poor Man's Lawyer" to give legal advice to all who applied for it. He also assisted the Settlement Work by financial help, particularly in the building of the Boy's Club and a Women's Hospital. In 1900 he was appointed as Dunkin Professor at Manchester College, Oxford and lectured there during the year on social questions. He also contributed an essay on "Housing" to a book entitled "The Heart of the Empire" put together by a number of Cambridge men. In that essay he sketched out the policy of town planning, a policy which has since received official recognition and support.

Meanwhile he had been elected as the Unionist candidate for North Lambeth, but after a full study of the South African problem and a visit to that country, he found himself in opposition to the views of the Unionist Party and retired from the candidature. He became associated with Miss Emily Hobhouse in exposing the scandals of the concentration camps for women and children in South Africa and served as Honorary Secretary of the South African Women's and Children's Distress Fund.

In 1901 Mr. Pethick-Lawrence obtained a controlling interest in the London Evening Paper, the *Echo*, and a little later became the editor himself. He took a leading part in opposing Chinese Labour in the South African mines, and in resisting tariff reform. When

the new Labour Party was formed he threw in his lot with it and gave to it the support of the *Echo* alone among London daily journals. When the paper was wound up in 1905, he paid the creditors himself and gave to the staff out of his own pocket two or three months' salary in view of the abrupt termination of their agreements. From 1904 to 1908 he was joint editor of the "Reformers' Year Book." From 1905 to 1907 he was the editor of "The Labour Record and Review." At the 1906 election he had one or two offers of safe Liberal seats but refused to consider them on the ground of his adherence to the Labour Party. About this time he became a member of the I. L. P.

Meanwhile, in 1901 he had married Emmeline Pethick, the President of the Esperance Working Girls' Club which is well known for its production of the Old English songs and Morrisish Dances. The Wedding took place in the public Hall, Canning Town, and was attended by the men of the Mausfield House Men's Club, the old Women of St. Banoras Workhouse and Mr. Lloyd George, then a radical M. P. best known for his opposition to the Boer War.

When the new movement among women found an expression in 1906 Mr. and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence identified themselves with the militant party. Among many activities in connection with the W. S. P. U. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence organised the monster demonstration in Hyde Park in 1908 and founded and edited the paper "Votes for Women." He also wrote the book "Women's Fight for the Vote." In 1912 he was prosecuted for conspiracy in connection with one of the militant demonstrations. The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty" adding a rider referring to the "purity of motive" of the defendant. He was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment and ordered to pay the cost of the prosecution. He was transferred to the first division in prison after an international petition. He adopted the hunger in sympathy with other suffrage prisoners who were not given first division treatment. He was forcibly fed for six days and released. On his continued refusal to pay the Government cost of the prosecution his house was sold up and he was made bankrupt, his bankruptcy being subsequently annulled. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence disagreed with the subsequent change of policy of the W. S. P. U. to more violent methods and together with his wife severed his connection

with Mrs. Pankhurst continuing to edit the paper "Votes for Women" and to take part in the Women Suffrage Movement until the outbreak of the great war.

Since then Mr. Pethick-Lawrence has devoted himself to the Labour Movement and to International questions. He became Hon. Treasurer of the Union of Democratic Control in 1915 and spoke in favour of the principles of the Union at several meetings, in some cases receiving violent treatment from an organised opposition. In April, 1917 he contested unsuccessfully the constituency of South Aberdeen on behalf of a policy of peace by negotiation.

In 1918 he wrote a book advising a levy on Capital as a means of getting rid of the war debt. His policy was subsequently adopted by the Labour Party at the general election and is on their programme to-day. The Labour Party also adopted the proposal for pensions for widowed others brought to their attention by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence has written books on "Local Variation in Wages", "Women's Fight for the Vote", "A Levy on Capital", "Why Prices Rise and Fall", "Unemployment", "The National Debt", and many pamphlets on social, economic, international and women's questions. He is well-known as a lecturer of the Independent Labour Party and other bodies all over the country. He is a member of the Royal Statistical Society, and of the Royal Aero Club and 1917 Club. He has made a special study of the currency question and was the principal opponent of the time and method of reintroduction of gold standard in England in 1924. During his stay in India he makes a study of the main facts of the currency proceedings.

At the general election in November 1923 Mr. Pethick-Lawrence contested South Islington as a Labour candidate, the result being Conservative 7877, Liberal 6352, Labour 6634. In December 1923 he fought West Leicester having as his Liberal opponent Mr. Winston Churchill. The result which excited considerable interest in the country was as follows:—

F. W. Pethick-Lawrence (Labour)	13,624
Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (Liberal)	9,236
A. Instone (Conservative)	7,606

In the general election October 1924 Mr. Pethick-Lawrence had to face a "pact" between Liberals and Conservatives who agreed to put up a single candidate him in the form of

Professor Gerothwohl. The result was as follows:—

F. W. Pethick-Lawrence (Labour)	16,047
Prof. Gerothwohl (Liberal)	15,310

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence is a keen lawn tennis player and billiards player and has won many prizes in Lawn tennis tournaments.

Shortly before leaving for India a few weeks

ago he and his wife celebrated their Silver Wedding. At a dinner given in their honour messages were received from Mr. Ramsey MacDonald, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bernard Shaw.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence has many friends in India both among his own countrymen and among Indians.

A REJOINDER ON SEYAR-UL-MUSANNIFIN: A COMMUNICATION.

By MR. MOHD. YAHYA TANHA, B.A., LL.B.

In a review of my book 'Seyar-ul-Musannifin' published in the July number of the *Hindustan Review*, the reviewer has been kind enough to commend it as a first attempt in breaking new ground, but he has laid two charges against me, viz., (1) I have not acknowledged the books from which I have taken quotations, and (2) that I have not properly collected and sifted my material. I trust you will permit me to defend myself.

As to the first charge I will only say that a glance at pp. 35, 88 and 182 of my book will clearly show that I have freely acknowledged both *Ab-i-Hayat* and *Yadgar-i-Ghalib* respectively. Of course, I have not followed the English method of Research Scholars in giving references to pages and lines in footnotes as I did not think the method suitable to Urdu writings. So far as 'Ghalib' goes I have compressed 300 pages of his *Yadgar* into about 30 pages and naturally although many words must be the same I could not copy out pages after pages. But for these books I am afraid we would have been the losers of much important and standard material.

I intend to give a bibliography of books consulted with the second volume which will

show the material used by me. As to the amount of material available I believe it will be freely acknowledged that material is conspicuous by its absence. Good libraries of Urdu are far to seek. It would be a grand day for Urdu if the same amount of material were available as in English. Not only this, but I have not received even the help I begged for. For instance, I asked M. Inayat-Ullah, the son of Moulvi Zaka-Ullah, Shamsul Ulema, for material for his distinguished father's life but was met by a blunt refusal. The late Pandit Brij Narain Chakbast was approached for help in regard to Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar's life but in vain. Instances could be multiplied.

As to the sifting of material, of course, the public is the best judge. But I would be under a great debt of gratitude to any gentleman, who could help me in getting sufficient material. The next volume will contain the third period from 1857 to 1914 and I would like to do my utmost to make it above reproach.

MOHD. YAHYA TANHA B.A., LL.B.,
Pleader.

Ghaziabad.

A KASHMIRI BOAT SONG.

By ADI K. SETT.

O row, brothers, row—row us to the Dal,
 Through the swaying iris, the ivory lilies and the mohars lal.
 O row, brothers, row—row us on the waters of the Dal,
 Towards the tremulous lotus and Nishat's latticed mahal.

Speed, O softly speed, my doonga,
 Yonder to the lotus, pale pink and shimmering white,
 Whose choking scent bewilders the beautiful Fatima
 And who flash and sway in the pale moonlight.

Softly, softly to the gardens of the noble Nishat we glide,
 O thou! Nishat! with thy wondrous flowers of all hues,
 And thy latticed mahal, purple and white, where once Jehangir's Vizier did abide,
 With thy perfumed blossoms of reds and golds and blues!

Sweet Shalimar! we come to thee, to hear the vague whispers that thy whispering
waters make!
 In thy frescoed pavilions and marbled halls, all shimmering and pale white,
 Lovers sit and enraptured with love's sweet song, they fiery kisses give and take
 On this night of love and life, this night of the pale moonlight.

Turn ye, O brothers, to Akbar's old fort,
 Looming o'erhead like a ghost,
 Thy watch-towers are empty, thy caverns reek with dirt, O Hari Prabat!
 Thy mosaiced arches, carved, are broken and all thy splendour lost.

O row, brothers, row us back to Srinagar town,
 Swiftly, to the ghats, swiftly speed, my doonga,
 Where the ziharets and the temples, side by side abound,
 Gently, gently, dance on the Jhelum waters, O my doonga!

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

A PICTURE ALBUM OF JAHANGIR.*

By MR. N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

A lucky accident has been responsible for the discovery of 'an important monument of Indian miniature painting' which appears to have come to the Prussian library at Berlin during the sixties of the last century from the collection of Heinrich Brugsch Pasha who acquired it in Persia. The album was briefly noticed by Weber in 1868 and thereafter lay ignored in the map department of the library till the present day. How such a precious portfolio of 25 pages migrated to Persia, can only be conjectured. The pictures appear to have been put together between 1600 and 1618 and it was in 1618 that Mirza Barkuhdar 'Alam headed the Moghul embassy to the court of Iran. Bishan Das the celebrated painter was also sent with him to take the likenesses of Shah Abbas and his family. Is it possible that the album was one of the gifts of Jahangir to his royal brother the king of Iran through the envoy Khan 'Alam? Whatever may have been its vicissitudes during its history of over three centuries, it is now without doubt the most precious portfolio of Indian pictures in German possession.

The peculiar value of the album consists in the magnificent series of border pictures painted on a gold back-ground, which are absolutely unique in their perfection. Gold painting for border-decoration was first introduced in Western Turkistan during the fifteenth century as an embellishment for costly Mss. written by famous calligraphists of the age. The fashion spread from Bokhara to Persia and from there to the Moghul Court. Not infrequently the marginal decoration and mounting of the picture were the work of two or more hands and it is known that several artists such as Daulat the elder specialised in this art only during the time of Akbar and thereafter. To such a pitch

of perfection was this art brought that often the central picture was altogether overshadowed by the gorgeous work of the calligraphist, the illuminator and the mounter. There are many illustrations of this in the album of Jahangir which are splendidly reproduced in the *Indian Book Painting*. "The landscape work in gold Indian ink serves merely as a background for figure compositions of extraordinary complexity, taken partly from life, partly invented, or conventionalised from foreign pictures. From a technical point of view it is important to remember that the master to whom these subjects were given, first sketched them lightly on to the empty border in carefully spaced distribution. The trees, bushes, and rocks, obviously subordinate, were added by the illuminator, and brought into connection with the figures in the foreground, and only then the colouring of the latter was brought to completion." Face and hands are worked up to the highest individuality in skilful and varying shades of flesh-tints. The range of subjects of these marginal paintings is as extensive as the superb versatility of the artists themselves. Hunting scenes, artists polishing paper and actually engaged in painting, duets, music parties, modest picnics in the woods, visits to pious hermits, gaily-coloured birds, spirited scenes from animal life, duels—are all there. A good many of the border paintings are by Govardhan—one of the masters who worked during the reign of Jahangir and his successor. 'Large prominent single figures are outlined in light colours on a thin gold background. The faces are not always carefully drawn, and never shaded, while occasionally European subjects freely adapted from engravings are interspersed.' Some of the birds and animal studies may be by Ustad Mansur, Manoshahr, Muhammad Nadir and Manohar. The most interesting are, however, the plagiarisms or adaptations from European engravings specially of Albert Dürer copies of which were brought by the Jesuits to the Moghul Court. A good many of the hunting scenes were borrowed from Flemish pictures. While the principal interest of the artists was in Christian theology, they did not

**Indian Book Painting*. By K. Kühnel and H. Goetz. (Published by arrangement with the Pioneer).

confine themselves merely to the pictorial presentation of biblical stories. They borrowed their material from the engravings which were then fashionable at the Moghul Court. The true nature of the engravings, however, does not seem to have been properly understood, for the proofs of them were treated not as prints but as original designs worthy of border decoration by the foremost Moghul painters of the day and of a place alongside their original creations in the same album. But it is all the same a testimony to their taste that they should have chosen for imitation the work of master like Albert Dürer: 'to whom things came as visions' and whose natural language was the language of symbolism. In the words of Sir Frederic Wedmore 'to live with Dürer's prints... is to live with the work of the finest intellects and of the most amply trained hands.' Most of the prints in the album belong to 'the Antwerp school which was at the height of its productiveness towards the end of the sixteenth century and spread its engravings broadcast.' The frequency as well as the general high standard of technical achievement with which the subjects of Christian theology have been treated, are an index of the briskness of exchange of Indian and European standards of art during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. It is now known that Jahangir went even so far as to decorate his father's tomb at Sikandra with Christian frescoes. Mauncci saw them shortly before their destruction by Aurangzeb who had them covered over with whitewash. The Venetian traveller noted that there was a "holy crucifix delineated on the wall, on the right hand of the crucifix the image of Our Lady with the infant Jesus in her arms, while on the left was Saint Ignatius, the whole delineated. In the ceiling of the dome were great angels and cherubin and many other painted figures. There were also many censers which were lighted every day..." The vein of mysticism was inherent in the princes of the Timurid dynasty and consequently we find the great Jalauddin Akbar requesting the Portuguese authorities at Goa in 1578 A.D.—four years before the proclamation of his own doctrine of Din-i-ilahi to send him 'some missionaries who shall bring with them holy books especially the gospels, which I earnestly desire to understand and from which I hope to gain the greatest comfort'. In 1590 he again wrote for more missionaries 'from those holy teachings, I hope

