

RoE66

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

(FORMERLY "THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW")

VOL. VIII

JANUARY MAY, 1916. Nos. 21-24



PUBLISHED AT
WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, 3, VICTORIA STREET, LONDON.
BY
EAST AND WEST, LIMITED.

6607
1123

INDEX TO VOL. VIII.

THE NEAR EAST		PAGE
CARMEN SYLVA. By Oliver Bainbridge		1
SOCIALIST MANIFESTO ON THE NEW GREEK ELECTIONS		63
THE LIFE OF ELEFTHERIOS VENIZELOS. By F. R. Scatcherd		97
H.M. KING OF MONTENEGRO. By Oliver Bainbridge		129
THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TURK. By Sir Edwin Pears		321
GREECE AT THE CROSS-ROADS. By P. P. Theophylatos		416
CHANGING EGYPT. By Old Nile		410
THE WAYS THROUGH THE BALKANS		456
LORD KITCHENER IN PALESTINE. By Dr. S. Daichas		427
REVIEW OF BOOKS:		
The Caliph's Last Heritage. By Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Mark Sykes		72
Nationalism and War in the Near East. By a Diplomatist		76
The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire. By H. A. Gibbons		346
The House of War. By Marmaduke Pickthall		437
Archæological Excavations. By J. P. Droop		433
The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline, and Fall. By Sir W. Muir		428
Perfumes of Araby. By H. F. Jacob		353

THE MIDDLE EAST

A RIDE THROUGH PERSIA AND MESOPOTAMIA. By J. C. Roome	58
REVIEW OF BOOKS:	
Omar Khayyam. By Dr. John Pollen	69
The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria. By M. Jastrow	431

INDIA

THE REPAIRER OF THE TAJ MAHAL. By Colonel Sir Edward Thackeray	19
POPULAR TERMS AND PRINCELY TITLES. By Lieutenant-General Tyrrell	166
TAXATION IN INDIA. By J. B. Pennington, I.C.S.	265
THE BATTLE OF BUXAR. By Colonel Sir Edward Thackeray	375

Proceedings of the East India Association

INDIA AND ITS INDIAN RAJAS. By St. Nihal Singh	32
HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS. By G. C. Whitworth, I.C.S.	177
INDIAN WOMEN AND NATIONAL WELL-BEING. By Lady Muir-Mackenzie	198
A FORGOTTEN PAGE OF INDIAN HISTORY. By Sir Frederic Lely	276
THE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA. By Sir Guilford Molesworth	

REVIEW OF BOOKS:

	PAGE
The Great War of Ancient India. By Thakur Rajendra Singh . . .	78
The Census of India: An Analysis and Criticism. By M. Subraya Kamath . . .	78
Waqaya-i-Niamat Khan-i-Ali. Edited by Otto Rothfield . . .	79
The English Factories in India . . .	79
Pictures of Buddhist Ceylon and Other Papers. By F. L. Woodward . . .	80
The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus. By B. Seal . . .	81
Poohi. By A. F. J. Chinoy . . .	81
The Ibex of Sha Ping. By Lieutenant L. B. Rundall . . .	83
Religion and Dharma. By Nivedita . . .	421
Memoirs of the Colombo Museum . . .	422
Readings from Indian History. By E. R. Sykes . . .	422
Theosophy and Modern Thought. By C. Jinarayadasa . . .	423
Lucknow. By Major H. A. Newell . . .	424
The Making of British India. By Ramsay Muir . . .	424
The History of Kathiawad. By Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell . . .	425

RUSSIA

ST. GEORGE THE PATRON OF ALL BRAVE RUSSIANS. By S. E. Howe . . .	137
RUSSIA'S FAITH IN VICTORY. By Olga Novikoff . . .	173
SLAVS IN BONDAGE. By F. P. Marchant . . .	156
RUSSIA AND ENGLAND. By Baron Heyking . . .	324
THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA. By Olga Novikoff . . .	327
THE UNPARDONABLE SIN OF THE WAR. By Olga Novikoff . . .	381

REVIEW OF BOOKS:

Tales by Polish Writers. Translated by C. E. M. Benecke . . .	71
"The Bet" and Other Stories. By Anton Tchekhov . . .	88
Dostoevsky. By E. Solovics . . .	352

ORIENTALIA

MUHAMMAD'S HOURS IN AVESTA. By Professor L. H. Mills . . .	25
IMPORTANT PATNA "ZOROASTRIAN" EXCAVATIONS. By Lieutenant- Colonel L. Waddell . . .	28
THE TEMPTATION OF ZARATHUSHTRA. Translated by Professor L. H. Mills . . .	162
ALTERATIONS IN LEADING LANDMARKS OF EARLY VEDIC AND BUDDHIST HISTORY. By Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell . . .	339
SEMITIC ORIENTALISM AND FRENCH ISLAM. By Professor Edouard Montet . . .	303
THE AVESTIC H(A)OMA AND THE VEDIC SOMA. By Professor L. H. Mills . . .	314

THE FAR EAST

THE CHINESE AS A WARRIOR IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY (the China Society). By S. G. Cheng . . .	213
YUAN SHI-K'AI AS HUANG-TI. By E. H. Parker . . .	245
JAPAN'S RED CROSS ASSOCIATION. By C. M. Salwey . . .	269
LINEA ON THE ACCESSION OF H.I.J.M. YOSHI-HITO. By C. M. Salwey . . .	122
WHAT A GERMAN VICTORY WOULD MEAN TO BURMA AND CHINA. By D. A. Wilson . . .	365
REVIEW OF BOOKS.	
Japan the New World Power. By R. P. Porter . . .	83
The Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi . . .	84
Government General of Chosen . . .	85
An Irish Woman in China. Reviewed by E. H. Parker . . .	234
Java, Past and Present. By D. M. Campbell . . .	344
Indisch Natuuronderzoek. By Dr. Saks . . .	443
Travels East of Suez. By R. Humphreys . . .	421
A Hermit Turned Loose. By A. Kawabata . . .	448

MILITARY

SOME PARALLELS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION .

ENEMY FINANCE AND RUSSIA'S BLOW IN THE CAUCASUS	149
SALONIKA	333

AFRICA

REVIEW OF BOOKS :

The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. By C. M. Firth	77
Myths and Legends of Ancient Egypt. By L. Spence	76
Stories of Egyptian Gods and Heroes. By F. H. Brooksbank	76
A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti. By W. W. Claridge	442

FINANCE

REVIEW OF BOOKS :

On Chinese Currency. By Dr. G. Vissering	444

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND CRITICISM

REVIEW OF BOOKS :

Prehistoric Man and his Story. By Professor G. S. Scott Elliott	434
Ephemera. By G. Drage	435
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	436
Mutual Defence of Nations. By O. F. MacLagan	437
Killing for Sport. With a Preface by Bernard Shaw	438
Memoirs of a Publisher. By G. H. Putnam	349
Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. XII.	350
G. K. Chesterton. By Julius West	351
Poems. By Eleanor Jenkins	90
Adoration and Other Poems. By C. and R. Salway	91
Oxford Poetry, 1915	91

Fiction

The Honey of Romance. By M. C. Dravy	86
Michael O'Halloran. By G. Stratton Porter	86
The Story of Juha Page. By Kathleen Norris	87
Heart of the Sunset. By Rex Beach	88
Narcissus. By Viola Maynell	440
The Dark Forest. By Hugh Walpole	440

CORRESPONDENCE :

Macedonia and the Importance of Salonika. By P. P. Theophilatos	104
Armenian Atrocities and Some Scopes. By F. R. Scatterd	106
The Cost of Administration in India. By J. B. Pennington, I.C.S	237
The Employment of Soldiers after the War. By J. B. Pennington, I.C.S	449
The Great Work of To-morrow. By Captain J. W. Petavel, R.E	260
Restoration of Armenians. By Aneurin Williams, M.P.	452

LORD'S HOMAGE TO SHAKESPEARE 462

LONDON THEATRES :

L'Enfant Prodiges	126
The Barker	243
Mrs. Pretty and the Premier	243
Caroline	264

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET. By A. A. Smith 123, 227, 354, 464

CONCERNING NOTES :

Concise Preamble	123
Concise	241

AUTHOR'S COPYRIGHT

PRESENTED TO MR BAINBRIDGE BY HIS MAJESTY



Nicola

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

FEBRUARY 15, 1916

MONTENEGRO AND THE MONTENEGRINS

BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE

"They rose to where their sovran eagle sails,
They kept their faith, their freedom, on the height,
Chaste, frugal, savage, armed by day and night
Against the Turk, whose inroad nowhere scales
Their headlong passes, but his footstep fails,
And red with blood the Crescent reels from fight
By thousands down the crags and through the vales.
O smallest among peoples! rough rock-throne
Of Freedom! warriors beating back the swarm
Of Turkish Islâm for five hundred years.
Great Tsernagora, never since thine own
Black ridges drew the cloud and broke the storm
Has breathed a race of mightier mountaineers."

TENNYSON.

"Life and property are probably more secure in Tsernagora than in most European countries, and it is a common saying in Dalmatia that money which is left to-day upon a Montenegrin highroad is certain to be found there to-morrow."—FRANCIS SEYMOUR STEVENSON: *A History of Montenegro*.

THE necessity of geographical knowledge as well as unity among the armies that are available for the crushing of the Prussian Monster is emphasized by the fall of Lovtchen and Cetinje. Bearing in mind the task to be accomplished by the Allies, too great stress cannot be laid on the value of proper method in disposing both of time and energy. When the indomitable energy and the greatly daring spirit of the Allied armies is rightly guided, it produces magnificent results. The Allies, we have every confidence, will work

their way up to a position which will overtop their enemies. Meantime the Kaiser has not hesitated to say that, if the imperfections of his enemies were corrected, the movements of the machine they would set in motion would not only be accurate, but irresistible.