to be brought again from death unto life, as the Lord Jesus Christ came to earth from Heaven and made many from death unto life'. The third Jesuit mission headed by Geronimo Xavier was treated with such extraordinary courtesy that they were allowed a seat even on the imperial *masnad* or carpet which usually had only been occupied by the crown-prince and the emperor himself. Jahangir inherited his father's interest in Christianity and Father Guerreiro mentions in 1609 that "the King manifested always much love towards Christ our Lord. He would speak with great boldness in favour of the use of images, though they be very unpopular with the Moors. And so, on coming from Lahore, he found his palaces of Agra well decorated and painted over with sundry pictures, which had already been made, and others which were being executed, inside as well as outside in a *varanda* where he comes to sit daily to be seen by the people. Nearly all these paintings bore on sacred subjects; for on the ceiling and in the middle of it was painted an image of Christ our Lord, very artistically done, with a halo and a circle of Angels, and on the wall there were some saints in miniature, as St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, St. Bernardine, and others, as also some women Saints." "On each side of the window there are three of them, and above them, on the right, is painted Christ our Lord, holding the orb in his hand; to the left, the Virgin our Lady, copied in life size from the painting of Saint Luke. On the sides of these images are others of various saints placed as if in prayer. And, at the window where the king sits is made in the form of a niche, and painted all over, he had his two sons painted very richly in full length on the same wall. Above one of his sons is a miniature figure of Christ our Lord, and a Father of the Society with a book in his hand; above the other is seen the Virgin our Lady. Within the cavity of the niche are the pictures of St. Paul, St. Gregory, and St. Ambrose. It is a matter of much consolation to the Fathers when they are waiting there upon the king to recite their rosary before the image of the Virgin our Lady, and to commend themselves to Christ our Lord. Whenever the Moors see the pictures they are astonished, whereas the Fathers return many thanks to God seeing thus exposed to the public gaze, in the palace of an infidel king, the images of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin

our Lady, and of his Saints; for truly it looks more like the *varanda* of a pious and Catholic king than that of a Moor. In the interior of the palaces, the paintings which are on the walls of the halls and on the ceiling of them all, represent mysteries of Christ our Lord, and scenes from the acts of the Apostles, taken from their life, which the Fathers had given him, also St. Anne and Susanna, and various other stories. All this is designed by the king himself without anyone speaking to him about it. From the pictures which he has, he chooses himself the figures which are to be painted, enjoining on the painters to go and learn from the Fathers what colours they should use for the garments of each figure, and that they should not depart a little from what they tell them. This is a painful eyesore to the Moors. They are so averse to pictures that they do not suffer to be represented those of their own faith whom they look upon as saints, much less those of the Christian faith which they so much dislike. "The king had executed a large painting of Christ at the Pillar in imitation of a picture".

The miniature in the royal album of Jahangir will, therefore, form a part of the fashionable Christianity much affected by the royalty as a sort of a half serious comedy.

If the border paintings, though comprising a large variety of subjects, are principally from the brush of a few masters, the portraits represent all the phases of Moghul art from its beginning to its highest development. A couple of pictures betray the Persian influence. But the large majority are absolutely Indian. One of the most interesting portraits is that of Jām Jassā, one of the ancestors of the present Jām Ranjit Singhji of Jāmnagar. The portrait is signed *Shabih Jam Raqim Nadir-az-Zaman* and may be said to be the only authentic portrait by Abul Hasan Nadir-az-Zaman, whom Jahangir regarded as the foremost painter of his court. A couple of pictures are from the brush of Bishan Das. A very interesting piece of self-portraiture is by Keshava Dasa, an artist of the reign of Akbar. The picture bears an inscription in Hindi which says "Long live the Padshah Jalaluddin Akbar, Samvat 1646 (=1590 A.D.) on the 6th of the bright half of Pausa written by Keshava Dasa, the painter".*

Among the calligraphists are represented Mir Ali Al-katib of Mashhad (died in India in 1520 A.D.)—one of the greatest exponents of the cursive nastaliq form of writing; Mir Ali of Herat (died in Bokhara in 1544 A.D.) regarded as the foremost authority on nastaliq and Sultan Ali Al-Mashhadi his master. The two Mir Alis are frequently confused in this country. Most of the writings signed by Faqir Mir Ali found in various libraries in India are from the pen of Mir Ali Al-katib of Mashhad.

The pictures in the album apart from their extraordinary value from the aesthetic point of view are no less valuable as trustworthy records of contemporary life during the reign of Jahangir. The customs, the manners, the costume, the amusements of a bye-gone age are vividly brought before us in a series of dazzling master-pieces of pictorial art. Moghul painting has been fortunate from the beginning. Its material has been presented in a number of volumes fully worthy of the original pictures and the volume by Kuhnelt and Coetz with its 26 plates in colour is perhaps the finest of the lot.

चित्रश्रीव ॥ संवत् १८४६ पौष सुदी नौमी
विश्विन्तम केशव दाम चित्रकर

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA.*

By MR. C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.L.

A volume of this kind has been a want felt for a long time now. Mr. Dodwell deserves accordingly to be congratulated on the very readable book he has produced on a subject of the very first importance. We have read the book in a spirit of admiration, though with a critical eye. Parts of Book I. might have been written by an ardent Congressman: so unobjectionable is the matter in it and the manner in which it has been presented. A recurring thought in them is this: that during the half a century that has elapsed the control has stiffened from top to bottom and that the District Officer has ceased to be the old

*A Sketch of the History of India: By H. Dodwell, M.A. (Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., 30, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4), 1906.

Subadar or Tarafdar. Mr. Dodwell reiterates the fact but so far as we can see, he does not analyze the position except in a general way. His chapter on Administrative Policy (Book I, Chapter III) sketches the conditions that led to this centralization but does not indicate sufficiently definitely how the District Officer lost his position as the result of the policy pursued. We do not see among the books consulted by him any reference to Trevelyan's well-known book *The Competition-Wallah*. If he had consulted it, he would have seen the why and the wherefore of this position. If he had read Mr. LeFanu's charming *Salem Manual* or the still earlier Dyak's *Salem: A Collectorate*, he would have more clearly grasped the conditions under which this tendency to centralization and towards bureaucratization first exhibited itself. The fact has to be faced that the centralization of Government instead of being an evil proved to be the remedy for many an ill from which the administration suffered and the I.C.S. under the competition system worked the bureaucracy in a manner that no bureaucracy has ever been worked so far. The historic Montagu denunciation of its being "wooden" became too true, for the lengths to which bureaucratization had gone, made it impossible for the Home Government to understand the real position in India or the varied grievances of the people who groaned under its orders. This is not the place to follow up this line of criticism but we should be glad if Mr. Dodwell will note it and pursue it when a new edition of this, in some respects, brilliant work is called for.

Mr. Dodwell's volume is, in one sense, the best justification of the Indian National Congress to which he refers at length. It shows how fundamentally just was Mr. Hume's idea of a new India and how it justifies, as nothing else can, his belief in the essentially fair attitude he took—though a retired Civilian—towards India. He stands fully vindicated to-day. If the Montagu Reforms made Mr. Hume a benefactor to India, Mr. Dodwell's has made him nearly a hero among his own countrymen. Thus is action—moral action—in the political field justified in the eyes of the world. Mr. Hume held justice greater than prestige and his position and view-point has been held correct by the verdict of history.

In Book II, Mr. Dodwell deals with the

Foreign Policy of the Government of India. The whole of this part of the book is well written, particularly the chapter of the Second Afghan War which is a striking piece of work from a purely literary point of view. It is realistic to a degree and is full of word pictures. Mr. Dodwell, however, is hardly correct in ignoring the Indian criticism on Lord Lytton's "War" as it was called. It raised the ire of Gladstone and the fall of the Conservative Ministry was, as Mr. Dodwell himself admits, due to the forward policy of Lytton. Nor is Mr. Dodwell quite so happy in his delineation of the position of Native States in the political system of India. He denies that they are *isolated States*: he opines that common subjection to the Crown has converted them not only into loyal subjects of the Crown but has made them impossible to be despots in their own areas. Neither proposition would be assented to by the parties concerned or their own peoples. The fact is that each State is still an isolated unit by itself; despite treaties and instruments of the kind he mentions; each Ruler of an Indian State has to fight his own battles with the Government of India, concerted action being all but impossible and as regards interference into its affairs, it is only in extreme cases it is possible on the part of the Government of India. The problem of the Native States is much deeper than it has been possible for Mr. Dodwell to probe. It is one of the questions of the hour and no solution of the Indian problem is at all possible without their status in it being definitely conceived and worked out. This is one of the problems left out of consideration by the Montford Report (See Chapter XI), and is staring in the face to-day Governments and publicists alike in India and in England.

In another chapter (Education and Employment) Mr. Dodwell touches on a subject at once delicate and difficult. But he writes with ease and comfort. So at least it strikes us. He has the courage to call a spade a spade. In his opinion, despite the Munros and Malcolms, the higher officials in India form "a closer caste" than even the Mansabdars of Akbar. Incidentally he praises Lord Lytton for his statutory Civil Service, which was so cordially disliked by Indians and Europeans alike. He thinks—on grounds he does not mention—that it would have, if consistently followed, "anticipated and avoided many of the later

difficulties that have emerged." The "if" however is a big one. Why did the scheme fail? He blames the "working" of it; just the reason that is now being given out for the Montford Reforms. If they fail, the reason would be the working of them. But why was the working wrong? Because he thinks the scheme was "worked" only to enable members of the aristocracy and not the middle class to get into the higher range of posts. Why was it so worked? The psychology of it all Mr. Dodwell fails to probe and there is the defeat of his performance. If the truth is to be told it is this: Lytton failed or refused to see, in common with his countrymen, that a larger step was necessary in the best interests of all, but he would not move as his instincts were thoroughly conservative. His countrymen are doing the same to-day and going back to nominations despite the Reforms Act and a history of events covering half a century in India. So does history repeat itself. Mr. Dodwell rightly insists on the fact that while the *Competition-wallah* has increased efficiency, he has not made for racial friendliness as his predecessor the Haileybury man did. He pointedly refers to the abandoning of the Indian Service by the latter. We would add from our knowledge that so great was the dislike of the old Service families to the new system introduced by Macaulay, that some of them took vows not to send their sons into it. It is said of John Duncan Gleig, who was at one time principal Collector of Salem, that he told his devoted subordinates that from the day the *Competition-wallah* came into being, none in his family would enter the Indian Service! And no Gleig has so far entered it! He is said to have pitied the India of the future—of the India of the *competition-wallahs*? Mr. Dodwell is we think, only confirming the prescient misgivings of the venerable Gleig. The competition system, as he epigrammatically puts it, made possible a Macaulay at the expense of a Munro, which is too sad to contemplate, for the best praised and best paid service in the world.

Mr. Dodwell passes in the next two chapters of his book (*Political Sentiment and The Policy of Reform*) to matters of practical current interest. His criticism of Ripon in the former for abolishing the Lytton Press Act is too palpably unjust to pass unchallenged in this country. His main point is that Ripon was,

in doing this, too much in advance of his time. As he could not adumbrate a policy of responsible government, so he was debarré from freeing the Press. Mr. Dodwell forgets that it is exactly because of the free Press—or the so-called Press, for the Press after Ripon has been shackled—that responsible government has at all been thought of. It is no use quoting Munro in a case like this: for that statesman's view in this matter should be taken with the current prejudices of his times. The Press in his time, such as it was, was in bad odour and he was largely—there is reason to fear—influenced by its then position in his prognostication. His advanced views as to the destiny of India and Indians ill accords with his views on the Press. There is in that single point, much to ponder for critics who would fain quote him to suit their purpose. It is high time that it is remembered that a free Press, a free Government and a free friendship between the two countries are the things towards which the best political sentiment is now running. Statesmanship consists in recognizing this and making endeavours towards reaching the goal easier and earlier. If Ripon tried to realize it and attempted to provide for it, is he to blame? By-the-bye, we would add that the description of old-world Anglo-Indian Editors of India as "Free Merchants" is not quite correct. Boyd was not a free merchant who had failed in his commercial calling; nor was Silk Buckingham one of that kind, nor again Buist, "Bloody Buist" as he was called a broken down "Free Merchant." It is to be feared that Mr. Dodwell while he is uniformly kind to Lytton is equally uniformly unkind to Ripon. Why is this so? We attribute no motive; far be that from us. It is apparently his predilection, political and other and no more. He describes Ripon's Ilbert Bill an "astonishing blunder." Why not, in view of the abolition of the Repressive Laws, a couple of years ago, term this—as he does Lytton's statutory Civil Service Scheme—a scheme of reform that was ill understood and little appreciated and hence opposed by parties who least could foresee the evils that might happen by the rejection of a measure of that kind? As he rightly puts it, it was the beginning of the agitation for political rights in India in right earnest—an era which has not yet ended and apparently will not end until the cherished goal is reached by Indians. Mr. Dodwell rightly puts it when he

states that the claim for "predominance" began to be met from that day forward by the claim for "equality." The battle is not yet over but the victory is in sight. Mr. Dodwell's running summary of political agitation in India, however, is only partially correct. It is both wrong and inaccurate; it is wrong because it omits essential facts and it is inaccurate because it sets up wrong data. Bradlaugh was not the only champion in the Commons. Burke was the favourite political philosopher and not Tom Paine, though we are mistaken in mentioning Burke's name, for Mr. Dodwell has managed to write a book on India without so much as mentioning his name. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was not only "a man of remarkable talents" but also a much misunderstood man, for the hero he proclaimed has been latterly blessed by greater men than he; Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal had politics for its sheet-anchor and not administrative convenience; Curzon's educational policy was opposed not for political reasons but for sound educational reasons and his critics have proved true; his outburst against Indians (*pace* his theory of truth in the abstract) was a political mistake, if not a crime; and, last but not least, the Congress was neglected by the powers-that-be too long for the trial of any palliatives and the great blunder was committed of treating it with contempt while it should have been heard. The cry it sent up from the economic, administrative, and military view-points was left unheeded by a bureaucracy that believed in its own powers until it was too late. The remedy came in the Reforms Act of the Montford Regime—fully fifty years too late and that in a halting, half-hearted manner.

We now come to Mr. Dodwell's last chapter, the one dealing with the policy of Indian reforms. It is a sketch of the Minto-Morley and the Chelmsford-Montagu Reforms. Mr. Dodwell is disposed to assign to Minto greater prominence in regard to the former than to Morley. His picture of what Morley might have been in India as a member of the Civil Service—provided he was a little less clever and his parents a little less well-to-do—is more amusing than just to him and his commanding talents. Mr. Dodwell forgets that Indians know Morley was Chief Secretary for Ireland and was an administrator of a type never known even in England. To belittle him cannot raise Minto in the estimation of the public of

this country. Minto was guided by the civilians round about him while Morley was, certainly, guided by the inherent conservatism of the Englishman that dominated his character. The failure of the Reforms associated with the names of these two great British worthies is a sad page in Indian political history. It required a war to show the falsity of the assumptions underlying them. It required also a courageous Jew—whose race had suffered in the West as none had suffered—to visualize the position and put it to his own countrymen. If one Jew made the Queen of England the Empress of India, another it was who made India hold on to Britain on anything like terms honourable to both countries. The policy of suspicion has slowly begun to give way, but it is not yet wholly dead. That was the policy underlying the Minto-Morley Reforms which Mr. Dodwell describes as a "sincere attempt to render Indian opinion more accessible to, and more influential with the Government, and that over a wider field of administration"—a statement which is true to the word but hopelessly false in the spirit. His own reading of its basis falsifies his conclusion—it was undemocratic, it set up the classes one against the other and it was plainly destructive of the evolution of a common nationality. This was done consciously and that was the grievance about it. Mr. Dodwell admits as much when he says:—"They were concessions to educated opinion; but they were not the real thing." We do not admit that opening the Executive Councils to Indians is "the real thing." The real thing is the dethroning of the idea of the inefficiency or the inferiority of the Indians as a race in the governance of their own affairs in their own country. That Mr. Dodwell knows this is plain from the very last sentence of his book: "The remedy lies.....in steadily cutting away that race discrimination which forms the worst inheritance of the period that has closed."

Mr. Dodwell's account of what led to the rise of the so-called Revolutionary Movement in India (1906-17) is a rapid summary of Sir Verney Lovett and it is needless to detail it here. The Moderates, unfortunately for them, come out second best in this book; they appear as the handmaids of Government and ready to yield to the cry of "Rally the Moderates." The vein of cynicism that runs in this part of

the narrative is too palpable to need mention, but there must be something too grossly wrong with a political system which requires this perpetual rallying to get on with "good government." At last even Mr. Dodwell, whose chosen view-point is frankly adverse to Morley and his political abilities, allows himself the privilege of the following reflection.—"Morley's high political ideals and great desire for the welfare of India that made him so difficult a task-master. The fault lay in the system into which we had blundered, and which made a zealous, active and high-minded Secretary of State an obstruction, and at times a danger." Mr. Gandhi too thinks that the individual Englishman is a good man but his "system" in India is past redemption. When men like Gandhi and Morley agree on a point of this nature, there must be something deplorably wrong about it. Mr. Dodwell must know that the plea, that the Government of India has always been first in Administrative Reforms, is not one that will pass unchallenged in this country. The Government of India in that case would not have been described in the trouncing language of Mr. Montagu. Mr. Dodwell should also be aware that it is because the Government of India is in essence "a close body of officials," which, as he himself elsewhere puts it, is worse than a caste and as such cannot be depended on that progress is not possible in this country. That was the very reason why Morley controlled it, and why he would not withdraw his strong arm away from it. But if the Secretary of State to-day has lost some of his powers over the Government of India as the result of the Reforms Act, and the Government of India has gained some independence of him, it is because it is to-day—at least in argument—what it was not yesterday. The ideals have changed as well as the objectives of governance and so the 'system' has had to give way, to however small an extent it may be.

We think we have written enough on this book. It is well conceived and well written. Its severest critics cannot deny to its eminently readable character. But it has its limitations and to some of these we have referred to above. We should be glad to see Mr. Dodwell essay a work of this nature with a greater sense of freedom and with a higher historical sense of sifting the truth. Mr. Dodwell has the makings of a good student of

current affairs but he should not attempt to sacrifice substance for effect any more than stick to popular prejudices to keep up the semblance of a cautious critic.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

By MR. JOHN S. HOVLAND.

There have recently reached this country the first copies of a book which will probably mark a decisive turning-point in the history of Indian education. It is written by a man, who after a number of years as an Inspector of Schools in Madras, and later as Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, then passed on for a time to be Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. He is now a master at Eton.

Mr. Mayhew is thus possessed of unique qualifications to pronounce both on the present state and value of education in this country, and on steps which should be taken for its improvement.

As might be expected from the work which its writer has done, and from the positions which he has held, there are evident in many parts of the book traces of an attitude of mind which he himself condemns in the following remarkable sentence in his introduction:—"I was convinced, on my return (to England), that English Schools and Universities, with all their anomalies and lack of arrangement, possessed the vital spark so sadly lacking in the precise systems of Germany and India. And I felt surprised and sorry that in an official atmosphere, I had grown so very un-English."

The reader must be clearly warned that there are two Mr. Mayhews; and he must be prepared to discriminate between the Mr. Mayhew who can write sweepingly unfair statements such as "Unrest among the educated in India is not discontent with what has been given but a lively anticipation of further favours," or "No Indian parent can be made to understand that the efficacy of a subject depends mainly

A Study of British Educational Policy, 1835-1920, and of its bearing on National Life and Problems in India to-day. By Arthur Mayhew. (Messrs. Faber and George, London) 1926.

India only on the broadest lines . . . there must be no attempt to define or elaborate what is implied by these broad conditions."

This second Mr. Mayhew has three most important principles to lay down with regard to the improvement of the existing system—and there is no exaggerating the devastating effect of his heavy artillery upon that system. Indeed in the days of his most vigorous denunciation Mr. Gandhi failed to bring accusations one-tenth as damaging and as convincing against things as they are in the sphere of education.

In the first place, the present system of voluntary primary education is extravagantly wasteful and appallingly inefficient. Mr. Mayhew shows that a compulsory system would be proportionately eight times more efficient and four times less expensive. He pleads convincingly for a resolute facing up (especially in the field of finance) to the fact that from every point of view the introduction of the principle of compulsion into primary education is essential to the well-being of India.

In the second place, he commends the recent setting up of new autonomous Universities, and demands the extension of this principle of freedom in the sphere of higher education.

In the third place, he insists over and over again upon the necessity of linking up religion with the educational system. "Indian personality and life as a whole will not intimately be affected by any education which is not animated by religion." "The identification of a necessarily neutral Government with a system of education has robbed that system of religious warmth, colour, and significance, and the want of this has made the education unreal and unconvincing among peoples whose life, for good or bad is fundamentally religious." Upon this point Mr. Mayhew is most insistent—and rightly so, as all must believe who have had personal experience of the disintegrating effects upon character of a completely secularised education.

The book must be of especial interest for the Christian missionary, of the value of whose work Mr. Mayhew has a very high opinion. "The writer's personal view is that moral progress in India depends on the gradual transformation of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ. All that he has seen of Christian mission work in India, with all its admitted short-comings, has convinced him that

on the quality of the teacher and the time and energy at the disposal of the pupil:" and, on the other hand, the Mr. Mayhew who is a scathing and merciless critic both of the educational system as set up by the "Anglicists," and of the educational system as it now exists, and who is a stalwart protagonist of freedom:—"Control must be exercised by the State in work inspired by some such aim can alone supply the necessary basis." These are encouraging words, especially since Mr. Mayhew does not look forward to a wholesale transplantation of Western Christianity to India. "Recollections of mission settlements where communities, raised from sullen apathy and suspicious resentment to a life of cheerful activity and service, testify wholeheartedly to the triumph of light and love over fear and superstitious ignorance, are before (the writer). Christianity is a very vital force in India to-day. The more it spreads the more it will differ in everything except essentials from the Christianity of the West."

Under the changed conditions which have begun to operate in India since education became a transferred subject, "The need for the co-operation of English men and women in all forms of Indian education is more real and urgent than it has ever been before, and it is on the moral and spiritual side that their co-operation will be most valuable. There need be no fear that such co-operation will be rejected on racial grounds, if it is offered in a spirit that India can appreciate . . . The increased power given to European missionaries by the recent changes will be specially marked . . . When it is no longer possible to identify Christianity with all that is bad in the Western world or all that is irksome in an alien Government, when under more favourable conditions the spirit of Christ assumes an Indian form, there will be no excuse for any misunderstanding of the work of European missionaries and no reluctance on the part of Mr. Gandhi and his followers to admit openly how much they owe to their teaching. It is quite wrong to lament the passing away of the conditions under which England, through its educational missionaries, can really assist the moral progress of India. It would be more appropriate to rejoice over their final establishment."

In a number of contexts Mr. Mayhew expresses warm admiration for the work that

is being done in mission institutions to solve the more pressing problems of Indian education, for example, in the work amongst criminal tribes, in the education of women, in the supply of trained teachers, and in the uplifting of the outcastes. "Outcastes who become Christians form part of a community which is yearly winning for itself the respect of India and a high reputation for educational zeal. Their educational future is secure." "The abandonment of the enterprise (of outcaste education) by mission societies, Christian and otherwise, is inconceivable. . . . Little by little it will advance if the workers convince the outcastes of their love and sympathy. But there is no chance of success except from work based on love which is essentially religious. The necessarily chilly efforts of Government and local bodies, dissociated from all religion, make no impression on these classes, and unless their heart is touched, energy, time, and public funds are wasted."

In regard to women's higher education Mr. Mayhew says, "It is essentially the work of Christian missions that is bearing fruit"; and in regard to the domestic training of girls, "only in boarding institutions mainly used by Indian Christians under mission supervision has it been found possible to ensure a really valuable domestic training." He is exceedingly anxious that Christian missions should not take any step calculated to result in withdrawal from educational work; and he is convinced that a greatly enlarged sphere of usefulness lies ahead of missions in connection with education, especially in view of the ceasing of the recruitment of Europeans to the Indian Educational Service.

We may close this inadequate notice of a fundamentally important book by quoting the following words:—"Nothing but very patient and impartial study of India's religious past and present will reveal those weeds which are inconsistent with moral growth and must be eradicated. And nothing but the spirit of Christ will give the courage and will-power that a campaign against those weeds requires. It will be impossible to differentiate any really effective reform movement, associated with Indian religions, from Christianity. It may also be difficult to connect it with any Western form of Christianity."

The book is written in a very interesting, and at times sparkingly witty, style.

BACK TO THE 'NINETIES.*

By MISS MURIEL KENT.

Mr. Michael Arlen asserted lately that the ultra-modern school, to which he belongs, writes far better than the late Victorians. If that were approximately true, it would have been scarcely worth Mr. Burdett's labour to make this full and able analysis of the literature and art of the 'nineties. *The Beardsley Period* is used by the author in an elastic sense to include the whole group-movement of decadence in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He holds that it was the necessary last phase of Romanticism; the "great over-balance of curiosity" which, according to Pater, produces the grotesque in art. Its main result in letters was either melancholy or cynical, and Mr. Burdett's study is suggestive rather than exhilarating. But it was their vision that failed, not their style that halted then; and perhaps that is the significance of all decadent art.

It would be hard to find a better corrective than the *Life and Letters of George Wyndham*. Whether we regard his delightful letters as the reflection of an extraordinarily vivid and gracious personality; or as illumination on the political, social and literary life of his times (1863-1913), these two large volumes are among the most important published this year.

Wyndham was Under-Secretary at the War Office during the South African War. As Chief Secretary for Ireland, his Land Bill of 1903 was the triumph of one whom a Nationalist opponent described in the words, "Thank God, we have a gentleman as Chief Secretary." And always he kept "a way of escape open from the dustiness and fustiness of politics" in poetry and romance.

English, Scotch, Irish and French ancestry mingled in George Wyndham, and their brilliant product was soldier, statesman, poet, man of letters—in turn, or all at once. He summed up a year's work by writing, "...I have made new friends, fought old enemies. I have lived, and life is wonderful." It could not be otherwise for one who was never ashamed of idealism, never faltered in honour and loyalty and eager love of beauty in all its forms.

**The Beardsley Period*. By Herbert Burdett (John Lane the Bodley Head, London) 1925.

The Life and Letters of George Wyndham. By J. W. Mackell and G. Wyndham (Messrs. Hutchinson, London), 1925.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

The Trial of Criminal Cases in India. By A. Sabonadiere, I. B. S. (Retd). (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta), 1926.

The author of the *Trial of Cases in India* is (as was perhaps expected) one who retired some years back as a District and Sessions Judge in the provinces of Agra and Oudh, and is at present a Lecturer on Indian Law at more than one educational institution in London. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Sabonadiere's book is marked alike by scholarship and practical experience of the administration of criminal justice. In the course of his preface the author writes about the origin of his work in terms which may be quoted:—"The general idea of this book occurred to me during the course of my service in the United Provinces, and I actually drafted a couple of chapters about 1912. When I was appointed Lecturer in Indian Law at University College, London, and the School of Oriental Studies some six years ago, the hope that such a book might be useful was renewed by its being borne in upon me that students find the Code of Criminal Procedure far more difficult to understand than either the Indian Penal Code or the Indian Evidence Act. So I proceeded to draft the whole book." The result is an excellent introductory treatise on the adjective criminal law of British India. As a lucid commentary not on the sections but on the subject-matter of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and a clear exposition of its contents Mr. Sabonadiere's *Trial of Criminal Cases in India* would be found about the best introduction by the student of the subject.

The Indian Candidate and Returning Officer: A Manual giving the law and procedure of elections in British India and Burma. By R. L. L. Hammond, C.S.I., C.B.R., I.C.S., with a foreword by the (late) Right Hon. H. S. Montagu. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1926.

On its first appearance in 1923, we noticed in terms of appreciation Mr. R. L. L. Hammond's excellent treatise on Indian elections, called *The Indian Candidate and Returning Officer*. This volume is the only complete and authoritative manual on the law of elections in India: on the conduct of

an election, the framing of an election petition, and the defence against an election petition. Not only does it state the law on each subject but it imparts a great deal of sound, practical advice to the candidate, his agent, the returning officer and the elector on how to play their parts, illustrated by stories of past elections, and extracts from election addresses and from judgments on election petitions. We welcome the supplement by which the book has been now brought up-to-date (1926). The Addendum gives all the alterations, modifications and additions to the Indian Election Law since 1922. The pages of the Addendum are perforated so that, if desired, they can be torn out and pasted opposite the pages of the book to which they refer. The Addendum is supplied gratis with every copy of the book, and is separately priced at 8 annas. Mr. Hammond's book, with the Addendum now issued, ought to be able to command a large circulation amongst politicians and public men.