In 1895 Mr. Gladstone said that, in his deliberate opinion, the traditions of Montenegro exceed in glory those of Marathon and Thermopylæ and all the war traditions of the world. This opinion is heartily endorsed by all those who have studied the history of the people of the "Black Mountain," which has been one continuous struggle for five hundred years.

I delight to think of the people of the Black Mountain ; they please my imagination with their picturesque and quaint abodes ; with their watchful secluded lives, striking costumes, and courtly manners. I admire their heroic and elevated qualities. They live amongst noble objects and have imbibed their nobility ; they live amongst the elements of poetry, and are poetical ; they are surrounded by sternness and the perils of savage nature, their social affections have therefore been proportionately concentrated, their home-ties lively and strong ; but, more than all, they live within the barriers, the strongholds, the very last refuge, which Nature herself has reared to preserve alive liberty on the earth, to preserve to man his highest hopes, his noblest emotions, his dearest treasures, his faith, his freedom, his hearth, and his home.

How glorious does the Black Mountain appear when we look upon it as the abode of free hearts ; as the stern, heaven-built walls from which the Montenegrins have looked down and beheld the waves of despotism break at their feet ; have seen the rage of murderous armies and tyrants, the blasting spirit of ambition, fanaticism, and crushing domination, recoil from its base in despair.

The Black Mountain has been the greatest friend of the Montenegrins. In a thousand extremities it has saved them. It is here they have resisted the revolutions of the

lower regions, and retained through century after century their habits and rights. The Montenegrins of to-day show us in face and figure, in language and garb, what their fathers were ; and show us, moreover, how adverse is the spirit of the mountain to mutability, and that there the fiery heart of freedom is found for ever.

The fighting instinct, which has been impressed upon the Montenegrins by hereditary transmission for many generations, will not allow them to accept an injury without resentment. They may admire the sentiment, "Love thy enemy," but they cannot practise it. Is there one theologian on earth to-day who would not attack an importunate opponent? I think not. If there were such a one, he would be so unlike humanity that we should be tempted to regard him as a monster.

If I might attempt a subtle distinction, I should say that in no law known is self-defence forbidden, and the distinction—so elusive and delicate—between self-defence and revenge is recognized in our own code very thoroughly. Recognized or not recognized, however, the blunt fact remains that the passion for revenge exists, and that, next to love and fear, it has more to do with the shaping of human life and human fortunes than any other cause. When a man's self-esteem is dead the man is dead ; and our marvellous nature forces us to guard our self-esteem at all hazards. The impulse is there, and all the prating and arguing in the world will not do away with it. Observe how subtly the inexpugnable desire to avenge injuries acts on the finest of men, even though they are sworn to meekness.

The saintly Newman was attacked by Charles Kingsley. Well, no one would reckon Cardinal Newman as pugnacious in any way. Yet he did not content himself with mildly contradicting Kingsley, as he might have done. No, he took his revenge in one of the most scathing pieces of controversial and personal writing that can be found in English : every resource of irony and sarcasm is employed,

and the strokes tell like the swift lunges of a rapier. It is useless to say that Newman was acting only in self-defence—it is useless also to blame him; for he did but show that he was no more than man, and that the primeval elements of human composition exert their force in him as well as in other men.

We are slaves of phrases, and there is hardly an ordinary Christian citizen who will not theorize about the duty of refraining from retaliation when we are injured. Put the same citizen to the test, and his theories go the way of last year's snow.

The great error made by mere abstract moralists lies in their expecting too much of men; if they would cease to expect too much, rest content with small changes, and recognize the plain facts of life, they would be much more comfortable in themselves, and they would enable other people to be more comfortable into the bargain.

Speaking from the point of view of the citizen of the world, I should say that there are a few simple distinctions to be grasped. We may have noble revenge and ignoble revenge, necessary revenge and unnecessary revenge. We must always distinguish, also, between spite and just anger. Spite is the vice of mean hearts, and the very thought of it is repugnant to a strong and sound-minded race like the Montenegrins, but righteous anger is the prerogative of the good and great.

The British soldiers who helped the Montenegrins to capture Cattaro from the French in 1813 always spoke very highly of their patriotism, and the self-sacrifice of their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters. In 1880 the British came to the aid of their old friends again, and secured for them the harbour of Dulcigno. These two friendly acts have made the name of England an exceedingly popular one in the Black Mountain.

I feel very sympathetic towards the Montenegrins, who succeeded during the Balkan wars in capturing Scutari, the city in which the ancestors of their King sleep, but were



forced to surrender it to representatives of other Powers. The King said: "I have fought long with myself, and never in fifty years of my reign have I endured such torment. I have resolved to drain the bitter cup to the dregs. I must give way. I must allow Scutari, this dearest dream of my youth, to be given back—Scutari, the lawful heritage of Montenegro, the pledge of our better future."

His Parliament sought to encourage him to resist, but he answered them: "I am responsible before God, and it would not be right that the curse of generations of Montenegrins to come should rest on my name for the terrible misfortune in which my sorely tried people would be plunged. I have no glimmer of hope, not the slightest prospect of making my own view prevail against the will of the whole of Europe." And so his dream was shattered by the intriguing Powers, who, in seeking their own selfish ends, did not hesitate to place new burdens upon the shoulders of his brave people.

The Montenegrins are very poor, as may be expected from a population which is mainly pastoral and agricultural in such a barren land. The majority of the cultivators own their land and live in a state of communism. There are many small peasant-holdings also, but no large estates.

Russia deserves great praise for contributing annually towards the military, educational, and hospital expenditures of Montenegro. The Empress of Russia maintains a girls' school with one hundred resident pupils at Cetinje, where there is a theological seminary and a college for boys also. There are Government schools throughout the country, and education is free and compulsory. Yet, in spite of colleges, schools, telegraph-offices, banks, courts, post-offices, and other evidences of progress, the Montenegrins retain their old-time charm and simplicity of life. Even the introduction of a National Assembly has not changed the fatherly rule of the King, who has always been the idol of his people.

King Nicholas was born October 7, 1841, and succeeded

to the throne on the death of his uncle, Danilo I., August 14, 1860. He married Milena, the daughter of Peter Vukotic, Senator and Vice-President of the Council of State, and has three sons, Danilo, Mirko, and Peter, and six daughters, Militza, Stana, Elena, Anna, Xenia, and Vera. The marriage of his Majesty's daughter Elena to the King of Italy has proved most advantageous to his mountain State. It has introduced the Petrovic dynasty to the European Courts, and Montenegro into the computation of the political world. His Majesty is also distantly related to the English Royal Family through the marriage of his fourth daughter to Prince Francis Joseph of Battenberg, and his eldest son to the Duchess Jutta of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, great-niece of the Duke of Cambridge.

King Nicholas has directed the diplomacy of his country for fifty-five years with an ability far above the common run of statesmen. And even though he has established a National Assembly, there is not one of the seventy-four members who would take any step without first asking his advice. Prior to the establishment of this Assembly in 1905, the King used to sit under a tree and attend to all affairs of State and administer justice.

The story circulated by the King's enemies asserting that he had a secret understanding with Austria was merely a part of their desperate campaign of lies. King Nicholas is an honest man, and he fully realizes that, whatever may happen to his State, it will not alter the determination of the Allies, who have the Prussian Monster in the death cage, and even though its struggles may be long and titanic its final strangulation is fully assured.

All the efforts of the Kaiser and his dupes can avail nothing to weaken truth, and serve only to make it supreme.

King Nicholas is a "Liberal," but insists on his subjects being "Conservatives." An English M.P. has given an amusing report of his conversation with this genial autocrat, who speaks French, Italian, and German, perfectly. He says: "Once, when expatiating to me upon the subject of

his orthodox Liberalism, I ventured to ask the explanation of what appeared to me a slight inconsistency. How was it that many amongst the most heavily chained prisoners at Cetinje appeared to be in durance because they professed themselves to be Liberals? His Majesty was quite prepared with his explanation."

"I am a Liberal," he replied, "and there is no objection to personal rulers and potentates being Liberals; but all properly conducted subjects should be Conservatives, and I intend that mine shall, at all events."

Not altogether in vain, I thought, had he studied the idiosyncrasies of the object of his political admiration.

All great men have their failings, and King Nicholas's little weakness is that he imagines himself an authority upon British politics. "Why are you not in favour of Home Rule?" he inquired of me on one occasion; "I cannot understand anyone objecting to it." "You have, sir," I replied, "in the Podgoritza district and elsewhere, a large number of Mussulmen Albanian subjects. If these people agitated for separation, what would you do?"

"If they agitated!" exclaimed His Majesty, in a tone of stupefaction—"if any subject of mine agitated for anything at all, I would very soon show him who was master here."

King Nicholas is a complete example of the type we accept as Montenegrin. He is a handsome, tall, strongly-built, dark-eyed, kindly-expressed man who embodies in his own person all those poetic traditions, courtesy, and courage, which are appropriate to the warriors of the Black Mountain. Thus possessing the type in himself, he draws upon it with bold and dashing hardihood; and so long as life lasts, his dauntless and light-hearted warriors, who enjoy alike their dangers and their successes, are ready to shed their last drop of blood for their King who said: "My country is a wilderness of stones; it is arid; it is poor—but I adore it. And if I were offered the whole Balkan Peninsula in exchange, why, I should not say one word more than, 'Leave me Montenegro.'"

In his delightful poem, "Onward, onward, let me see Prizrend," and his two tragedies, "The Empress of the Balkans" and "Prince Arbanit," King Nicholas has voiced the ardent wishes, not only of the Montenegrins, but of all the Serbs.

No ruler of recent times has worked himself so entirely into the love of his people. The best of rulers mistake their subjects, and often misunderstand them. In Montenegro, however, there is neither the one mistake nor the other, but all goes on with perfect harmony—an example to autocrats all over the world.

ST. GEORGE THE PATRON OF ALL BRAVE RUSSIANS

BY SONIA E. HOWE

WHAT the Victoria Cross is to the Englishman, the St. George's Cross is to the Russian. It is given in reward for "Valour and Service"—for deeds of courage and self-sacrificing heroism by land or sea. The man who is decorated with the Insignia of the Order of St. George must have shown something of the spirit of the valorous Saint who is called in Russian folklore "Egori Khrabryi"—George the Brave. Officially, however, St. George bears the noble prefixes of "Martyr" and "Victory-Bringer," and as such he has been intimately linked with the history of the Russian people.