Finger Print Companion: A Practical Handbook. By Rai Bahadur Hem Chandra Bose. (Writers' Buildings, Calcutta), 1926.

The great practical utility of the scientific system of identification by finger prints has been adopted in all civilised countries and universally declared to be an infallible system for fixing human identity. Its usefulness in all departments of life, and particularly in countries where false personation is a prevalent evil, need hardly be emphasised. The new, revised and enlarged, edition of Rai Bahadur Hem Chandra Bose's earlier work called *Hints on Finger Print*, which is now issued as *Finger Print Companion* should, therefore, interest lawyers, magistrates, judges and police officers. In it the author has endeavoured to present a vade-mecum by embodying in it the most recent developments in the system, including the newly-discovered method of single digit classification and the telegraphic code for finger impressions. As such his little volume will efficiently serve its purpose of a handy manual and will be useful to business-men and land-owners also, who have to guard against fraud and false personation—quite apart from those whose avocation it is to deal with the matter in courts and police offices. The book deserves a warm acknowledgment by the public.

Subject-Index to Indian Case Law 1811-1924. By A. N. Aiyar. Third Edition in 2 volumes (Huxley Press, Madras), 1926.

That Mr. A. N. Aiyar's *Subject-Index to Indian Case Law* is a work of very great utility to the legal profession is evidenced by the rapid reprint of the second edition. To quote from the preface to the first edition with reference to its special feature, the compiler stated that "besides being the easiest mode of reference, a good subject index will give the lawyer, at a glance, a bird's-eye view of the whole field of case-law." Owing to the enormous growth of case-law, the business of searching through digests and supplements is considerable. The absence of the full headnotes, which is the only respect in which an index is inferior to a digest, is not really felt, as the lawyer has to refer to the original report, whether he finds the reference to it in the digest, or in an index. The real value of all such collections depends, however, very largely on the absence of misprints, and we are glad to bear witness to freedom from misprints in the book under notice. Altogether Mr. Aiyar's *Subject-Index* is comprehensive, systematic and judiciously compiled and no practising lawyer can do without it.

Beverley's Land Acquisition Acts. Seventh Edition by H. P. Duval, C.I.E., I.C.S., (S. K. Lahiri & Co., College Street, Calcutta), 1926.

The late Mr. Justice Beverley's treatise on the Land Acquisition Acts is justly regarded as a classic in the literature of Anglo-Indian law. The seventh edition of it, brought out by Mr. Justice Duval, fully maintains its high reputation as the best exposition of the subject it deals with. The editor has done his work satisfactorily and has judiciously revised and carefully overhauled the previous edition. The result is a treatise marked by accuracy and usefulness, which will hold its own—as it has done these many years—against its rivals.

RECENT REFERENCE YEAR-BOOKS.

Europa Year-Book, 1926. (Europa Publication Co., C/o. Routledge & Co., Ltd., Carter Lane, London, E. C.).

We welcome the first appearance of a new annual, called the *Europa Year-Book*. It is ambitious in con-

ception, surveying as it does the politics, art, science, economics and literatures of the Europe of to-day. It is well-arranged and systematic and is written by competent authorities. Each country is taken in turn, and full information is given about the leading figures in the government, parties, literature and arts. It is a highly useful book of reference, which should appeal to a large circle of seekers after accurate information about things and affairs European. The comprehensiveness of its scope may be gauged from the fact that it contains 52 pages of statistical data dealing with the economic and financial position of the European States, and 132 pages are devoted to "European History in the Making"—a most interesting section of the book, full of trustworthy information based on unimpeachable facts and figures. Again, another no less interesting portion of the book is "Who's Who," which, in a short compass, summarises a whole shelf of contemporary biographical dictionaries issued in various languages. Then there are 105 pages dealing with "The European Survey," in which are comprised well-written contributions by specialists and experts on almost all current topics of European politics, economics and culture. Altogether, the *Europa Year-Book* is an invaluable work of reference, which deserves very wide appreciation and a large circulation.

The Year Book of the Universities of the Empire, 1926 (Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London) 1926.

The Year Book of the Universities of the Empire for 1926, which is in its thirteenth issue, supplies detailed information regarding the 67 Universities in the British Empire culled from the official University calendars, which will prove of interest to all members of universities and colleges, Government departments, schoolmasters and the public generally. In the chapters introductory to the sections dealing with the Universities is collected such information regarding their history, regulations and practice as they share in common. Every section contains a directory of the officers and members of the staff of the university; an account of the equipment in libraries, museums, laboratories, etc., of the university, the degrees, diplomas and certificates which it confers, scholarships open to graduates, university publications, etc.; and, statistics of the numbers of students in attendance and degrees conferred. The volume also contains seventeen appendices of great value and interest to those interested in the educational sphere, in that they give useful information in regard to professions and careers for which university

studies are a fitting preparation; admission of students from abroad to Universities of Great Britain; notes of foreign universities; &c. The *Year-Book* is thus an indispensable publication which those who seek any information or enlightenment on affairs pertaining to education cannot but find to their profit and advantage.

The Labour Year-Book 1926. (Labour Publications Department, 33 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.) 1926.

In the course of reviews of the previous editions of the *Labour Year-Book* we have spoken of it in terms of appreciation as a very useful reference work. The *Labour Year-Book* for 1926 is deserving of recognition as a highly meritorious work of reference. Judiciously compiled and well-printed, the volume will be highly useful to politicians, publicists and public men. The topics dealt with range over the whole field of British politics and include not only the principal political, social and economic problems but also the trend of international and inter-dominion affairs during the year. The directory of the principal Labour and Socialist organizations, native and foreign, is another useful feature of the work. Although the Labour Party is not in the ascendant at present, there can be no doubt of its coming into power again, and the *Labour Year-Book* which records, from year to year, not only the progress of that Party, but takes a critical survey of the whole field of the Labour Party's activities, deserves careful study at the hands of Indian publicists and publicmen.

The Constitutional Year-Book 1926. (National Unionist Association, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, London, S. W. 1) 1926.

The *Constitutional Year-Book* is to the British Conservatives and also to all seekers after information about the Party an excellent guide. For the object it desires to serve, the *Constitutional*—which is now in the fortieth year of publication—is a work of great utility. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a cheap and handy reference-book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current interest. It is carefully revised and its pages may be trusted to supply useful and accurate information. A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political parties in Great Britain should keep on his book-shelf the annual

editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, the *Liberal Year-Book* and the *Constitutional Year-Book*, each of which is highly useful. The current edition of the *Constitutional* is replete with up-to-date information regarding data about British political conditions from the Conservative standpoint. The statistical section has been remodelled and facts are now given which cannot but facilitate the task of the readers in the study of current economic problems. It is comprehensive in scope and range.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1926. (Census and Statistics Office, Wellington, New Zealand) 1926.

The *New Zealand Official Year Book for 1926*—which is in its thirty-fourth issue—has been compiled by Mr. Malcolm Fraser, O.B.E., Government Statistician. This official annual publication is a remarkably useful work giving detailed information relating to New Zealand. Detailed chapters are devoted to the description, history, constitution and administration, statistical organisation, population, education, shipping, railways, public finance, banking, wealth and incomes, defence, etc., of New Zealand. Three entirely new sections have been added to the current edition under notice—namely on Trade Unions, Employment and Unemployment and Industrial Accidents, the two last-mentioned representing the initiation of fresh branches of statistical inquiry, so far as New Zealand is concerned. Mr. J. W. Butcher contributes a special article on the subject of cancer in New Zealand. In fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year Book*, which is an authoritative volume of about a thousand pages, replete with valuable information on all matters—political, economic and administrative—relating to New Zealand.

International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics for 1925-26. (The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome), 1926.

The *Year-Book* issued by the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, is an authoritative publication, in that it is compiled in collaboration with the agricultural and statistical departments of the various countries, in which detailed data on the subject are made available. The comprehensiveness of the volume can well be realised when it is stated that it is arrayed with figures for various countries covering

the apportionment of areas, and production, trade and prices of the chief agricultural products, live stock, fertilisers and other chemical products useful in agriculture which are clearly set forth. The current *Year-Book* is an improvement on its predecessors and the Institute deserves praise for the publication of an Annual which is not only authoritative but also, of immense value to the agriculturist, the journalist and the statesman. Now that considerable attention is being paid in India to the development of the agricultural resources of the country and a Royal Commission has already begun to examine the problem in all its bearings, the *International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics* ought to find a wide circulation amongst those interested in the expansion, development and improvement of Indian agriculture.

The Manchester Guardian Year-Book 1926.
(Manchester Guardian Office, Manchester) 1926.

Though, in a sense, designed to serve local needs and requirements, the *Manchester Guardian Year-Book* is compiled on so ambitious a scale and contains so much useful information that it deserves special commendation at the hands of the discriminating reviewer; full data about the industries of Manchester combined with a large range of general information of a practical character. The cotton directories, the chapters on Art, Science and Society, Who's Who of the prominent citizens of Manchester and district and the textile glossary contain useful information. There is also included in it a deal of general information which materially enhances its utility. Altogether, it is a very useful addition to annual reference literature.

RECENT BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

A Dictionary of Modern English Usage. By H. W. Fowler (Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, London, E. C. 4, and also Bombay and Calcutta), 1926.

Mr. H. W. Fowler, the joint author of those very useful and meritorious works—*The King's English*, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* and *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary*—has produced one more serviceable refer-

ence book for the benefit of the students of English literature, called *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. It is more a dictionary in form than in substance, for the purpose of the book is not to define words but to discuss their proper and improper usages. The hackneyed words and phrases, the use of foreign words, the misuse of quotations, the spelling of unusual words, and the ways and habits of speaking and writing, are all discussed and illustrated from current literature and journalism. Great is the pit-fall experienced in using the English language, at least so far as Indians are concerned, for with whatever adroitness the language is mastered by them the exact precision with which the words and phrases are to be used is more often than not lost, with the result that a very clever essay or a masterly speech is marred by some defects or other. The book before us cannot but help materially those who write in or speak English, in assigning to particular words and phrases a definite standard, thus enabling them to avoid falling into errors they are otherwise apt to do. It is thus an indispensable book of reference, valuable alike to the students of English language and literature, and to those who have to use English as their current coin for expressing themselves in courts, on platforms, or in the press. It should, therefore, find a place on the bookshelf of every one who has to handle the resources of English as a speaker or writer.

Webster's Royal Red Book. (A. Webster and Co., 44, Dover St., London, W. 1) 1926.

Webster's Royal Red Book is the only reference work of importance issued regularly twice a year. It is the oldest work of its kind, judging from the fact that the May (1926) number is the 268th edition. It is issued every January and May, and the May editions are naturally intended for the London season. The number before us opens with the London street guide which runs up to 237 pages, followed by a classified list of prominent London professional and business houses,—a feature which will be found very useful by purchasers in India. A detailed list of addresses of the residents in London, an almanack for 1926, the list of the Members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Government offices, clubs, public societies and institutions, hotels, plans of theatres, etc., form other useful features of the publication, and all corrections are made up-to-date and carefully checked before its issue. The Directory is thus a valuable guide which the London public cannot afford

to ignore. It is the great reference work to London society, and its usefulness is maintained by careful and judicious revisions twice a year.

Ferguson's Ceylon Directory, 1926. (The Ceylon Observer Press, Colombo) 1926.

We welcome the current (1926-7) edition of that famous reference annual, *Ferguson's Ceylon Directory*. It is quite an institution in the Crown Colony of Ceylon, as one of the oldest publications of its class and kind in Asia, and justly enjoys a pre-eminently high position amongst annual works of reference. It deals comprehensively with almost every phase of civic, political and industrial activity of Ceylon and contains a mine of useful information relating to plantations and estates, railways, steamers, motor routes and traffic regulations. In this edition a large number of statistics and information, that were temporarily omitted from previous editions, have been restored and all the sections have been carefully overhauled, with the result that the Directory is thoroughly abreast of latest events and quite up-to-date. Special attention has been devoted to the address section to make it comprehensive and a section for women has also been added to it. Replete with information on most matters it will be highly useful to all who have anything to do with Ceylon. Great credit is due to the publishers for keeping up the high standard of this indispensable work by careful revision for each new issue.

The Indian Trades Cyclopædia, 1926. (The Trades Publicity Corporation, Ltd., Bangalore) 1926.

We welcome the *Indian Trades Cyclopædia* to the ranks of Indian directories. It is a business directory giving useful and detailed information about the important trading institutions, manufacturing centres, arts, etc., scattered all over India, Burma and Ceylon. Besides giving a short history of the various trading concerns, the *Cyclopædia* has all the trades classified under definite headings in thirty-six important sections, which the manufacturer and the business man cannot but find to their advantage. Despite this being the first venture, no pains have been spared to make the compilation of immense value to the general public, and we are assured that the next edition will include a good many more important features. We hope that the *Cyclopædia* will have many years of usefulness, if it is but kept up to its present high standard.

RECENT GUIDE BOOKS FOR TOURISTS.

Burrow's Handy Guide to Europe. (R. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd., Central House, 43, 45, 47, Kingway, London, W.C. 2) 1926.

Burrow's Handy Guide to Europe represents an excellent idea excellently carried out. Rolfe's *Satchel Guide to Europe* and Stedman's *Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe* are two of the better-known American handbooks for travellers in Europe, but there was no British publication covering the same ground. This want is now completely removed by the enterprise of Messrs. R. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd., who have specialized for years in the compilation of tourists' reference literature. Their *Handy Guide to Europe*—which is strongly bound in attractive cloth boards—covers the whole of that continent, except Russia, and it also includes a section, at the end, on places of special interest to Americans. It successfully condenses the greatest amount of accurate and useful information in the smallest possible space and the twenty-nine, specially-prepared and well-drawn maps and plans (which are thoroughly up-to-date, including as they do territorial adjustments since the Treaty of Versailles) materially enhance the usefulness of the text. Compact, handy (being portable in a coat pocket), packed from cover to cover with practical information and essential particulars regarding travel facilities, and fully abreast of the latest developments in methods of travel, this fully-indexed guide is a notable addition to the reference literature of European travel, and is a marvellous compendium of highly useful knowledge for tourists in Europe. It is to be hoped that this valuable and meritorious work—concisely written, well-printed and with features of interest in bigger types—will receive such a wide appreciation as to encourage its enterprising publishers to make it (like its American prototypes, referred to above) an annual publication, and also to include in it information about the group of Soviet republics in Europe, which follow the lead of Russia, so as to make its scope co-extensive with the whole of the European continent.

A Satchel Guide to Europe. By W. J. Rolfe. 46th edition. Revised and enlarged by W. D. Crockett. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, U.S.A. and Messrs. Gay and Hancock, London) 1926.

The Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe. By E. C. Stedman. Edited by T. L. Stedman. (Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, U.S.A.) 1926.

We welcome the new editions of the two highly useful and excellent American guides to Europe which

have passed through many editions. The late Dr. Rolfe's book is a very useful travelling companion for the tourist. Clear, complete and comprehensive, it gives in its revised and enlarged edition the latest information on all matters, including motoring and air-planing relating to European travel. This guide has reached its forty-sixth edition. The experienced traveller who may have made its acquaintance before will find in this year's revision entirely new features—suggestions for motoring and travel by airplane and an important section of Norway, Denmark and Sweden. It has been revised and enlarged by Dr. William B. Crockett, of the Pennsylvania State College, in a very careful and highly judicious manner.

Its competitor, compiled by Mr. Stedman, is also a very meritorious work in its sphere. For more than twenty-five years it has been thoroughly tested by wide use among travellers. Its logical arrangement and compactness of information make it of inestimable value throughout those portions of Europe which are generally covered in a single tour. The present edition has been carefully revised to date, and is embellished with entirely new maps, especially prepared for the purpose. Further its scope is more comprehensive and it traverses larger ground than the *Satchel Guide*. Its convenient size for the pocket—which is its distinctive feature—and its lucid plan render it highly useful to travellers in Europe. It were much to be wished that there was available to tourists in India a pocket-guide modelled upon these two excellent American handbooks to Europe.

So You're Going to Paris! So You're Going to Italy! and, So you're going to England! By Clara E. Laughlin (All published by Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.), 1925-6.

Miss Clara E. Laughlin is an American lady given to travelling in Europe and recording her experiences, of the cities or the countries visited, in the shape of useful handbooks to them. Her first venture was called *So You're Going to Paris* and it was a successful attempt to enable the visitor to enjoy his or her visit to the gay city with a minimum expenditure of time and money. She followed it up by *So You're Going to Italy* in which all the places of particular interest to tourists in that country are dealt with thoroughly, and withal so charmingly that the visitor to Italy may learn from the book not only the chief points of each district but also the necessary details concerning its history, art and culture, and also about its shops, theatres and restaurants, etc. The latest arrival in "So You're Going to.....!"

series, is *So You're Going to England!* Modelled on the same lines as her two previous books, which have been highly popular and successful, this new handbook to England will enable the tourist in that country to enjoy his stay and to plan his tour to his advantage. The book contains not only practical information on all matters of interest and importance conducive to comfort and convenience when travelling in a foreign country, but also descriptive notes on the various scenes and sights, a visit to which is calculated to add to the pleasure of the sight-seer. This new series of travel-books—for they can scarcely be called with justice or propriety "guide-books"—should appeal to a large circle of cultured travellers in France, Italy and England. We shall watch with interest the progress of the series and hope to find on our table, in due course, similar useful and interesting books, from the pen of the cultured author, dealing with other European countries.

British Hotels. (Ed. J. Burrow and Co., Ltd., Central House, 43, 45, 47, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2) 1926.

Now that the British hotel system has become a well-organised institution, it is in the fitness of things that a handbook giving such vital information as every traveller needs, who at some time or other requires accommodation at an hotel in Great Britain, is issued to the public. The work before us, *British Hotels for 1926* supplies the want by giving a list with descriptive notes and tariff particulars of over 400 high-class British hotels, each sketch well illustrated, giving a clue to the position, appearance and character of the hotel. The value of the handbook is enhanced by the interesting article on "Some historic British hotels" by Mr. Chas. G. Harper and "British hotels and hydros" by Mr. Ed. J. Burrow, and particularly by the interesting introduction to the volume by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. We hope the enterprising publishers will make *British Hotels* an annual institution, so to say, so that it may be ever fully up-to-date.

Come to Java. (The Official Tourist Bureau, Weltevreden, Batavia, Java) 1926.

The Official Tourist Bureau, situated at Batavia, the capital of Java (which is under the sovereignty of the Government of Netherlands Indies) has published a large number of useful guidebooks of immense value to those who would make a tour in

Java and the other adjacent islands of the Dutch East Indies. *Come to Java*, which is now in its third edition, is attractively arranged and gives full information about the beauties of that island. This guidebook supplies the visitor with all details he should know, making the letter-press the more attractive by means of photographic reproductions of all places of note. The other booklets on Batavia, Bandoeng and Tropical Holland give vivid description of all the important places in the Dutch East Indies. The Director says:—"We have been informed that Java, Bali, Sumatra, Celebes, Borneo and the Moluccas are considered in Malaya to be very expensive for the tourist. The contrary is the case and the bureau is always ready to give all information." The visitor proposing a tour in the Dutch Indies cannot do better than obtain from the Bureau reliable information in regard to his requirements.

information regarding the routes to Egypt and the East, Egyptian architecture, trade and industries, pleasure resorts and hotel life,—all these appear in this beautifully got-up publication. The publishers have also brought out a special Sudan number commemorating the official opening of that magnificent embankment, the Sennar Dam, on the 21st January last. It is the result of an engineering feat of great importance which, by properly conserving and fairly distributing the waters of the Nile, will be a potent and effective instrument in advancing the economic and agricultural progress of the Egypt and the Sudan. The special Sudan number contains a number of useful and valuable articles relating to the irrigation scheme and the economic condition of Sudan, embellished with a number of excellent illustrations. Both the publications deserve very wide appreciation and encouragement.

Cook's Handbook to Paris. (Thomas Cook and Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W.1.) 1926.

The series of guides for travellers which have, for years past, been issued by the world-famous firm of Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son of London, is one of the very best in point of accuracy and comprehensiveness, as also in supplying sound, practical information. The latest addition to the series is a thoroughly revised and judiciously overhauled edition of their *Handbook to Paris*. It is thoroughly up-to-date, being fully abreast of the latest changes in the French capital, and gives just the necessary information which a traveller (with a week at his disposal in Paris) would require to be able to plan his itineraries to advantage. It gives all the particulars requisite for sight-seeing and enjoying a short visit to Paris, and all visitors to the gayest capital in Europe would be well advised in equipping themselves with a copy of *Cook's Handbook to Paris* before starting on their journey.

The Egypt and Sudan Annual, 1925-26: and "**The African World**" Special Sudan Number. ("African World" Publications, 301, Salisbury House, London Wall, London, E.C. 2) 1926.

The Egypt and Sudan Annual for 1925-26, edited by Mr. Leo Weinthal, C.B.E., F.R.G.S., is an exceedingly interesting volume, brimful of valuable articles from the pen of those who can speak with authority on the subjects they deal with. Descriptive and illustrated sketches of places of interest and of officials and prominent leading men, and detailed

Traveller's Guide to Karachi. By Mr. L. P. Advani, (Post Box 212, Karachi) 1926.

As the meeting-place on account of its geographical situation of the world's main international transport services, Karachi rises more and more in importance every year and as such great interest attaches to the growing development of this city. To satisfy the demands of those who desire to seek detailed information in regard to that city, Mr. L. P. Advani has compiled and published the *Traveller's Guide to Karachi and Province*, the latest edition of which is a considerable improvement on its predecessor. The book opens with a short but interesting sketch of the history and development of Karachi, with numerous illustrations of all places of interest. It contains a list of useful local addresses and a lot of useful information regarding the railway and sea journeys, passport regulations, Indian customs duties and British import duties, the fares, and cuisine of all steamship lines touching Karachi, etc. Thus it fulfils the objects with which it has been put together by its enthusiastic compiler, and the visitor to, or the resident in, Karachi will find Mr. Advani's book of very great utility.

RECENT BOOKS OF TRAVEL.

The New Baltic States. By Owen Rutter (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London), 1925.

Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are still tracts comparatively little known. By the victory of the Allies, they regained their liberty after centuries of

bondage which did not succeed, however, in destroying their individuality and their aspirations. In the book before us Mr. Ratter describes their present conditions and suggests the lines on which they are likely to develop. He says: "They began with nothing—with less than nothing. Their handicap in the world's tournament was something like one-fifty. Yet they are proving themselves before the world. They have had much to learn. They have not been too proud to learn—and they are learning still. After seven hundred years their people own the land. Once more their fields are under the plough. Once more their cattle range their meadows. Their industries are recovering, their trade increasing year by year. Their Governments are sound. Their budgets balance. And all this has been done by the sheer indomitable spirit of races that refused to our failure or defeat."

The Arab At Home. By Paul W. Harrison (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., London) 1925.

Dr. Paul Harrison has lived among the Arabs for fourteen years. He has known them in their strength and in their weakness. Usually the Arab is viewed through a haze of ignorance mixed with romance, in fiction, on the screen, or on the stage. The real Arab, as he is in daily life, is described in this very readable book by Dr. Harrison. He writes with intimacy based on long acquaintance. Nor is his book vitiated by a prejudiced outlook. Here is his observation on the Arab's religion: "It is a religion whose austere, inscrutable, omnipotent God is a direct reflection of the great limitless desert. The God of Muhammad is one of the most sublime creations of the human mind. He is, indeed, not really a creation of the human mind. The Arab spirit reflected that picture as it stood facing the great and terrible desert in which it lived and moved and had its being."

The Flame Tree. By Mrs. George Baskerville (The Sheldon Press, Northumberland Avenue, London) 1925.

In this volume Mrs. Baskerville has collected some folk-lore studies from Uganda. They are all of the greatest interest to the anthropologist and are written with great charm. "Each story," says the author, "recalls to my memory a vivid Uganda scene—a shady banana garden, a smoky kitchen, the bedside of a sick woman in a stuffy hut, or a camp fire beneath a star-spangled sky,—all gentle soft-voiced

people who allowed me to share their lives for a little while, and tried in their simple way to be kind to me."

Simla. By D. S. Basiawala (11, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay), 1926.

It is an attractively written little book, not at all like the usual guide-book; but a volume of impressions graphically narrated. The writer deserves to be congratulated on the production of a charming book.

In the Sun With a Passport. By W. R. H. Trowbridge (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., London) 1925.

The writer of this interesting book is the author of the excellent biography of Queen Alexandra. Two women start off to travel from the Riviera to Africa; they see strange and ancient palaces and old ruins. They visit Carthage and meet many interesting people on their travels. Their adventures are narrated in this book in a polished style. Twenty-six illustrations add to the interest of the narrative.

The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam. By W. C. Smith (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London), 1926.

This book is described as a study in Ethnology and Sociology. Dr. Hatton contributes to it a valuable introduction. It is divided into several chapters dealing with such subjects as, habitat and general characteristics of the people; personal appearance and artificial adornments; domestic life; social organisation; religion and magic; changes through contacts with more advanced peoples. Professor Smith's book—whether one agrees with all his conclusions or not—is a valuable contribution to the study of a "backward" people.

Hunting and Adventure in the Arctic. By P. Nansen (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1925.

If he had been living in epic days, Nansen would have been sung in verse like another Ulysses and his wanderings and adventures chronicled in deathless poem. His voyages are on an Epic scale and no romance can be more interesting or stirring than a narrative such as we have before us. In this book Nansen tells the story of his first adventures in the Polar Seas amid the grim and treacherous icefields,

and of his exciting hunting experiences with Seal, Walrus, Polar Bear, Man-Eating Shark and Whale. The book is illustrated with eighty drawings and maps and a photograph of Nansen.

My Wanderings in the Balkans. By Dudley Heathcote (Hutchinson & Co., London) 1926.

This is an unusual and interesting type of travel book. It records Mr. Dudley Heathcote's travels in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Turkey, Roumania, and Serbia. It contains the author's impressions of the countries and their peoples. He has studied the art and architecture of these countries, and the many beautiful photographs of the people and scenery in Central Europe enhance the interest of the book.

RECENT ECONOMIC LITERATURE.

The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India. By B. R. Ambedkar (P. S. King & Son Ltd., London), 1925.

It is a very hopeful sign of the times that Indian scholars are turning their attention, in increasing measure, to the ever-important subject of Economics. The subject on which Mr. Ambedkar has written the book before us is one which is arousing great interest everywhere. In most countries new burdens are being imposed both by local and central Governments. As Prof. Seligman says in his brief foreword: "The names applied to these various classes of expenditure differ with the authorities themselves. In India we speak of local, provincial and imperial expenditure; in Germany, of local, state, and imperial expenditure; in the United States and Switzerland of local, state and federal expenditure; in Australia, of local, state and commonwealth expenditure; in South Africa and Canada, of local, provincial and federal expenditure; and in France, of local, departmental and general expenditure." Mr. Ambedkar mentions all the circumstances relating to the distribution of burden between these three heads, and also makes a detailed study of the underlying principles. The book is one of great value and reflects great credit on the author.

The Interest Standard of Currency. By Ernest Dick (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London), 1925.

Dr. Dick's book shows that the elements of the traditional monetary system, if rightly applied,

suffice to bring about a stable standard of price, and that all that is needed to achieve the great end of stability is an obvious rearrangement of these elements; no state control of banking and of wholesale trade, no need of international agreements, no conscious managing. The author claims to have found out a new principle which, according to him, will not only explode all accepted notions of currency and value, but also give a new direction to political tendencies. The claim is a bold one and at any rate deserves to be seriously considered. It is a thought-provoking book.