A popular Saint everywhere and especially among the Grusinians, who were called Georgians for their devotion to the great Cappadocian Martyr, St. George had endeared himself to all Slav nations, and supremely so to the Russians. Around his personality and deeds whole cycles of legends and much folklore have been woven, and, both in the sacred and the profane literature of Russia, especially that of the tenth and twelfth century, he occupies an important place. National literature is, after all, but the expression of what the people feel and think, and St. George, the Brave, the Dragon-Killer, the Deliverer of the Maiden, the Miracle-Worker, the Martyr, the Victory-Bringer, is the favourite Saint and hero.

There is so much in the life of this Saint to appeal to the imagination that he has been credited with more miracles and deeds of prowess than can well have fitted into his short life. Yet the different accounts of his deeds as well as of his personal life, the varying stories of parents and brothers and sisters assigned to him from time to time, have never troubled the devout heart, for why should he not have had a brother Feodor? and three sisters, Faith, Hope, and Charity? And surely it makes no difference whether his mother's name was Sophia or Elizabeth? The fact remains that he was young and beautiful, chivalrous and brave, and that he delivered the maiden from the dragon which he killed with his lance while sitting on a white horse, and that later on he died a martyr's death. All this is sufficient to endear him to brave men and fair maidens who claim him as their very own Patron Saint.

He is the special protector of brides, and it is to him that young girls pray for a husband. On his day the village maidens used to deck themselves in his honour to such an extent that it has become proverbial to say of a gaily-dressed girl that "she is dressed up as if for Yuri" (St. George). The men of the village would ride on horseback in his honour, and all would feast on cakes shaped like horses and cattle. In certain parts it was the custom on St. George's Day to dress a young man in green and put on his head a large cake, in the shape of a lamb, and decorated with flowers. Carrying a burning torch in his hand, the youth goes into a field followed by the girls, who sing special songs for the occasion. After walking in procession round the field, the merry young people sit down to a feast; a fire is kindled, the cake made hot, and then divided amongst all those present. In other parts, however, it is a girl who is the heroine, perhaps in memory of the delivered maiden. A village maiden, wearing on her head a wreath of flowers, is bound with a chain of leaves. She is then placed on a bench and beside her are put milk,



FIG. 1.—STONE BAS-RELIEF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY, IN THE MONASTERY OF ST. MICHAEL IN KIEV.

(Taken from the author's book, "A Thousand Years of Russian History.")



FIG. 2.—SILVER GRIVNA, TENTH CENTURY.

(Taken from the author's book, "A Thousand Years of Russian History.")



FIG. 3.—FEODOR IVANOVITCH (1584-1598).

cheese, and butter, and after dancing round the chained beauty, her friends set her free, and the food is then distributed among the happy company. Thus, around the personality of the Saint, social customs have crystallized which have lasted for centuries.

It is easy to perceive, however, that this Christian Saint, who is also the protector of cattle and horses, of field and meadow, has merely stepped into the place of the pagan god Voloss, who, in bygone days, was honoured as the god of wealth; for cattle and wealth are synonymous to an agricultural and pastoral people. He is specially the protector of flocks of sheep, and the wolves obey him. The ideas underlying the sacrifice of sheep and oxen, offered in prehistoric days to the god Voloss, have survived to this day, although the form of expression is different; and, on St. George's Day, figures of animals are made of dough, clay or wax, and brought as offerings to that Saint. In fact, all the customs and superstitions of pagan life connected with spring have been transferred to him, as well as all deeds of dragon-killing by pagan knights. His fight with the dragon, was it not symbolical of the victory of the sun over the darkness of winter? and were not thereby the chains burst asunder which held the virgin earth in the bands of frost?

St. George is also in charge of the Seasons; this honour, however, he shares with St. Dmitri. The relation of these two Saints is like that of "Box and Cox"; "for," says the proverb, "if Dmitri is on horseback, George is in a boat; if it snows on Dmitri's Day, there will be none on George's"; and at the sound of the first thunderclap the Little Russians say: "St. Dmitri has handed over the keys to St. George." There must have been some intimate connection between these two Saints, for in certain legends they are described as brothers, and on some of the oldest representations — indeed, on the very oldest stone-relief found in Russia—they are depicted together.

St. George is perhaps the only Saint to whom more than one day in the year is dedicated. All Christendom celebrates April 23 as his day, but in Georgia he is also given August 14, and November 10, while in Russia he has November 26, as well as April 23. The reason for this is intimately connected with the early days of Russian history. When in 988 Vladimir, Grand Duke of Kiev, had his people and family baptized, his son Yaroslav received the name of Yuri—the Russian for George. Yaroslav, the Wise, as he was afterwards called, was the first Russian ruler to promote education, and by his order Greek MSS. were translated into Russian. As he himself was able to read Greek it is thus more than probable that it was in this way that he became acquainted with the rich store of legends current in Byzantium about his Patron Saint. In the year 1030 he built a church in honour of his Saint near Novgorod, and to this day the Georgievski Monastery stands there as a witness to the victory Yaroslav won not far from that ancient town. On another occasion, after one of his successful expeditions against the heathen Livonians, he built a fort in Livonia which he also called "Yuriev" after his Patron Saint.

In 1036 Yaroslav and his people experienced a great deliverance from the hands of their enemies, the fierce Petchenegs, who were besieging Kiev, the Capital of ancient Russia—the "Mother of Russian towns." Thereupon the Grand Duke dedicated November 26, the day of this victory, to St. George, the Victory-Bringer. In grateful recognition of timely help, Yaroslav gave the order for all Russia "to celebrate a feast," and in order to prevent future generations from forgetting the great deliverance, he commanded November 26 to be commemorated for ever throughout his realm. Thus, for centuries November 26 had not only an ecclesiastical meaning, but came to play an important part in the economic life of the nation. St. George became also Saint of husbandmen, for did not his very name signify "tiller of the soil"? Surely he could

† 011



understand and sympathize with the labourer in his work in field and meadow?

In course of time, November 26 acquired additional significance for the peasantry, for it was on that day that their contract with the landowners, on whose domains they had been working, came to an end, and they were free to move on if they desired to do so. In fact, it was only once a year, and that during the week before and after November 26, that such migration could lawfully take place, and thus to the peasant, "Yuriev's Dyen," or St. George's Day, became the symbol of his liberty and freedom of movement.

Centuries passed, and economic conditions changed, and the peasant came more and more under the power of the landowner, to whom he was often so indebted as to be unable to leave a bad master for a better one; yet, judicially, the peasant was still a free man, and Yuriev's day, potentially, a day of liberty. In the year 1597, however, St. George's Day came to stand for bondage instead of freedom, for in that year, Boris Godounov turned November 26 into the day of the peasant's legal enslavement. He was acting as Regent at that time on behalf of his weak brother-in-law, and his ambition drove him to aim at the throne of Muscovy for himself. In order to gain the support of the lesser nobles, who were always suffering from a lack of agricultural labourers, Boris Godounov promulgated an ukase whereby the hitherto, at least, nominally, free peasant, working that day on privately owned land, became the property of his master. Thus serfdom was introduced: Yuriev's Dyen lost its historical meaning, and the feeling aroused by this terrible deprivation has survived in the proverbial expression of disappointment: "There's Yuriev's Dyen for you!"

From that date, until 1862, serfdom existed in Russia; it was not until two-and-a-half centuries later that these bonds were broken by Alexander II., the Tsar Liberator.

While, however, St. George, as the Saint of the tiller of

the soil, was losing in importance, St. George, the Victory-Bringer, was coming more and more to the front. Ever since the days of Yaroslav the Wise, Russian Princes used the figure of the Warrior Saint on seals and coins or "Grivnas," which they wore on chains round their necks. With one of these Grivnas many a valiant man, or one to whom the Prince felt under an obligation, was rewarded.

In the fourteenth century, St. George was created Patron Saint of Moscow, by Dmitri Donskoi, who defeated the Mongols in 1380. It was during this famous battle on the Don that St. George appeared to the Russian armies, into whom he infused fresh courage. Dmitri Donskoi took the noble figure of the youthful Warrior Saint for the arms of his Capital; the Victory-Bringer is depicted riding on a white horse, in the act of killing the dragon with his lance. The Russians imagined their beloved Saint as all aglow with light, and as wearing "on his forehead the red sun, and on the back of his head the shining moon." Thus the virile Saint came to be acknowledged protector of Moscow, and when, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Tsar Ivan III. made the double-headed eagle the emblem of the State, St. George was placed on the breast of the Imperial bird, and to this day the knightly Saint has kept his place there. As Moscow is the heart of Russia, even so is St. George the very centre of the imposing arms of the Russian Empire. It is he who has lordship over the lions, leopards, bears, and all other multitudinous animals on the shields of the Tsardoms, Grand Duchies, and Principalities, which in the course of time have clustered round Muscovy, and now form part of the Empire.