Borderlands of Economics. By Radhakamal Mukerjee (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London) 1925.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerji is even a more prolific writer than his brother—which is saying a very great deal. One can only marvel that a university professor should be able to find so much leisure to produce a book in a period not extending to even a whole year. The publisher's notice describes the present book as a treatise on the alliance of economics with kindred sciences, such as biology, physics, psychology, ethnology, which help to elucidate its problems. The author sees in this scientific co-operation the beginnings of a New Economics taking account of regional and human differences, and aiming at the general welfare of man.

Groundwork of Economics. By Radhakamal Mukerji (Longmans, Green & Co., London) 1925.

Professor Mukerji speaks in this book with an authority born of experience. He intends this primarily for students preparing for an examination. It will be found very useful as a general survey of the subject of economics; it includes such topics as Employment of Capital; Division of Labour; Basis of Prosperity; Welfare; Economical use of Land; Problem of Food; Shares in the Agricultural Income; Distribution of Population. It is a book that can be confidently recommended to all students.

Present-Day Banking in India. By B. Ramachandra Rao (Calcutta University) 1925.

This is the second edition of the book which originally appeared in 1921; it is a full detailed and interesting account of Indian banking and deserves to be widely read. His essay on the indigenous

banker is of great merit, and the author deserves to be congratulated on his efficient handling of a complicated subject.

The Economics of Leather Industry. By B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.Y. (Calcutta University), 1925.

Mr. B. Ramachandra Rau who has earned a reputation as a writer on economic and banking subjects has issued a monograph on the leather-manufacturing industry and its future possibilities, which is the result of an enquiry conducted mainly on the economic and commercial lines, in the Province of Bengal. Bengal's resources of the raw materials are unlimited and what with cheap and plentiful labour and with the natural aptitude for skill in the leather industry, there is quite an extensive market for this industry. Mr. Rau advances the argument, and rightly too, that the time has come when the leather industry should no longer be considered as a craft for manual labour, but should be treated as a manufacturing enterprise with advanced skill and mechanical science. He has presented in the volume before us a historical survey of this industry, studded with statistics, suggesting ways and means whereby the Bengal Government (which has been doing much to advance this industry) should have the co-operation of the educated capitalists in consolidating it on a firmer basis.

The Financial Crisis of France. By the Hon. George Peel (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1925.

The distraught politicians of France, ever since the downfall, in May 1924, of M. Poincaré and his Bloc National, have attempted in vain to solve the financial tangle in which France is involved. Many came to the rescue, Painlevé, Herriot, Briand, Calliaux, all only to declare their impotency in the end. Whether M. Poincaré can now achieve anything, lies on the knees of the gods. Meanwhile we heartily welcome the present study by an author who is thoroughly familiar with his subject. He has long been a student of French finance and his book shows very careful thought and is written in a bright style so rare in volumes on the dismal science.

Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries. By Major B. D. Basu (R. Chatterji, 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.)

Major Basu seeks to prove in this book that from the time England acquired political power in India she destroyed Indian trade and industries principally by means of the forcing of British Free Trade on India, imposing heavy duties on Indian manufactures in England, the export of raw products from India, exacting Factory Acts, the Transit and Customs duties, granting special privileges to Britishers in India, building railways in India, compelling Indian artisans to divulge their trade secrets, holding of exhibitions, investing of so-called British capital in India, and the denial of self-government to India. It is a thought-compelling book, and deserves wide appreciation and extensive circulation.

Economic Development. By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar (Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras); and, **The Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relations** (Messrs. N. M. Raychowdhury & Co., Calcutta), 1925.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar who has long since earned his reputation as a writer on economics and politics, has as the result of his travels on the European continent and first-hand investigations made in France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Northern Italy, given snapshots of world-movements in commerce, economic legislation, banking and research, industrial and technical education, etc., in his *Economic Development*. As a hand-book of applied economics, perhaps the first of its kind written by an Indian author, the book is quite opportune and India comes in for her share of discriminating discussion. "The chief object in these sections," tells the author in his Foreword to the book, "is to furnish an objective basis of interpretation and attempt an estimate of India's present place in the scale of materialism." In a chapter on "Economic Scheme for Young India," the Professor gives one for India's material development which, in its definite suggestiveness, opens a wide field of vital work to be done, if this country is to take her proper place among the competing nations of the world. In a companion volume called *The Politics of Boundaries* the author's object is to isolate the political background of the changes as far as possible and treat them in an independent manner and this he has done by presenting a historic survey of not only Europe, but also of Japan in their foreign and international relations since the war, in so far as they are calculated to consolidate and strengthen their position in the political sphere. Both the volumes are highly informative and are marked by the rich and rare

scholarship which readers of the *Hindustan Review* have long since learnt to associate with the name of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

RECENT WORKS ON INDIAN HISTORY.

The Making of India. By A. Yusuf Ali, (A. & C. Black, Ltd.,) 1925.

Mr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali needs no introduction to our readers; as a distinguished administrator and a cultured man of letters his name is familiar to most persons interested in the India of to-day. His earlier works have shown that he can write with grace and has an attractive style. The quickened interest in the study of Imperial History makes Mr. Yusuf Ali's book very seasonable. There is this difference between the history of India and the history of the rest of the Anglo-Saxon world: while the latter starts with, and presupposes, the history of the British nation, India has a long history anterior to the British connection. In the British period itself the movements and reactions in India, while they reflect many points in Imperial history, are transformed by the Indian temperament and the many subtle influences inherited by India's traditions. These are well reflected in *The Making of India*. With the experience of an administrator and the taste of a scholar, Mr. Yusuf Ali has analyzed the different factors that go to the "making of India." He has taken account of the new spirit that has affected writing, teaching, and study of history. He has related Indian facts with the facts of Imperial and World History. He has given due prominence to social, economic, and religious movements, while setting out the ordered pageant of military and political history, from the "roots of Hinduism" to the administration of Lord Reading. His appeal is threefold: to his own people, to look upon India as a whole, rather than upon their own sectional India; to Great Britain and her Dominions and Colonies, to understand India as an important and organic factor in the Empire; and to the world at large, to realize India's point of contact with general history. While the book is adapted for the general reader, it forms a useful and authoritative summary of Indian history for use in schools and colleges.

The Rise of the Christian Power in India. By Major B. D. Basu, 5 vols. (R. Chatterji, 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) 1924-6.

Some critics of Major Basu's book have urged or implied that propaganda is not history, and that while political bias may be excused in a party man, it is not permissible in a professed historian. But even they have nothing but admiration for Major Basu's great industry, and have commended his work as a storehouse of materials generally inaccessible to the average reader. For our part, while not entirely approving of the method of treatment of the subject adopted by the author, and conscious of the limitations of his work as an attempt at an impartial survey of the history of India under the British regime, we have no hesitation in pitying those critics of this interesting work who have looked in vain, through these five volumes, for what they call any "trace of the desire on the part of the author to see the other side of a question." Such general and one-sided criticism apart, the book is one of considerable interest. It will be of great use to the student of British Indian history for purposes of not only study but particularly of reference, as it is full of extracts and quotations that have been collected from various reliable sources with great industry. We hope the distinguished author will find time to issue a condensed and revised edition of his book.

The Story of Satara. By Major B. D. Basu (Modern Review Office, Calcutta).

Major Basu's labours are untiring, and in the present work he has made available the full details of a story buried hitherto in the pages of parliamentary papers. *The Story of Satara* throws a lurid light on the methods of the East India Company and the treatment accorded to a prince, whose great and sole misfortune it was to be a great and independent man. Of duplicity, misnamed diplomacy, this book provides numerous instances, and it deserves to be read if only as throwing a flood of light on the early aims and aspirations of the band of British traders that ultimately secured for England the brightest gem in the Imperial crown. Major Basu is an indefatigable worker in the annals of the past and his knowledge of the original sources of British Indian history is accurate and extensive. The result is a valuable contribution to Indian history.

Begam Samru. By Brajendranath Banerji (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta) 1925.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century India saw the rise of many adventurers who became prominent. As Professor Sarkar says: "The history

of Hindustan under the free-lances is a volume of fascinating adventures and romantic personalities, where the wealth and beauty of the land and positions of independent command lay as the ready prizes of the cool head and the daring heart, without any need for high birth or legal title. Among these adventurers none has left a more wonderful life-story than a woman,—a Kashmiri girl who from abject poverty and obscurity rose to the command of a European-drilled brigade, the sovereignty of a territory as large as two English counties, and the honoured position of a shield to the Delhi imperial family, and died in the fulness of her years in the odour of sanctity as the honoured ally and social associate of the English rulers and a saint of the Roman Catholic Church." Mr. Banerji tells here the story of her career; he writes in a pleasing style, and has made use of all the available material on the subject of Begum Samra. A few illustrations add to the interest and value of his work.

History of Burma. By G. E. Harvey (Longmans, Green & Co., London) 1925.

The author of this remarkable volume is a member of the Indian Civil Service and belongs to the select band of workers who have contributed so much to the literature and history of this country. He has in this book worked in what still remains a virgin field, stopping at 1824 when the British annexed Burma. His sources include many unpublished documents in several languages, and he has done wisely to give copious extracts from original authorities—the great inscriptions, Burmese and Talaing chronicles, Portuguese and English State papers and Chinese records such as the Chinese General Staff account of the 1765–9 campaigns. Sir Richard Temple, who contributes a valuable preface, says: "Anyone who has worked, like myself, in the same field, will quickly realise the labour which has gone to the making of these few hundred pages." The value of the book is enhanced by many illustrations and maps, and it is a notable contribution to historical literature.

The English Factories in India. By Sir William Foster (Clarendon Press, Oxford) 1925.

Sir William Foster's work in exploring the India Office archives is at once the envy and the despair of younger scholars. The energy, the patience and the ability shewn by him in his monumental volumes are such that any historian may well be proud of

them. The materials on which he has worked exist in the India Office, the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and the Bombay Record Office. We are confident the book will be as much valued as the *Court Minutes*.

Hindu-Pad-Padshahi. By V. D. Savarkar (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras) 1925.

This little, neatly got-up book purports to be a review of the Hindu Empire of Maharashtra. Marhatta history has only recently been correctly written; the labours of Ranade, Parasnis, Sarkar, Rajwade have brought to light numerous facts hitherto concealed from students. The author's chief aim in writing this work "has been to ascertain and appraise the value of the Maratta movement in terms of Hindu history." The book is written in a vigorous style and deserves to receive public appreciation for its patriotic fervour, though this feature will not, naturally, commend itself to that cold, calculating individual—called the scientific historian.

Sind. By J. Abbott (Oxford University Press, London) 1925.

The best-known book on Sind hitherto has been Sir Richard Burton's "Unhappy Valley." That brilliant genius did not include balance among his numerous gifts, and his volume is a characteristic medley of striking passages, picturesque narrative and unreliable generalisations. Mr. Abbott of the Indian Civil Service has rendered a distinct public service in removing from the mind of the student the mistaken view caused by Burton's misrepresentation. He restates and offers fresh solutions of the many knotty problems of Sindhi history and geography. The literary charm of his book is great. Here is one of its many excellent passages: "It has its seasons. In the cold season its drab monotonies are broken by patches of vivid colour, where the wild fowl find an unmolested sanctuary; oases of tawny gold and snowy white, where the brahminy and sheldrake, the pelican and ibis settle in their thousands, and the unbroken sky of day blushes with maiden blush as countless flamingoes rise in fleecy clouds of sunset rose. And as the night approaches, the mystery which lingers over these flats by day draws increase from the intangible secrets of a hectic and ephemeral beauty, when the damp and treacherous waste becomes one huge prismatic mirror, in which the splendour of sunset and afterglow is reflected in wondrous wise."

Sher Shah Suri. By Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan (Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore), 1925.

Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan is a member of the Council of State and was for many years in the Imperial Legislative Council. To politics he has devoted his leisure; off and on, however, he turns to literature and history. His monograph on the poetry of Iqbal amply repays perusal. In the present volume he has written an account of the personality and career of one of the most remarkable figures of the sixteenth century. Dr. Spooner justly observes in his foreword: "The fact that the peasantry for which Sher Shah was so consistently and sustainedly concerned, and whom he so greatly benefited by his regulations, were in the main Hindus, immeasurably advances his claims to honour, in an age before any large fusion of the races had taken place." Sir Zulfikar's book fills a real need.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Three notable books have recently appeared on the choice of books, which deserve the attention of the reading public. These are Mr. C. Kernahan's *The Reading Girl* (G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2), Mr. W. R. Simmett's *Books and Reading* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W.C. 1) and Mr. E. E. Kellett's *Appreciation of Literature* (The Epworth Press, London). The first is primarily intended for young women given to studying the best literature—old and new; but there is much in it which is likely to be useful to readers of the other sex as well, as the suggestions made are judicious and will be helpful to all students. The same ground, though planned out from a different point of view, is covered in Mr. Simmett's book, which successfully provides a popular and practical guide to literature intended for the average man and woman, and especially for young people. The author, who combines wide literary knowledge with practical experience as a librarian, discusses methods of reading, aids to study, the choice of books, the use of public libraries, etc., and surveys the whole field of literature from children's books to the ancient classics, and from poetry and philosophy to modern fiction. The two books under notice usefully supplement each other and they should both find places on the bookshelf of the student. Mr. Kellett's book has a value of its own. It will be useful to those whose main occupa-

tion lies outside the field of literature, to share in the delight which literature, perhaps to a higher degree than any other form of art, is capable of affording. It will enable the lover of literature, to appraise the various sections of it at their right value, and will materially help the student in making a choice for the reading of the classics.

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) have done well to have started a useful series of booklets called "Practical Handbooks", in which scholars and specialists have been secured to write on various important subjects—ranging from chairmanship of a meeting to the writing of short stories. The latest addition to the series is Mr. Harold Herd's *Writer's Guide*, which is an up-to-date handbook of ideas and information for all who write. Its scope is best explained by the chapter headings:—Books that Sell, About Agreements; Successful Free-Lancing; Profitable Openings; System for the Writer; The Literary Test Chart; How to Prepare and Submit MSS.; The Writer's Reference Library; What is Copyright? Literary Agents; Things You Should Know; How to Correct Printer's Proofs; A Guide to the Literary Market: (a) What Publishers Want, (b) What Editors Want. Leading publishers have supplied interesting contributions about their requirements. Altogether a highly useful work. This series should have a large circulation.