It was the Tsar Feodor Ivanovitch, the feeble, gentle son of Ivan the Terrible, on whose behalf Boris Godounov was acting as Regent, who was the first to give coins stamped with the image of St. George as rewards for military valour. These coins were sewn either on the cap or the coat sleeve of the person decorated, and the simple little silver coin was greatly valued by all who had been

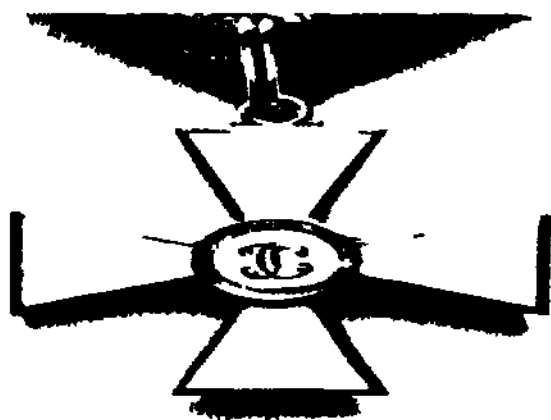
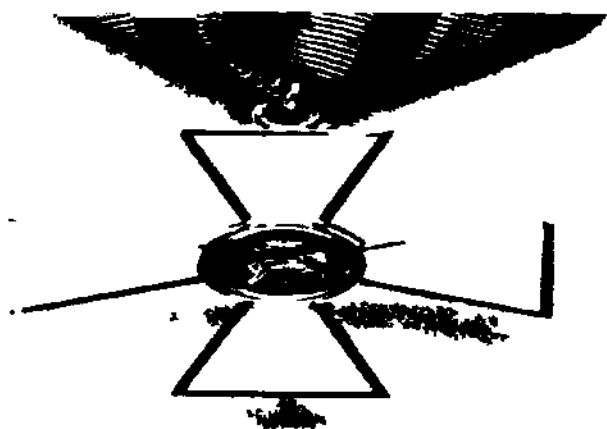


FIG. 6

considered worthy of such high distinction. It also proved the truth of the proverb, that "neither prayer to God nor service to the Tsar is ever in vain."

It was, however, not until 1769 that the military Order of St. George "for valour and service" was founded by Catherine the Great. In the rescript drawn up by her for the guidance of those officials who were to decide upon whom this much-coveted decoration should be bestowed, the various acts by which it could be earned are enumerated. Among the conditions are not only actual deeds of prowess and heroism, but also such of a purely moral quality, as infusing courage by personal example into the hearts of comrades. Apart from deeds of valour, twenty-eight years on active service, or participation in eighteen naval campaigns, entitle officers also to the St. George's Cross. The Empress instituted a Chapter of Knights of the Order of St. George, the Order to consist of four grades. To the decoration was added a certain monetary advantage, and, for this purpose, the foundress of the Order set apart a capital sum. On the death of a knight, the insignia of his Order had to be returned to the Chapter, the widow, however, being entitled to draw the pension for another year. The list of Cavaliers of the Order of St. George for the first few years contains the names of all the renowned leaders of Catherine the Great's campaigns.

During her reign, war was more or less the normal condition, but as her battles were fought on enemy soil, her own land was spared the horrors of war.

When Napoleon was threatening the safety of Europe, the Emperor Alexander I. made it possible for non-commissioned officers, and also men of the rank and file, to obtain the St. George's Cross. He granted a new Charter to the Order, by which every soldier, however lowly his rank, who distinguished himself for valour, could receive the much-coveted decoration. The insignia is in the form of a silver cross; on the one side the figure of St. George on horseback, and on the other the monogram of the

Warrior Saint. The conditions attached to it were the same as for the first four classes.

There was one difference, however, for not only the soldier who distinguished himself in the sight of his superiors was to receive the Cross, but also the brave fighter whose deeds of valour had passed unobserved by those in command, but who nevertheless had fulfilled those military and moral conditions laid down by the generous founder of the Soldier's Cross of St. George. For this purpose a certain number of Crosses were apportioned to each regiment which had taken a part in action, and it was left to the men themselves to decide who among them had best earned the decoration. Not necessarily obvious deeds of dash and daring, but such unobtrusive actions as the helping of a wounded comrade at the risk of a man's own life, were to be rewarded publicly. In full view of the regiment drawn up as for parade, those chosen for the honour had to stand under the regimental standard and step forward one by one to receive from the hand of their regimental chief the sign of valour. The Emperor Alexander I. made it compulsory for the recipients of this decoration to wear it always, and, in fact, "never to be without it, as the Cross was given for valour"; for nothing could make a man unworthy of wearing it but bad conduct, in which case he was deprived of the sign of honour. The Cross has to be worn on a ribbon in the buttonhole of the coat.

After the defeat of Napoleon's army the Council of the Knights of St. George, most of whose members were then on the field of action, offered the St. George's Cross to the Emperor, thanks to whose firmness, strength of purpose and example, the Fatherland had been saved. It speaks well for the humility of Alexander I., that when offered this decoration he refused to accept it. He did not consider himself worthy of such high honour, and ascribed the success of "the righteous warfare to the grace and mercy of God, to the bravery of his army, and to the devotion of the nation."

The history of this Order as instituted by Catherine II., as modified and enlarged by Alexander I., then altered by succeeding monarchs, as well as the deeds of prowess of those heroes who have earned the Cross, would make a story in itself—apart from being the unofficial report of Russia's wars since 1769, in fact of Russia's territorial expansion towards the West and South as well as to the Far East and into the very heart of Asia.

The present war has afforded already much opportunity for personal valour—for the saving of a comrade's life or for helping the wounded at the risk of personal safety. The roll of knighthood has swelled both as to officers and men, and among the latter will be found many a boy who has run away from school to do his share on the battlefield. He may have bought his uniform for a few roubles from an old clothes shop, or from some soldier invalided home. Who will question in the thick of battle the age of the brave lad who has joined himself to some regiment? his swift young feet come in useful for running errands, bringing up munitions, or tending the wounded out on the battlefield. There is many a boy in Russia at this moment who has been awarded the St. George's Cross by his proud comrades, for saving, or trying to save a comrade, and as is frequently the case, losing a limb in the attempt.

In the annals of the Order of St. George the names of great military leaders whose fame has resounded throughout the world are recorded, as well as those of humble men whose memory is cherished by a few. Amongst this noble band of heroes are also not a few women who, disguised as men, have taken a valiant part in battle.

The glorious Warrior Saint, Martyr, and Victory-Bringer, on his white horse, is very dear to the heart of all who fight for "Matoushka Rossiya" ("Mother Russia"), and who, in the heat of the battle, buoy themselves up with the hope that to their share may fall the honour of wearing on their coat the Cross of St. George.

Thus St. George is very specially the Patron Saint of

148 *St. George the Patron of all Brave Russians*

all brave Russians who, ever since the year 1036, have loved and honoured him because already, in these days long gone by, he began to deliver the people of Russia from the fierce onslaughts of their enemies. Even to-day, the Russians are looking to him for assistance, for is he not the "Pobyedonoszev"—"Victory-Bringer?"

GERMAN FINANCE AND THE EASTERN WAR AREAS

BY A MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

A CERTAIN Mr. Schweppendick, who returned to New York from Germany a short time ago, is quoted as saying: "It is common talk that the world's financial leaders are seeking a means for an early peace; it is an open secret that the former Chancellor, Prince Bülow, participated in conversations in Switzerland."

Mr. Schweppendick's name, unfortunately for him, clearly states what he regards as "the world," and his statement, specially made for American consumption, is yet another of the insidious appeals that Germany has for months been making—and that Germany will go on making in increasing volume and with increasing energy—for a peace that will permit of a rebuilding of the war machine, so that when the world—not Mr. Schweppendick's world, but that one which believes in freedom as a necessary adjunct to progress—is settling down to normal life again Germany may begin the game of world conquest all over again.

"The people are appalled," says Mr. Schweppendick; "no one expected that the war would last so long. But the casualties have passed all expectations." He qualifies this by an assertion that "this is as true of France and of all the Allied countries as of Germany," but the point of the remark remains. Germany is waking to the

fact that there is an end even to her own legions, and while no appeal, no word of peace, comes from any Allied country, these bleats, such as Schweppendick utters on behalf of Germany, increase as the weeks pass. Which is a proof, if proof were needed, that the tortuous German mind is beginning to realize the possibility, not of defeat—for that began with the Battle of the Marne—but of disaster.

Bethmann-Hollweg, on whose statements Mr. Schweppendick bases his remarks, is mildly pessimistic over the problem of German food-supply and the lack of rubber. These things, he admits, form serious problems, though, of course, bearing in mind that his statements are for American consumption, he is careful to minimize them to the last degree, and to show Germany as calmly confident of victory. Yet that he should mention them at all is significant, for when has France shown any anxiety over its food-supply, or Italy, or Russia, or Great Britain, whom the German submarines were to starve into abject surrender? Just as Germany is the only country that talks of peace, so is Germany the only country that manifests any anxiety over food-supply and over the provision of actual necessities for carrying on the war.

But there is one thing that Bethmann-Hollweg failed to mention for the benefit of the American public, and that with good reason, for no amount of explanations on his part could minimize the fall in the rate of exchange as far as the German mark is concerned—the hard-headed American folk would not accept his diplomatic explanations of how the mark came to fall over twenty per cent. below its normal value, and thus the subject is best left alone. This depreciation in the value of the mark means that Germany is compelled to pay out, to such neutral markets as are still open to her, the twenty per cent. and more over normal value for such necessities as these countries are willing to supply; and the value of the mark keeps on falling, in spite of strenuous German efforts to restore the national

credit in the eyes of neutrals. Such a process can have but one end : it must, as a final resort, compel Germany to make use of the gold reserve, which is popularly supposed to amount to about 200 millions sterling. When the mark has fallen below a certain value in the eyes of the rest of the world, only gold will be accepted in exchange for the commodities that Germany needs.

Now, it needs but a moderate amount of calculation, together with a moderate acquaintance with statistics, to show just how long that 200 millions will last in the purchase of necessary commodities; and when it is at an end the possibility of the restoration of German commerce after the war is also at an end, for, failing a certain amount of capital for the supply of raw materials, manufactures will be as much at a standstill as if the war were still in progress. The country will, beyond doubt, be utterly bankrupt, with no assets to offer as securities for the necessary raw materials; and because this 200 millions is so vitally necessary for the reconstruction of German commerce, Germany will hold on to it to the last possible moment, and will let the mark decline to the last possible point.

This, of course, is a vicious circle of procedure. The value of the mark must be kept up as high as possible, or it will cost Germany too much for available imports; but the value of the mark is declining, and so there is the possibility of using the gold reserve; if, however, the gold reserve is used, it amounts to commercial suicide later on, and so the mark must be used, and the value of the mark, which is declining, must be kept up—and so on, *ad libitum*. Bethmann-Hollweg's pronouncement, as much by what it omits as by what it admits, shows that the British blockade of Germany is at last beginning to produce serious effects, and that Germany is truly in a state of siege. Neutrals, realizing this, and seeing no possibility of the raising of the siege, decline to recognize the mark at its standard value.

A point will come, one might think, when Germany will be so economically exhausted that the war must cease, but against this must be placed the fact that this war is not a matter of economics. It may be confidently asserted that, whatever the sufferings of the German people, as long as provisions remain for the army, and necessities for the continuance of the war—military necessities—are obtainable, the war will go on. Surrender means national extinction; Germany has realized this fact, and rulers and people alike will continue the struggle as long as men remain to man the trenches and render the contracting lines of defence secure. The position is akin to that of a man whose throat is in the grip of an opponent, and who knows that the grip will not relax: to relinquish the struggle is useless, for instant strangulation would ensue; continuance of the struggle may not avert death, but it will postpone it, and so the struggle goes on. It is practically certain that the war will not be decided by economic reasons, but in the field, and to the very end Bethmann-Hollweg will assert that the position is satisfactory in the field, and that economically Germany is able to continue the fight and confident of victory.

In later days it will be interesting to recall these assertions and contrast them with the truth, just as at the present time it is interesting to recall the truth of the Battle of the Marne and contrast it with the fragmentary reports of that great action which came through in the weeks following the battle itself.

Apart from these main and to a certain extent academic questions, the only theatre of action that furnishes vital evidence of the state of affairs is that of the Near East, where Salonika and the Russian campaign in the Caucasus provide pointers with regard to the state of Germany and that of Turkey. The delay of the attack on Salonika, continued up to the end of January, constitutes proof of the failing reserves of German power. The only practicable line of attack was by way of the valley of the Vardar, and

the French, in retiring down the valley, very carefully and thoroughly destroyed the single line of rail by which Austro-German-Bulgarian forces might have followed them with sufficient guns and munitions to drive the Allies at Salonika into the sea. But, had this retirement come about in the first days of the war, German organization would have provided materials for the reconstruction of the line, and would have overcome the difficulties attendant on its reconstruction, rather than let the Allies establish such a thorn in Germany's side as a fortified Salonika. It was vitally necessary that the Allies should be driven out from this port, which constitutes a starting-point for an attack on the Berlin-Belgrade-Constantinople main line ; but for two months the Allies were allowed to fortify Salonika, and to transform this port, difficult of defence as it was, into a stronghold whence no available force can now dislodge the occupants.

This neglect of a vital point was not due to short-sightedness on the part of Germany, but to lack of the men with which to effect the dislodgment of the Allies, just as much as to the inefficiency of the Vardar Valley line of rail. Had the attack been undertaken at once, and the Franco-British force followed right down to Salonika without delay, the business of forcing the Allies out could have been effected at one-tenth of the effort and cost now necessary for any form of attack on the place. Bulgaria would not, and Germany could not, effect the dislodgment, and the retention of Salonika by the Allies constitutes the first serious evidence of a lack of reserve strength on the part of the Austro-German forces.

The Russian campaign in the Caucasus has been one of the most straightforward and simple actions of the war since Liège fell. The first Russian blow was given with overwhelming force directly on the Turkish front, just as, last May, the great Austro-German attack on the Russian line was made on the Dunajec. But whereas the Austro-German attack achieved only a partial success, the success

of the Russian attack was complete, and the Turkish front was broken. In order to prevent the enemy from rallying, a flank attack was delivered almost simultaneously on the right rear of the Turkish army, and the threat thus established turned the Turkish retreat into a mere flight, which continued for fifty miles, up to the Develi Boyun ridge, which forms the outermost defence of Erzeroum.

The brilliant nature of the Russian victory can only be realized when one comprehends that the pursuers of the fleeing Turks covered fifty miles in three days, and that not under favourable conditions, but in the depth of winter. A blizzard was raging on the first of the three days—that much the official reports have told us—and we may assume that severe winter conditions prevailed throughout the whole of the time, for the track of the retreating army lay through rugged hill country, bleak and inhospitable even in summer. Fifty miles in three days is good going for a force of all arms in ordinary marching in peace time; but in this case the distance has to be added to one pitched battle, and to the numberless little actions that would arise out of attempts on the part of sections of the Turks to stem the rout, and save something of their army out of the general wreck. "Guns and machine-guns, and great quantities of artillery and engineering stores and other equipment," are included in the official lists of the booty taken, and on the whole it may be said that an important portion of the Turkish army is utterly broken; for even the small percentage of that army that took refuge in Erzeroum consists of beaten men, who had flung away their arms on the retreat, and cannot be counted on in the composition of any other force that may be formed. Their most probable fate is surrender when the token of submission goes up over the forts of Erzeroum, an event which, as far as there is any certainty in military operations, may be regarded as a certainty of the near future. For Erzeroum was weakened in stores and munitions before the great defeat last year at Sarikamish, and, though it ranks as the great Turkish stronghold

of Asia Minor, it is hardly capable of standing a long siege at Russian hands—when the Russian heavy guns have come into play against it.

That this victory will have any direct effect on the fate of the British forces on the Tigris is very doubtful, for the two areas of conflict are too far distant from each other for events in the one to react on the other. The only effect that may accrue is the starving of the Turkish Tigris force of necessary reinforcements and munitions, which will be diverted to the use of such forces as are sent to attempt to moderate Russian attacks on Erzeroum. The main effect of this great Russian victory may be looked for in Egypt, which in all probability will now be immune from attack by the German-led Turks, and another great effect will be the breakdown of German intrigue among the Mussulman population of the Near East. German gold and German effort have been freely expended in the attempt to produce a general rising, especially in Egypt and in the districts under Italian control; but after such a smashing blow at Mussulman power in the form of Turkey, it is unlikely that either gold or effort will win any response.

THE JUGOSLAV QUESTION

BY FRANCIS P. MARCHANT

THE German *Drang nach Osten*, if unchecked in its progress to the Persian Gulf, would ruthlessly crush out of existence numerous nationalities to whose support the Entente Powers are pledged. Already the Berlin-Constantinople express is a very present fact, and the spiritual life of Mount Athos has been rudely shaken. The process of crushing small nationalities has been carried on with partial success by the Central Powers for many generations. About the ninth century the Slav people extended from the Danish to the Greek frontiers, with a language of common origin (*Slovenski jensik*) with local variations. The Slavs of the Elbe and Baltic—of whom the Lusatian Wends (Serbs or Sorbs) and the Pomeranian Kashubes are fragments—gradually disappeared before Teuton hostility; the important kingdom of Poland suffered decline and partition; the glorious independence of Bohemia was lost early in the Thirty Years' War; and the old Balkan kingdoms succumbed to the hosts of Amurath on Kosovopolie in 1389. The Slavs contrasted the rule of Tartars and Turks with that of the Germans, whose yoke they compared with the Spanish oppression of the unfortunate Peruvians and Aztecs. Among the victims of the Teutonic steam-hammer would be the Jugoslavs (*jugo*, Russian *yuzhny*, south). Ignorance of Russia has been largely dispelled within the last twenty years, but until quite

recently few in Western Europe knew or cared about the Balkan nationalities or grasped the bearings of Near Eastern problems.

The Yugoslavs comprise the Serbo-Croatians, Bulgarians, and Slovenes. The Bulgarians, reckoned as Slavs and speaking a Slav tongue considerably modified by foreign influence, are of Tartar origin, and adopted the language of earlier Slav settlers. The regrettable attitude of Bulgaria in the great conflict has estranged her from her Slav neighbours, and her ultimate fate does not concern us here. We are left with about ten millions of Yugoslavs subject to Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Serbia, and Montenegro. The creeds professed are Christian, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek Uniate, and Protestant, and Islam. The Cyrillic alphabet is used by Serbs and Bulgars (Orthodox), and the Latin by Croatians and Slovenes (Roman Catholics), while in the Dalmatian islands a Slav-Roman liturgy is still printed in the cumbrous, antiquated Glagolithic signs. The religious question was formerly complicated by the Bogumil heresy, a strange tangle of Christianity and paganism preached by a priest named Jeremiah. The wonderful tenacity of national peculiarities and languages under about four centuries of Oriental sway is remarkable. Though the defeat of Kosovo, aggravated by the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. in 1453, was of a decisive character, the memories in Serbia of Dushan, and in Bulgaria of Simeon, were still alive. The Serbs are racially and linguistically less affected by foreign strains than their Bulgar neighbours; but though definite boundaries are indicated on maps, it is not easy to say in some districts where the one begins and the other ends. The name Slav or Slovene was common to all members of the extensive race, but Slovene is the name given to the Slavs of Stajera (Styria), Koroshko (Carinthia), and Krajnsko (Carniola), whose independence was destroyed by Charlemagne. The name Serb belongs to the Serbians and to the so-called Wends of Saxony and

Brandenburg. (Little reference to the future of these or the Pomeranian Slavs, long surrounded by Germans, has been made as yet.) The Serb and the Croat (Hrvat) are absolutely identical in race and language, and occupy, broadly, the whole area between Trieste and Salonica, with the long Adriatic littoral from Venetia to Albania, the Danube forming a rough boundary as far as the Bulgarian frontier on the Timok, but a large number of Serbs live in Hungary, whither their ancestors fled from the Turks.