Life in the Indian Civil Service (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London) is a notable addition to Anglo-Indian literature. Its author, Sir Evan Macdonochie, who retired in 1921 after some 33 years of distinguished service in India, here offers to the public a volume of reminiscences, designed to interest the ordinary man and woman in the life of an Indian Civilian, and in the many problems which it presents in its daily course. It is an interesting account of a career which has been happy and interesting to its subject, and is open to any youngster of ordinary ability and industry who may be attracted by its prospects. The first chapter sketches briefly the troubles that the Indian Civil Service has had to face, and the improvements which have been effected in recent years. There are striking character portraits of some of the principal men under whom Sir Evan served, and in particular an appreciation of Lord Curzon from the standpoint of one who was familiar with his work and personality. The intending candidate for the Indian Civil Service will find valuable suggestions in the author's account of the nature of the work upon which he was employed, while the general reader cannot fail to be interested in the estimate of the present position and

of the future possibilities of the relations of Great Britain with India, which closes the volume. The author has endeavoured to avoid any over-statement of the attractions of the Service, but his record of many happy hours spent in sport, in social intercourse, and in congenial duties is in itself a sufficient witness that official life in India has many recompenses and not a little charm—in spite of the, on the whole, unfounded complaints which have recently formed the stock-in-trade of the average Civilian. We commend its perusal to all interested in modern India.

In his *Free-Thought in the Social Sciences* (Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) the author—Mr. J. A. Hobson—describes the struggle of Economics, Politics and Ethics to maintain their integrity as disinterested sciences. Refractory material, inexact methods, inadequate terminology and concepts, the constant pressure of secret biases, seeking to mould their teaching into interested doctrines, are, he contends, formidable enemies. This struggle is more fully illustrated in the classical and Proletarian types of Political Economy. A special study is given to the attempts to give a sham exactitude to Economics by the illicit application of mathematical method. Illustrations of the same struggle for truth are given in the fields of ethics and politics. The survival value of disinterested science is vindicated by the progress of these studies. The book is obviously not light reading, but though abstruse, it is thought-provoking and deserves serious consideration.

The Arab Civilization, by Professor Joseph Hell, has been rendered into English, from German, by Mr. S. Khuda Buksh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law, Fellow of the Calcutta University, and Lecturer in History of Islam, who has already to his credit a number of excellent and scholarly translations from German into English of standard works on Islamic culture. Prof. Hell's monograph—*Die Kultur der Araber*—is at once a summing-up and a revaluation of Arab civilization. So far as the translator is aware, he says that there is no such handbook—compact, accurate, felicitous in diction, and sound in judgment—to be found in any language, Eastern or Western, and we are disposed to agree with him, for deep as is Prof. Hell's obligation to his fore-runners in this branch of learning, his presentation of the subject is distinctly and characteristically his own. The book thus merits the earnest attention of all students of Arab culture. A very useful bibliography is appended to the book to which, however, Muir's "History of the Khalifate" and Munck's "Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe" might well have been added.—The

book is published by the well-known publishing firm—Messrs. Heffer and Sons of Cambridge. Its typography, get up and binding are excellent. We are particularly pleased to find ourselves free from the teasing trammels of errata and complicated diacritical marks. But as it is a brief monograph of 128 pages, the publishers would have been well advised if they had made it of the more convenient size and had priced it cheaper.

Mr. J. B. Black's *The Art of History* (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.) is a study of four great historians of the eighteenth century. The function of this essay is to re-state and re-examine, sympathetically and critically, the main features of eighteenth-century historiography, as illustrated by the writings of Voltaire, Hume, Robertson and Gibbon. The keynote was struck by Voltaire in the words: *Il faut écrire l'histoire en philosophe*; and history was regarded as a philosophico-literary pursuit, an art rather than a science. As a result, it was widely read and appreciated as a means of preparation for the duties of social and political life. Mr. Black has rendered a useful service to the study of history by presenting to the reader his critical survey, which is marked by learning, scholarship and a scientific spirit. It is a thoughtful study.

The Ego and Spiritual Truth by Mr. I. C. Lehyam (C. W. Daniel & Co., Tador Street, London, E. C. 4) is rather a recondite work which will require for its appreciation careful perusal and mental application. The ways of Philosophy and Science for most scientists lie apart, but the author of this work, impelled by the perplexities that confront the mathematical physicist in modern times, has sought to bring the two into unison. In his former volume, *The Ego and Physical Force*, he laid down the lines of a philosophic scheme in harmony with modern physical science. In this present volume, he further shows how the actualities which are not amenable to physical measurement and description and which are, in consequence, commonly left uncomprehended by the naturalistic scientist, nevertheless play their immense part in the Universe, imbuing it with spiritual, æsthetic and moral values, which are thus fundamental in Nature and are in fact its most significant constituents. It is difficult to convey the scope of this book in a short note. For the assistance of the general reader an Introductory Essay by Mr. Louis Zangwill places the issues, as handled by the author, in a clear historical perspective and attempts a summing up of those philosophic questions which more particularly are before us to-day, including

a close scrutiny of the scientific concept of "causation", and a philosophic valuation of the Rinestein conceptions. The book deserves earnest attention.

Yet another anthology—*A Book of English Verse Satire*, chosen and annotated by Mr. A. G. Barnes (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.). This collection will be useful to students. This selection, representing the work of thirty poets, will provide the student and the general reader with the best English satire between the Elizabethan period and the present day, the range extending from John Donne to Sir Owen Seaman. In an excellent introduction the editor explains the characteristics and influence of the Roman writers and outlines the history of English satire and the causes which contributed to its development and decline. The notes, as well as illuminating the obscure passages, contain critical appreciations of the different authors and, where necessary, a brief description of the occasions of each poem. Altogether a capital anthology of English satire.

In his *Unfinished Task of Foreign Missions* (which are the James Sprunt lectures for the current year) Dr. Robert Speer, one of the foremost of living missionary statesmen, presents and discusses some of the facts and problems attendant on present-day missionary activity in various parts of the world. No man living is better fitted for the task than Dr. Speer—few, if any men, quite so well. He addresses himself to his subject in a spirit of hopefulness, which the years of world-travail and the resultant adverse vicissitudes have failed to quench. In this spirit, Dr. Speer surveys the field, analyses the difficulties, indicates the lines of approach and seeks to confirm the hope of the final triumph. In aspects not a few, this is the most important missionary document which has appeared in years, one worthy of a great administrator and authority, with more than thirty years' experience and active participation in foreign missionary enterprise behind him, to lend weight and authority to his survey, and its contingent conclusions. For these reasons the book merits attention at the hands of the Christian and the non-Christian alike. The book is published by Messrs. Fleming H. Revell Co. of New York.

Dr. August Reischauer's *The Task in Japan* (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York) is a study in modern missionary imperatives and an important contribution to foreign missionary literature by an acknowledged authority. Its main purpose is to enter

a spirited plea for the type of Christian effort which Prof. Reischauer considers necessary to hold the field of the future in Japan. In addition, the book has a finely-written resume of the great religions of the East, based on twenty years of first-hand study, made by its author on the mission fields of the Orient. This portion will naturally make a wider appeal to readers than that concerned with the missionary aspects. Thus, in one and the same volume, Professor Reischauer furnishes his readers with a missionary retrospect, a present-day survey, a challenge to future effort, together with a concrete essay in the study of Comparative Religions, and for these reasons merits attention.

Politics and Economics is a little book by Mr. Herbert G. Williams, (John Murray, London). Mr. Williams, who is not only an M. P. but a Master of Science and a Civil Engineer, has found time to put together a readable book on the application of certain fundamental principles to economic problems. His treatment comprises a discussion of the fundamental principles of Political Economy and their application to the problems and controversies of the day—Socialism, Protection, Unemployment, etc. The subject is treated simply, as the object is to "make electors acquainted with the fundamental laws of Economics." Though catering for the man in the street, the book is scientific and scholarly and is well adapted for the purposes of an introductory text-book.

Modern Turkey, edited by Mr. B. G. Mears (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.) is a composite work written by specialists and experts and prepared on an encyclopaedic plan. It is an authoritative study of present conditions in Turkey, analytical in treatment, up-to-date and informative. There are chapters on the Turkish Government, the press, land tenure, agriculture, commerce, the status of women, the Armenians, the Greeks, the Jews, etc., some of these written by outside authorities and translated by Professor Mears, many of them from his own hand. He has also supplied a chronology, bibliography, select documents, maps and illustrations, which add greatly to the permanent value of the book, and has enhanced its timeliness by recording and interpreting the treaty of Lausanne. Thus the book is comprehensive and *Modern Turkey* should take its place as a standard work both for the purposes of study and reference, as it presents critical studies of Turkish conditions of to-day—racial, economic, religious, social and political. To all those who desire to clearly understand the pro-

blems of modern Turkey we commend this book as a serious and authoritative contribution.

Yet another book dealing with modern Turkey is Mr. Harold Armstrong's *Turkey in Travail* (John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd. London). Embellished with illustrations, it deals with dramatic history, describing the final destruction of the Ottoman Empire during the last years of the World War, European and British post-war diplomacy and politics and their repercussion on the Middle East, the Greek Crusade into Anatolia, the birth, the struggle for existence and the final triumph of a Turkish nation. The book is both interesting and instructive. It is written from personal knowledge gained through exceptional opportunities, and in the skein of history, are entwined first hand pictures of great men, events and places together with the manners and problems of Turkey. It forms a useful supplement to Mr. Mears' *Modern Turkey*.

In the "Handbook series" issued by the H. W. Wilson Company of New York, one of the most useful and instructive volumes is *The Negro Problem*, compiled by Julia R. Johnson. This volume is intended to be an interpretation of the leading aspects of the Negro problem of to-day, in compact and convenient form, for the student, debater, or general reader. A preliminary view of the history and status of the Negro in American civilization and material of general interest is given, followed by selections on the more specific phases of race relationships—the problem itself—with special consideration to its leading divisions, controversial or otherwise, race prejudice, amalgamation, education, violence including lynching, race riots, peonage, the Negro of the South and North, Negro suffrage, the Negro in industry, segregation and colonization, and the expression of the best opinion as to the future or the way to racial peace. In accordance with the usual plan of the Handbook Series the aim has been to reflect with impartiality representative opinions and conditions. A carefully selected, classified and annotated bibliography is included, which makes the book all the more useful.

Colonel H. G. Mayes' *Keeping Fit* (Harrap & Co., Ltd., London) is a useful contribution to the literature of preserving good health. "It is an age when we are all acutely alive to the possibilities of preserving youth," says the author of this inspiring book, which, with its separate wall chart of Exercises, is of infinite value to men who, having passed the zenith of their youth, are yet determined not to lose health, slimness,

and suppleness. It should be studied by men and women carefully.

Speeches of Sir Albion Banerji (The Government Press, Bangalore) is a bulky volume of 1245 pages in which are collected together the speeches of Sir Albion Banerji, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retd.), made in Mysore as Member of the Mysore Council, as officiating Dewan and subsequently as Dewan. The speeches made by him during the decade (1916-1926) cover a wide range of activity, political, social, economic and general, and though they all have direct reference to the Mysore State they have much value to readers outside the State, as Mysore has ever been a progressive Government what with the parental solicitude and personal system of administration by His Highness the Maharaja, in co-operation with the splendid work of the Mysore Representative Assembly and the Mysore Legislative Council. The Mysore State could boast of a series of Dewans of eminence and the last of them all is Sir Albion Banerji, who is at once a great administrator, scholar and a man of high eminence and remarkable activity. The book is quite a record of progress made by Mysore from 1916 to 1926 and as the successful administration of an Indian State is an object-lesson to other States and to the British Administration itself, we commend the book to Indian statesmen and public men who are sure to find ample materials for thought and study in this rather big tome.

In Darkest London by Mrs. Cecil Chesterton (Messrs. Stanley Paul and Co., London) is a notable contribution to Sociology. The problem of unemployment among women in England becomes more and more acute day by day, with the result that a large number of them are homeless and destitute. Morbid nature, vagabond love of a shiftless life and a desire to live on other people's bounty are generally the reasons advanced for destitution. To test if that be so, Mrs. Cecil Chesterton courted the life of a destitute woman with nothing to stand upon but her personality. She started on her travels and after many adventures which are graphically described in the volume, she found it tragically impossible for a woman to get employment in any recognised calling without reference or status of some sort. The author expatiates on the philanthropic work of the Salvation Army centres and appeals strongly to the London County Council to provide good lodgings for women in distress and suggests that men and women in politics should fight for decent conditions for the fair sex. The book should awaken the social

reformers in England to the realities of the condition of the poor womenfolk there.

Revelations of a Society. Cairvoyants by Nell St. John Montague (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 15 Bedford Street, W.C. 2) is highly entertaining. The talented authoress is the daughter of an English general. Her powers of divination have earned her a world-wide reputation; they were first discovered at the age of four, and cultivated by her nurse in India. Her help has been sought by Royalty, eastern potentates, peers and peeresses, brilliant soldiers and sailors, and men and women of all professions. These are recorded by her in the book under notice. Two weeks before his death, Lord Kitchener wrote regarding some information she had given him. Sir Evelyn Wood paid the following tribute to her powers: 'Every single thing you foretold seven years ago has been fulfilled'; and Sir William Barrett, F.R.S., the late psychic authority, testified to her wonderful crystal vision and second sight. The book should make a wide appeal to the general reader.

NEW EDITION OF A FAMOUS SERIES.

We welcome the publication of a new edition of that famous series, called "The Chandos Classics," issued by Messrs. Frederick Warne. The publication of the Chandos Classics, in their original form in the early seventies, was a literary event of unusual importance, as apart from Bohn's Library, it was the first attempt to place before the reading public the works of the great writers of prose and verse at popular published prices. It is not surprising to learn that on this account the Series met with immediate appreciation and extended to some 150 volumes. In its original form the Press hailed the appearance with enthusiasm, and a great number of the public have been indebted to the Chandos Classics for their first introduction to the beauties of literature. In the course of time many series of books, similar in character, have been placed before the public, but the Chandos Classics, from their completeness and the wide range which they covered, have always held a premier place in the affections of book lovers. Messrs. Warne (Chandos House, Bedford Street, Strand, London) are now re-issuing these Classics in a form more in keeping with the character and style that appeal to the public of to-day, who seem to require their literature in a more portable form than the original Crown & Octavo volumes.