Both Serbs and Croats admit racial brotherhood, but in former days the rivalry of Rome and Byzantium was keenest in their country. The Croats became zealous Roman Catholics, while the Serbs embraced the Orthodox faith. (The attitude of the Turk towards Orthodoxy, professed by his subjects, was more friendly than towards Roman Catholicism, which he regarded as a foreign creed.) The Croats passed under Hungarian and ultimately Hapsburg rule, but Serbia in the twelfth century attained something like unity under Stephen Nemanya, and the independent Serbian Orthodox Church dates from his son, St. Sava. The most glorious period for Serbia occurred not long before Kosovo, when Stephen Dushan marched as a conqueror towards decadent Byzantium. Bosnia—whose vigorous King Tvartko united Dalmatia to his sceptre—and Herzegovina held out for some time after Kosovo, but at length fell before the Turks. Gallant little Montenegro successfully held her own against the Sultan and the Doge. A hardy body of Serbs known as *Uskoks* (from *uskotshiti*, to escape) carried on a guerilla frontier warfare against the Turks, like Taras Bulba and his Cossacks of the Ukraine. The Venetians encouraged the Uskoks, but when these freebooters turned their hands against their own galleys and stores, complaints were made to Vienna, and the Uskoks were transferred. In contests with the Uskoks, Venice was in the position of a lion attacked by mosquitoes. The little republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa),

which lasted until 1808, though staunchly Slav, was affected by Italian and Greek culture.

More than one attempt was made to establish a Yugoslav State. In the seventeenth century a mysterious pretender, George Brankovitch—unrelated to the famous Serbian family—intrigued to form a South Slav vassal State of the Empire, with himself as Sovereign. Napoleon created a State of Illyria, with Governors at Ljubljana (Laibach) and Trst (Trieste), but this did not last. The first Pan-Slav advocate was Jury Krizhanitch, a Serbian Roman Catholic priest who worked in Russia. Dr. Ljudevit Gaj, who corresponded with Palacky, Shafarik, and other leaders of the Czech revival, attempted with Count Drashkovitch to start an Illyrian movement, but Vienna suppressed both the movement and the name. The Orthodox Serbs never forgot their ballad poetry and folklore, but the Roman Catholic Croats retained less, as the clergy of the latter Church were always more active against "paganism" than their tolerant Eastern brethren. During the Napoleonic wars, the Slovak Pan-Slav poet, Kollar, and the Slovene bard Vodnik, joyously hailed brother Slavs in the Russians who advanced to the Alps, and recognized kinship of the "Krainski" and "Moskovitarski" languages. The Reformation had penetrated to the Slovene valleys, and led to a translation of the Bible, but Protestantism did not secure a strong foothold. A most honoured name is Bishop Strossmayer, of Djakovo, founder and benefactor of the South Slav Academy at Zagreb (Agram), beloved by Christians of all denominations. The dream of Kollar—spiritual union of Russians, Poles, Czechs, and Illyrians—was the ideal before Strossmayer during his whole life. Agram University is another monument of this generous and enlightened prelate. Two eminent South Slav scholars are the late Professor Miklosich, the philologist, and his successor, Professor V. E. Jagic, of Vienna University. An important bond of all Slavs is the Sokol (Falcon) movement for mental and physical culture originated by Messrs.

Fugner and Tyrs at Prague during the sixties of last century. At the quadrennial gymnastic festivals at Prague, representatives from all Slav countries have taken part. The fascinating story of the Sokol movement would require a chapter to itself.

Modern Serbia is the result of the successful insurrection under Kara (Black) George, whose descendant, King Peter, aged and broken in health, still engages in the present contest. The rival Obrenovitch dynasty must be accorded due credit for a share in the development of the country, and the first King was the late Milan Obrenovitch. The little principality of Montenegro, whose chief, Nicholas, is one of the most interesting and romantic figures in the Balkans, became a kingdom in 1910, and as a result of the two Balkan wars acquired a frontier marching with Serbia. Croatia, like the Slovaks long harshly treated by the Magyars, obtained independent administration, but suffered reprisals. The "treason trial" at Agram, and its sequels, remain as a discreditable piece of history. All the skill and organization of the Central Powers has been employed to repress the subject Slavs and replace their languages and education by *Kultur*, but at the best the Slavs have more than held their own, and at the worst have proved a troublesome and insistent minority. Elections have been manipulated so as to maintain vanishing Teuton majorities.

A Southern Slav programme has been drawn up, the object being freedom of all Yugoslavs, Orthodox and Catholic, from Austria, and union with Serbia and Montenegro. Union of the different members of the Serbo-Croatian race was one of the proximate causes which precipitated the war, and their deliverance, no less than that of Belgium, will be an urgent question when the call comes to lay down arms. In the words of Dr. Nevill Forbes ("The Southern Slavs"): "As regards the ultimate solution of the Southern Slav problem, it is safe to say that federation in some form or other is the only possible one."

As Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson, who has made the Near Eastern Question his own, says ("What is at Stake in the War"): "Neither the Southern Slav nor the Polish nor the Galician questions can be solved on any basis save that of a *Tregua Dei* between Catholicism and Orthodoxy." In the Balkan countries, the religious problem is still complicated by the number of Muhammadan Slavs—known as Pomaks in Bulgaria—who cannot forget their spiritual affinity with the Turk. It is obvious that a satisfactory settlement of the Yugoslav question can only be achieved on a basis of compromise, perhaps of several compromises. No cut-and-dried settlement drawn up in a study or by casual travellers has hitherto succeeded in proving acceptable to the Balkan peoples.

It must be remembered that a large Italian population has inhabited Trieste and the islands of the Adriatic littoral from the days of the Doges, and that our brave ally Italy has political and economic claims in this territory which must be recognized. The forces of General Cadorna are engaged in an arduous winter campaign against the Austrians in the Julian Alps, and the Italian navy performs valuable services along the whole coast-line. The authors of the "Southern Slav Programme" urge that the Eastern Adriatic coast and hinterlands should form part of one and the same State, while admitting that Italy must be compensated for her sacrifices. They fear that a joint possession of the coast would lead to conflict which would afford Germany an opportunity of future southern aggression. However, as they write, "an understanding between Italy and the Yugoslavs would obviate this disastrous". It is not practicable for a settlement to be reached which ignores substantial Italian claims.

THE TEMPTATION OF ZARATHUSHTRA— VENDIDĀD XIX*

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR MILLS

As Lent approaches our thoughts revert more naturally to that memorable spiritual event — recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel — where our Divine Champion and Redeemer met the impersonation of all evil; and those who are educated in the lore of the Avesta cannot ignore a similar spiritual event and victory which antedated that other in time, but which no doubt was of the same essence. The preliminary words which led up to it take us indeed back to the birth-hour of our religion, but only for a moment.

According to the record, evil powers aroused themselves at the birth of the Semitic Deliverer (recall Herod's recorded evil measures), and so at Vendidād XIX., 43, we have :

THE ASSAULT PREPARED

"He shouted, and shouted forth again, he, Añgra Mainyu, the Evil Spirit who is full of death. He pondered, and he pondered deeply, he, the demon of the demons, and he thus spake, he who was the evil-minded Añgra Mainyu: 'What! will the demons be assembled in an assembly on the top of Arezura,† they the wicked, evil-minded?' . . .

* A fragment from a public lecture twice delivered in Oxford, and later published in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of January, 1894; here re-edited from its first MS. This present version is metrical. Please notice the cadence.

† Recall the "exceeding high mountain" and "My name is Legion, for we are many." (No historical connection.)

They rushed and they shouted, they, the demons, wicked, evil-minded, and with the evil eye: 'Let us assemble in an assembly on the top of Arezura, for born indeed is He who is the holy Zarathushtra of the house of Pourushaspa. Where shall we find destruction for Him?—He is the demon's wounder—He is the demon's foe.* He is Druj of the Druj (a destroyer of the destroyer).† Face downward are the demon-worshippers, prostrate is the death-demon, and down is the Draogha of the lie.' "

THE TEMPTATION

If our Lord approached His own ordeal at all in the spirit of a wide humanity, one would surmise that He felt some sympathy with sages who had gone before Him in similar signal encounters. And there existed this temptation of Zarathushtra, of which He may have known through supernatural cognition, and to which that of Hercules, for instance, bears no comparison.

The record containing it doubtless expresses in its fragments what was once a real struggle, which, if it in any sense saved Zoroastrianism, was one of the world's crises. Zarathushtra is besought by the Evil One to abjure the holy Mazdayasnian religion and to obtain a reward such as an evil ruler got (*Vend. XIX., 1*). Recall where the Devil showed Jesus all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, saying, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me."

A rally from a first defeat having been made, Aŋgra Mainyu, the Evil Spirit coming from the "north region of the North," orders the Lie-demon to assault and slay the holy Zarathushtra, now no longer just born, but in the vigour of his age. The demon, again discouraged, returns to Aŋgra Mainyu. She says :

* Recall the demoniac "who cried with a loud voice: I know Thee who Thou art, the holy One of God. Art Thou come hither to torment us before the time?"

† "Death and hell shall be cast into the lake that burneth." (No historical connection.)

"O baneful Evil Spirit, I see no death for him, for glorious is the holy Zarathushtra."

Zarathushtra, seeing through their thoughts, says within himself:

"The demons plot my death, they, evil-doing as they are."

Then Aŋgra Mainyu again heads the throng.

He (Z.) arose, he went forth uninjured by their plan and the hardness of their words. And Zarathushtra let the Evil Spirit know:

"O evil-minded Aŋgra Mainyu, I will smite the creation made by demons; I will smite* the Nasu (putrid demon); I will smite the evil fairy (that seduced the early sages), till the Saviour is born victorious from the waters of Kāsava, from the utmost region of the East."

And Aŋgra Mainyu answered, shouting as he spoke:

"Slay not my creatures, holy Zarathushtra. Thou art Pourushaspa's son, for from thy birth have I invoked (thee). Renounce the good religion of those who worship Mazda. Obtain the reward which Vadhaghan, the murderous (ruler), gained."†

And Zarathushtra answered:

"Never shall I abjure the good faith of those who worship Mazda: (no), let not‡ my body, nor my life, nor senses fly apart."

And to him then shouted the Evil Spirit of the evil world:

"With whose word wilt thou so conquer? With whose word will thou abjure? With what weapon as the best formed wilt thou conquer these my creatures?"

And Zarathushtra answered:

"With the sacred Haoma plant, with the mortar and the cup, with the word which God pronounced. With

* The initiative of all sanitation. See also Leviticus and the rules concerning the dead body.

† See Matt. iv.

‡ Some others insert an "if"—"not if my body."

these my weapons (will I slay thee), they are best. With that word shall I be victor, with that word shall I expel thee, with this weapon* as the best made, O evil Añgra Mainyu. The most Holy Spirit forged it; in boundless time he made it; and the Holy Immortals gave it, they who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright."

And Zarathushtra chanted :

"As the higher priest is to (be revered and) chosen, so let the lower chief (be one who serves) from the holy order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the kingdom is to Ahura, which to the poor may give their nurture."†

Here we may well introduce the closing verse of the chapter (XIX., 147) :

"The demons shouted, the demons rushed, they, the evil-doing and the wicked; they rushed and they fled to the bottom of the place of darkness; that is, of frightful Hell."‡

Few Medo-Persian subjects in the streets of Jerusalem, being presumably Mazda-worshippers like their Emperors, here lingering in the Persian subject-city, soon after or long after the Return, could have failed to know this striking record in a much fuller form, and none who knew it could have failed to repeat it where creeds were at all discussed.

* "The sword of the Spirit."

† The Ahunaver.

‡ "Then the devil leaveth Him . . . into the abyss."

POPULAR TERMS AND PRINCELY TITLES

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

CHARLES DICKENS, in his novel "Dombey and Son," describes how Major Josh Bagstock ("rough and tough old Joey B.") was waited on by a dark-complexioned factotum to whom the friends and acquaintances of his master always alluded as "the native," without attaching to the epithet any particular geographical idea whatsoever. He might have been a native of the East Indies, or of the West Indies, or of South Africa, or of Polynesia. It did not much matter, he was a native.

Our friend and instructor Mr. Saint Nihal Singh, in a paper published in the January number of this REVIEW, says: "It is no news for you to learn that Indians very much dislike the word 'native.' In itself it is an expressive word, but it has degenerated. Uncultured Europeans have brought it into such disrepute that Indians and other Orientals consider it to imply that those to whom it is applied are looked upon as belonging to an order of humanity low in type and civilization." He goes on to propose the use of the term "Indian" as a substitute for "native," a usage which has already been adopted by the Government of India, though the objections to the latter term seem to rest on no reasonable foundation. We talk of native-born British subjects, of the natives of Ireland, the natives of Russia, etc., without any sense of disparagement; and if it is open to uncultured Europeans to bring such a term into disrepute,

they may in course of time apply the same process to its successor. "Native" was itself adopted by Anglo-Indians as an amendment on the appellation of "blacks," formerly used as a generic term to include all the various races and nationalities which peopled the land of Hind. The Duke of Wellington in his despatches always referred to his sepoy battalions as the black troops; but when his despatches were edited for publication in the early stages of the Victorian era, the word "native" was substituted for "black" by the editor, probably under the influence of Anglo-Indian official sentiment; though it is open to consideration whether such sentiment could warrant the garbling of an historical document. The assumption that the epithet "black" was in some sense derogatory was not just; had it been so, the Duke would not have used it; and there is no reason why a man should be ashamed of his colour any more than of his nationality. The Indians speak of themselves as "kala log" (black people), in contradistinction to "gora log" (white people); and the word Hind (India) is used as a synonym for blackness or darkness by Oriental writers. The Persian poet Hafiz writes of the "Khál-i Hindu," the black mole on the cheek of his beloved; and Nizami, in his epic poem on the exploits of his hero Alexander the Great, says:

"Za Saudai Hind o za safrai Rúš
Faro shust 'Álam chun Khwán-i Arús."

"He cleansed the world like a bright bridal dress,
From India's Black and Russia's Yellowness."

With the Turks "kara" (black) is applied in a flattering sense; and this usage has spread to their neighbours and quondam subjects, as in the case of the national hero and founder of the Serbian royal dynasty, Black George of Topola.

The term "native" was adopted by the Honourable East India Company's Government to distinguish its Indian regiments of artillery and infantry from the European corps in its service. The term was not used in

the cavalry, because there were no European troops of that arm. Thus in the Bengal Army List we had the 1st Bengal Light Cavalry, the 1st Irregular Cavalry (Skinner's Horse), the 9th (Native) Battalion of Artillery (Golundaz), the 1st European Fusiliers, the 1st Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry (Gilliska Pultun), and so on. When the European batteries and regiments were transferred to the service of the Crown and incorporated in the British Army, the designation of "native" ceased to be applied to the Indian regiments, and they were called simply the 1st Bengal Infantry, the 1st Madras Infantry, and so on. The two armies which garrisoned and protected India had always been called the King's, or Queen's, and the Company's army; after the transfer of the latter to the Crown, and the resulting elimination of its European elements, they were distinguished as the British and the Indian armies. It has puzzled some people why the European regiments of the Company's army were so styled, instead of being called English or British; but, in fact, there were many soldiers of other nationalities, Swiss or German mercenaries, in these regiments. Both the English and French East India Companies employed Swiss troops in the wars of the Carnatic, and the names of many of Clive's companions-in-arms, such as Polier, Gingers, and Calliaud, testify to their foreign nationality.

Though the designation of "native infantry" had disappeared from the official Army List, the terms "native officers" and "native ranks" continued in common use until quite lately, when the word "Indian" has replaced "native" in official correspondence. In fact it is mainly common use that regulates the meaning of words, and it is impossible to find any term that will define the exact status of our Indian comrades and fellow-citizens of the Empire within the compass of a single work. A native may be a native of any country, and an Indian may be a Mongolian Gurkha from the Tibetan border, or a high-caste Rajput of Aryan descent, or a Dravidian from Madura, or a

Mahratta from the Deccan. To go further afield, he may be a Red Indian from the prairies of the New World, or a Guacho from the pampas of South America. It was in quest of the golden shores of India that Columbus set out on his adventurous voyage, and he imagined that he had already reached his goal when he gave to the unknown shores that he reached the name of the West Indies, and to their brown-skinned Carib inhabitants the appellation of "Indians."

By this unfortunate chance the Redskins of North America, who belong to a different family of the human race from the inhabitants of India, have usurped, or rather have had thrust upon them, the designation of "Indians."

After all, for definition of what we mean by the term "Indian" we must come back to the phrase "a native of India"; we cannot say a man of Indian nationality, for there is no such thing. India is a minature continent and contains as many distinct and separate nationalities as does Europe, and the term "Indian" is as elastic as the term "European." The learned Vazir of the Emperor Akbar, the profuse and verbose Abul Fazl, argued that India must comprise three-fourths of the area of the habitable globe, since it was surrounded on three sides by the encircling ocean; and he was so far right that India is in itself a world full of divers races, warring nations, jarring languages, and hostile creeds.

Oriental experience the same difficulty as Europeans in finding a generic name for the inhabitants of India. The Persians and Afghans call the Indian Musalmans by the name of Hindi, and the Indian Pagans by the name of Hindu. In most, we might almost say in all, Oriental countries religion stands in the place of nationality, or rather the two ideas are so intertwined as to be inseparable. The cleavage between alien communities is one of creed, rather than of race. The infiltration of Western ideas, a process constantly going on in India through the medium of our English schools and colleges, is slowly sapping the foundations of

the old social and political order of things, and the Indians who have imbibed the culture of Europe begin to talk of patriotism and of a common Indian nationality. Such an idea is at present only a dream, but it may some day become a reality. In our own island Celts, Saxons, and Scandinavians, have been fused into a common British nation. In France Normans, Bretons, Basques, Gascons, Alsatians have all become Frenchmen. But it took centuries to bring about this result, and it will be long before Punjabi and Bengali, Rajput and Mahratta, can combine for a common end.

But our Government, instead of following the selfish policy summarized in the maxim *Divide et Impera*, has done all in its power to promote unity and encourage harmony between all the various sects and nations in our Indian Empire, and to insure the security and prosperity of its Native States, or Indian States as Mr. Saint Nihal Singh would have us call them. He reviews all the appellations by which the rulers of these States are usually known, such as "Native Chiefs," "Native Princes," "Ruling Chiefs," "Sovereign Chiefs," "Protected Princes," "Tributary Princes," "Feudatory Chiefs," etc., and dismisses them all as unsatisfactory on various grounds. His objection to the word "Prince" is that the title is now generally used in connection with the male relatives of Sovereigns. But the word has two other significations in common use: one is that of the ruler of a principality, as in the case of the Prince of Monaco; the other is the designation of the highest order of nobility in a State, answering to the title of Duke in Great Britain—*e.g.*, Prince Bismarck in Prussia or Prince Metternich in Austria. It is a curious fact that there is one titular Prince in the British Empire, and his is an Indian title. This is the Amir of Arcot, whose title is officially rendered in English as Prince of Arcot.

The literal meaning of the Arabic word "Amir" is commander, as in Amir al Bahr (Admiral); but its most common signification is that of a chief or nobleman; and it

is occasionally used to denote a supreme ruler, as in the case of the Amir of Kabul or the Amir of Bokhara. As Indians are mostly familiar with the title of Prince through its connection with our Royal Family, they are apt to translate the title of Prince of Arcot into Shahzada (King's son) of Arcot. The Prince is the lineal descendant of the Nabobs of Arcot who figured so largely in the early struggles between the French and English for political power and influence in India. The title of the Nawwabs was suppressed by Lord Dalhousie, and their revenues were confiscated; their heir was subsequently granted the dignity of Prince of Arcot, with an annual stipend by the Honourable East India Company. Taken in a literal sense the title of "Prince" or even of "Amir" is a more honourable one than that of "Nawwab," which is the plural of the Arabic word "Naib," signifying simply a Deputy. When in the seventeenth century the Turks renounced their hopes of conquest in Abyssinia, they withdrew their Pasha from Massowah and appointed in his place a Naib or Deputy Governor subject to the Pasha of Jiddah. In Persia the title is used for that of a lieutenant in the regular army (Nizam), or was so used when Persia had a regular army, which she does not appear to possess at the present time. It was never an official title under the Mogul Empire of India. The Viceroy who ruled over the Subahs or great Provinces of the Empire were styled Subahdars, and their Deputies or Lieutenant-Governors were called Faujdars (Army Chiefs), for, as in most Oriental countries, the civil was only a subordinate branch of the military administration. The honorific plural title of Nawwab was accorded to these functionaries by courtesy, and as many of them found themselves advanced to the position of independent rulers by the decline and disruption of the Mogul Empire, the title came in course of time to signify the ruler of a Musalman State or Principality. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh proposes that the term "Indian Rajas" should be used collectively for the rulers of the Federated States of the Empire of India; but this would

exclude the Musalman rulers of States none of whom was the Hindu title of Raja. In Malaya the Musalman rulers do call themselves by their old title of Raja, but the only Muhammadan Raja in India is the Mapla titular Raja of Cannanore.