The first batch of twenty-five volumes have been issued already and it is the intention of the publishers to extend the series to include an extensive range of standard literature. The re-issue of this famous series of unabridged standard works in poetry, history, biography and general literature is printed on good paper, tastefully bound in limp cloth. The popular price of these volumes places them within reach of all, and should have the effect of giving a wider knowledge of the higher classes of literature and an inducement to read the works of those great writers whose original genius, refined taste and powerful imagination have enriched the world with the finest productions of the human intellect.

FICTION: CLASSICAL AND CURRENT.

Mr. H. G. Wells is not only a great novelist: he is one of the greatest figures in the intellectual life of to-day. His astounding prophecies, many of which have turned out to be strangely true, his vivid imagination, his gift of descriptive phrase and his whimsical humour illuminate all his books and impart to them a fascination peculiarly their own. It is not surprising, therefore, that a writer of such genius should have gained the distinction of being the most widely read author in the world. His influence is far-reaching, and no one with a claim to the appreciation of good literature can afford to be without a representative edition of his works. We are glad that Messrs. William Collins (4 Brideswell Place, London) have begun to issue the new pocket edition of Mr. Wells's novels and romances to bring this famous author's books within reach of all. Special attention has been paid to the format and care has been taken to maintain the convenient pocket size throughout, without sacrificing either clearness of type or quality of paper. Thus the larger books have been successfully brought into line with those of moderate length and a uniform pocket edition, handsomely bound, and clearly printed on opaque paper specially made for the series, has been rendered possible.

II

(Issued by Mr. John Murray, 38A, Albemarle Street, London).

In Days That Are Dead by Sir Hugh Clifford G.C.M.G., G.B.E. is a book of stories which bring out the human truth of Malay, showing that jealousy,

love, despair, devotion and hatred are personal characteristics of the natives of the East. The book is, moreover, something greater and better than a mere series of tales; for incidentally it realizes the loneliness, the sense of exile, the splendid patience and dutifulness, of the men and women of the English race who laid for Britain the frontiers of the Empire and win honour to her name.

In *Vanneck* Mr. Robert Grant depicts a breezy story in which adventures and critical situations follow one another rapidly. The writer has a first-hand knowledge of the subject: the brilliant description of the race in Cairo could not have been drawn entirely from imagination. Mr. Vanneck, whose name gives the title to the book, is not the hero of the tale, but a shrewd, kindly, humorous American who intervenes to help the hero in some of the apparently hopeless scrapes and difficulties in which he becomes involved. It is essentially a book to cheer and excite the reader.

Florence Bone sets in *Cobblesett* the fresh background of the Yorkshire moors. Seasoned by Yorkshire humour, these stories of village life, through which runs the thread of a love story, reveal the real soul of Yorkshire folk. They will be enjoyed for their genial comprehension and exposition of Yorkshire moods and manners as well as for the central theme of the lonely Londoner who came North for health and found both health and happiness.

Mr. George Woden gives in *the Great Cornelius* a delightful story of Cornelius Grimsley, forgemaster, his life and works; of the forge, the fine house that he built, the invention which carried him to fortune, his great love, his wives, and his children. It is also the story of Cornelius the Less, and of the ambition which set him apart from common men; of how Mr. Bessemer's steel brought war into the forge, and of how the Great Cornelius and Cornelius the Less set the battle in array against each other.

The Way of the Panther by Mr. Denny C. Stokes, is a story of a coffee estate in South India. Shandaw Staines is a sensitive man, his imagination is gripped by the jungle with its exotic growth and mysteries. He falls under its hypnotic influence and, in losing touch with the civilization for which he has fought, feels utterly at peace. Then industrialism comes marching into the paradise, threatening to destroy all he holds dear. His reactions to the new conditions form the principal theme of this tense story.

The Red Apothecary is a delightful Scot's novel. The scene is laid on the borders of Highlands and Lowlands about two centuries ago, when the feuds of the Churches were bitter. An athletic young minister is given the charge of an established Kirk, which has long been neglected and deserted. He tries to win over the bitterly hostile Episcopalists by kindness, but fails and, under the shrewd and kindly guidance of 'The Red Apothecary,' he reluctantly has recourse to persuasion by physical force and skill in wrestling, hammer throwing, caber tossing and in the end succeeds. 'The Red Apothecary' himself is a striking character: a combination of rough kindness, humour and wisdom that cannot fail to attract the reader. Mr. John Horne has written the story in a genuine garb.

John Charity by Mr. Horace A. Vachell, is an arresting novel where revolution, plot and counter-plot, love that never knew its earthly close; abductions of fair Señoras by Indians, and galloping rescues make up an exciting story. It is interesting from beginning to end.

Rose of the world is a delightful novel and the author Kathleen Norris depicts love sacrificed and yet triumphant in a picture of womanhood which touches the heart. The same author in *Sisters* gives a realistic story of life and of the eternal conflict between love and hate written with graphic skill.

III.

(Issued by Messrs. W. Collins & Co., Ltd., 48, Pall Mall, London).

Mr. W. C. Tuttle, famous in America as a writer of stirring Western romances, has written three novels: *The Flood of Fate*, *The Medicine Man*, *Ghost Trails* and have proved exceedingly popular in England. Miss Clemence Dane, in a recent article, referred to Mr. Tuttle as one of her favourite "Western" authors. The characterisation, construction and vivid description, based on actual experiences, reveal the touch of a master of his craft.

From the Wings by "the Stage Cat," edited by Elizabeth Fagan was hailed when first published as one of the best and the most amusing books of theatrical reminiscences ever compiled. The sagacious animal responsible for it has had a long and varied experience of theatrical life, and has been associated with most of the stage celebrities of recent years. This lively chronicle is full of good stories, and a word of praise is due to Elizabeth Fagan for her competent services as editor.

Mr. Conal O'Riordan's new novel, *Young Lady Dazincourt*, is unlike his other books, despite the fact that in its pages appear many figures with whom he has already made us familiar. Here come Adam Quinn and Mr. Macarthy from the pages of *Adam of Dublin*, *Adam and Caroline*, *In London and Married Life*. We already know them through and through, yet here they are presented from an entirely new point of view: that of a young Englishwoman who resents their intrusion into her affairs. That young woman is Beatrice, daughter of the Reverend Simeon Rayne, whose family we have met in the *Age of Miracles*. Here come, too, Lord Dazincourt, the hero of that romance, with his friend, Mr. Priest, the hero of the chillier romance of Rowena Barneets, and Mr. Posthumous, his violin left behind, riding a bicycle through the Upper Alps. There at the great hotel dominating the landscape at Maloja, the book culminates in a scene unique in fiction though perhaps less so in fact. It has been said of some of Mr. O'Riordan's heroines, such as Barbara Burns and Caroline Brady, that they are not immeasurably better than they ought to be. What shall be said of young Lady Dazincourt? Is it she who suggests the placing on the title page these words of Jeremy Taylor's: "Is it easier to die for chastity than to live with it"?

The Quarterbreed by Mr. Robert Ames Bennet, relates the adventures of Captain Floyd Hardy, of the United States Cavalry, who becomes acting agent on an Indian reservation after the murder, supposedly by an enraged Indian, of the former agent. On the reservation he meets the alluring Marie Dupont, daughter of Jake Dupont, the trader, and great-granddaughter of Sitting Bull. She is the "Quarterbreed," and the captain's love for this beautiful, wilful girl, who has been brought up in a Canadian convent, is the one bright spot in his lonely frontier life. He is cordially hated by his rival for Marie, as well as by her father, and these two scoundrels endeavour to bring about his downfall. The dogged manner in which he frustrates their attempts on his life provides the framework of this exciting Western novel.

In *All the Way* by Elizabeth Fagan gives the story of an ordinary woman, all the more lovable because of her suggested weakness. She goes on the stage as a chorus girl in a touring company, and her adventures, struggles, her two marriages, and her development "uphill all the way" are related in a charming intimate style, which bears the stamp of truth. The theatrical scenes and characters are

especially vividly drawn, with the inside knowledge, and the kindly, though occasionally caustic, pen of the author of *From the Wings* is a delightful creation.

The Connoisseur and other Stories by Mr. Walter De La Mare—apart from *Broomsticks*, a book of stories for children—is the first collection of short stories that the author has published since *The Riddle*. All the stories contained in it have been written during the last two years. These tales of true enchantment are manifestly the work of a poet who is also an acknowledged master of prose. Indeed, Mr. de la Mare can truthfully be credited with the invention of a new genre of short story in which the curious ineffable atmosphere that, suggested rather than conveyed, surrounds each story, is all-important. From the commonplace setting of city tea-shop or country tap-room one passes, almost without perceptible change, to the realm of high romance in which strange inexplicable events may happen. Always present are that delicate artistry and sure sense distinction and charm to everything that Mr. de la Mare writes.

The Return by Mr. Walter de la Mare, is a notable novel. *The Times* referred to *The Return* as being "among the most remarkable pieces of imaginative prose we have had for a generation." It was with *The Return* that Mr. de la Mare won the first award of the de Polignac Prize in 1911. It is a novel with a fantastic motive treated with that delicate and graceful naturalism which inspires all his work. The theme is the possession of the body of a simple modern man by the spirit of an old French adventurer, a spirit that has its effect on the victim's appearance rather than on his mind. "It is a masterpiece," says Mr. James Douglas "which compels comparison with Poe and Henry James." There can be no higher praise.

Memoirs of a Midget by Mr. Walter de la Mare, is a wonderfully conceived character, and her relations with the world of what we regard as normal humanity are humorous and infinitely pathetic. Her whole story is told in this autobiography, from the calm of her sheltered childhood to the terrible stresses of her middle age, ever with a growing realisation of the tragedy that she is an observer of life rather than a participator in it. "For centuries to come," said Rebecca West in *The New Statesman*, "this book will inspire imaginative people."

Henry Brocken, by Mr. Walter de la Mare, was originally published in 1904, and is the earliest of Walter

de la Mare's prose works. In it he describes in a pictorial, narrative form the adventures of the imaginative reader in the larger world. Henry Brocken rides out of reality and encounters various old friends stepping from their old settings in the world of books, to take on the richer appearance with which Henry Brocken has already endowed them in his mind. Early work as this is, the delicate literary style, the fantastic whimsical imagination, so characteristic of the later de la Mare, is already well developed. It has been charmingly illustrated by Marian Ellis.

IV.

(Issued by Messrs Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 8, Endsleigh Gardens, London).

In the *Famous Detective Mysteries* Mr. George Barton gives stories which reflect the wonderful advance that has been made in the detection of crime during the last few decades. The author, who is a well-known writer of detective stories, has illustrated the methods of the police in all countries and all ages.

In *Crook Jones*, Mr. Netley Lucas, who stands alone as a writer on criminal matters from within, has written a book dealing with the woman law-breaker. Every female "Raffles" in this amazing book is living to-day, and in many cases still occupied in nefarious practices. Opening with the women of London's underworld he deals successively with those of Paris, Monte Carlo, Berlin, Rouen, New York, Chicago, Canada and South America, and finally with the woman delinquent in the mysterious East.

The Grasshopper and other Stories which is the fourteenth volume issued by Messrs. Stanley Paul in their famous International Library of Fiction is an entirely new translation and contains three stories that have never before been given to English readers. The author, Anton Chekhov, is a Russian novelist of renown and the book is issued with an Introduction by Mr. A. E. Chamot. The volume before us contains some remarkably good stories and is a notable addition to Russian fiction available in English.

V.

(Issued by Messrs. Thornton, Butterworth, Ltd., 15, Bedford St., London).

A Man with his Back to the East, by Helen Halyburton Ross, is quite an interesting study. Who was

the Dragoman? There was some mystery about him, but, whoever he was, he certainly proved a most efficient guide to Paula Dufresne, a young heiress, who is visiting Egypt. He is also a thorn in the side of Sheikh Shafei El Hama, whose politics are as seditious as his designs upon Paula are dishonourable. Paula, indeed, requires a good deal of looking after, for in her wilfulness she has quarrelled with the faithful and intrepid Mark Winter, whom she loves, and has engaged herself to another out of pure pique. Winter, meanwhile, is playing a perilous game in outmanoeuvring the Sheikh, from whose clutches he rescues Paula in the nick of time. As to the Dragoman, his devotion, like his mystery, is made clear as the noonday. This is a story of rapid incident, a drama of young life and love picturesquely staged in one of the oldest countries of the world.

Gabrielle by Mr. W. B. Maxwell, is the story of a girl with an unfortunate past. She meets and is loved by a high-souled idealist, who believes her to be the good woman that, as a matter of fact, she really is. Unfortunately, he discovers the underhand practices of her mother and stepfather—two very cleverly drawn characters—and, convinced that Gabrielle is a confederate and decoy, he breaks off the engagement. They meet again under singularly dramatic circumstances, and the love-story, so cruelly interrupted, reaches a happy conclusion. The story moves swiftly, and the two lovers are drawn with the knowledge and strong, yet restrained, sympathy by grace of which Mr. Maxwell has made so many friends.

The Apple of the Eye is a first novel, by a young American author, and it is a very remarkable piece of work. It is a novel of large themes, of tragedy and comedy, of life. It tells the story of a small group of people, inhabitants of a village in Wisconsin. Yet because the plot is set in a definitely American locality, it does not mean that the book is barren of interest to all but Americans. The story is primitive, its appeal universal. The book is full of the strange beauty of raw, simple life. Although the tale is sometimes gloomy, it is saved from morbidity by its engrossing realism. There is a strong love interest in this novel, but Mr. Wescott, the author, unlike so many of his compatriots, is an artist, and not merely a dabbler in the undesirable science of sexual psychology. Here is a book for the lover of good literature, of strength, and sanity and the charm of truth.

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