How the title of Subadar, or Viceroy, got transferred to the captain of a company of sepoy's has remained a mystery. The title as so used cannot be traced back before the time of the introduction of the European system of drill and military organization by the French and English into India. Before that time the rank of Jemadar corresponded to that of captain. The Arabic word for a company is "Jam'a'at," and the commander of a company in the Mogul Emperor's armies was a "Jam'u'atdar," corrupted into Jemadar. But in the levies of Indian troops made by the English the Jemadar was relegated to the position of a subaltern, and his post of captain was usurped by the Subadar, with the style of a Mogul Viceroy. A parallel to this assumption of a Viceregal title by a commander of a company of soldiers may be found in the Nizam, or regular army, in Persia, where a captain is styled Sultan, while his lieutenant is his Naib, or deputy.

But it would be an herculean task to undertake the definition and classification of titles and offices on any logical basis in an Empire like that of India, where three rival civilizations meet and coalesce under the ægis of a Roman Kaiser, obeyed and supported by Arabic Nawwabs and Sanskrit Rajas and Maharajas.



Mrs. Olga Navinoff, née Kiréeff
"O. K."

RUSSIA'S FAITH IN VICTORY

FROM THE PRESS OF 1909

Although Madame Novikoff needs no introduction to our readers, the following appreciations taken from the contemporary Press will, it is felt, be of general interest.—A. R.

"If we were writing at a date which we hope is a good many years distant of the career of Madame Olga Novikoff, we should begin by saying that she was one of the most remarkable women of her time"—*Daily Graphic*.

"Whatever the reader's political predilections may be, he is unlikely to dispute the claim of Madame Novikoff to rank as one of the most remarkable women of her generation"—*Daily Telegraph*.

"No one will deny the right of Madame Novikoff to a record in history . . . For nearly ten years her influence was probably greater than any other woman's upon the course of national politics"—H. W. NAVINSON, *Daily News*.

(Madame Novikoff), "who for so many years held a social and political position in London which few women, and no ambassador, have ever equalled."—A. H. in *Observer*.

"From beginning to end Madame Novikoff's record is clear and honourable. There is not the slightest evidence of any intrigue on her part, of any effort to use the statesman she influenced for underhand purposes, or to work for or against any particular individual in her own country."—*Westminster Gazette*.

THE difficulties in the conduct of the present war have not been duly foreseen and counteracted, and the suspense, to some nervous people, naturally seems annoying. But nervous people, fortunately, are not in the majority amongst strong and intelligent men. Russia, as a whole, has an unlimited faith in victory. The Russian Emperor's New Year's address has echoed far and wide, like a clarion call, through the ranks of the Imperial army and fleet. All doubts have vanished beyond recall, for the utterance of the Sovereign was more decided, definite and determined than any that has gone before. Here are words that must ring like a knell in the ears of exhausted Germany, trembling under the strain of her last efforts.

"A half-victory—an unfinished war"—this was
phantom before which the hearts of our be

soldiers sank, and which, like a ceaseless nightmare, disturbed the rest, even of our most illiterate peasants. Far and wide, indeed, Russian hearts to-day thrill and respond to their beloved Emperor's call :

“Remember that without complete victory our dear Russia cannot ensure for herself and her people the independence that is her pride and her birthright, cannot enjoy and develop to the full the fruits of her labour and her natural wealth. Let your hearts be permeated with the consciousness that there can be no peace without victory. However great may be the sacrifice required of us, we must march onward unflinchingly, onward to triumph for our country and our cause.”

The air vibrates with the echoes of these splendid words—and the bereaved mothers, sisters, wives, weeping in the loneliness and despair of their broken hearts, look up and smile again, because Russia's blood has not been shed in vain. The news travels on the wings of the wind, and over countless distant, unknown graves, it brings its message to our fallen heroes: “You shall be revenged, brave warriors; your souls shall celebrate the moment of triumph, together with your living brothers!”

It is good also to know that we are not alone in our determination, that our Allies are with us, and share our views. How long the struggle will continue is a matter of the most varied conjecture, but it is interesting, in this connection, to look into the figures of our enemy's fighting forces. There is a great variety of opinions and statements on the subject of Germany's casualties, but if we strike an average between the numbers quoted by our enemies themselves, and the lists published by neutrals or in our own or our Allies' newspapers, we shall find that Germany has had at least four million casualties, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

In view of the fact that the war seems likely to continue for an indefinite period, and that no direct nor definite result has been attained on any front, these numbers cannot

fail to stagger German public opinion. The Kaiser's assurances that in three months German troops would occupy Paris and Petrograd are still in the ears of the people. Thinking Germans, indeed, are perfectly aware that the key to the last word in the struggle is not to be found in the mere occupation of foreign territory, but lies in the real and living strength of the nation—*i.e.*, in the continued superiority of the army as regards men and munitions.

Until recently German strategy had not taken casualty lists into consideration. The moment, however, has now come when the Kaiser himself suggests that it may be preferable to dig deeper trenches for living soldiers than graves for fallen ones, while Hindenburg makes obvious efforts to temper the exuberance of his Generals.

What does this mean? Only that Germany has counted her losses, and, having done so, has grown pensive. To lose four million men in sixteen months is undoubtedly depressing, for even if one is to assume that our enemy still has four and a half million men in the field, there remains the fact that even by broadening the age limit to between seventeen and fifty-five, he cannot mobilize a reserve force of more than one and a half millions. It is therefore clear that if only for lack of men, a third year of war is, at least for Germany, an impossibility.

The universally popular determination to fight to the last man is of course a mere figure of speech. In all history, no one has ever anywhere been known to prolong a struggle to this point. Besides, it is clearly impossible to mobilize the entire manhood of a country, since a very considerable percentage of the male population is always indispensably needed at home, for Church and Government work, railway employment, mining, home defence, police, etc. It is quite impracticable to transfer the weight of all these responsibilities to the shoulders of women, and it is, of course, on the whole, only to a very small extent that war opens new doors for female labour.

Therefore, if we assume that Germany's entire population numbers about seventy millions, the outside limit for the numerical strength of her army can in no circumstance exceed ten millions, this being already 14 per cent. of the whole nation, and a completely unprecedented percentage of the nation's manhood. Such figures, indeed, represent an entire people in arms—a people, however, that has taken upon itself the impossible task of measuring its strength against that of three other mighty peoples, armed, also, to the teeth. In this uneven struggle, Germany must ultimately, in spite of Austrian, Bulgarian and Turkish help, meet her ruin, and bleed to death.

We, in Russia, look forward to the future without fear. We stand united as one man. All political strifes and disagreements are forgotten; there is no division of parties, no discussion of any affairs of State except those connected with the war. "War, war, war, till victory, till triumph. There lies our future, and so shall it be." With these words our Home Secretary, Monsieur Chvostoff, concluded his recent speech to the members of the Press Bureau. The same sentiments are echoed everywhere. We are determined and hopeful, and ready for every sacrifice, because, to quote our Empress Alexandra in her New Year's telegram to the Secretary of State, "a war that has been forced on us by our enemies, and that has attained dimensions unprecedented in history, naturally calls for immense sacrifices. But I know that the Russian people will not hesitate before these sacrifices, and will fight on nobly until the moment when God's blessing will bring to the glorious warriors who are shedding their blood for their fatherland and their Emperor, the peace that shall be bought by complete victory over our foes."

By these words may English people discern the spirit of their Russian friends, their faith in victory.

OLGA NOVIKOFF (NÉE KIREEF).

HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS

By G. C. WHITWORTH, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

I DISLIKE the title of this paper. I hate to see the two names which compose it placed in opposition the one to the other; to hear of Hindu Universities and Muhammadan Universities, of "communal electorates," and so on; and to see differences accentuated which ought, as far as possible, to be smoothed over. My present purpose is to the opposite effect—namely, to show how much there is in common between the two communities in origin, in practice and in interest.

In the first place, the great bulk of Indian Muhammadans were originally Hindus, so that there is no initial antipathy of race between them. It may be urged that converts or perverts are specially antagonistic to their former faiths, but that argument hardly applies after the lapse of so many generations as are in case here. Again, there are in India Muhammadans who are not descended from converted Hindus. Such are the Pathans, the Mapillas, the Navaitas, the Sidis, and a certain number of emigrants from Arabia and Persia. But these, all told, are a small minority, and many of them have an admixture of Hindu blood in their veins.

Secondly, there are a great number of Hindu tribes or castes of whom a part has in the past accepted Islam, the rest of them remaining Hindus; and we find the two sections subsisting amicably side by side, though differing

in religion and as to many customs. And there are, again, the castes or tribes which, without dividing among themselves, have accepted Islam only in part, and to this day observe some Hindu elements and some Muhammadan elements of religion and custom. I will take these two classes separately, and first, the castes, a part of which has accepted Islam wholly.

Among the Rajputs we find several such clans: the Gautamas, the clan to which Buddha belonged; the Bhagelas, who have given their name to Bhagalkhand; the Bhattis, of which clan the ruler of Jaisalmir is a member; and the Tomars, who were for a long time a ruling family at Delhi.

It is interesting to notice that the Jadubansis, who, as the race in which both Krishna and the Buddha were born, might be expected to be pre-eminently Hindu, have very largely embraced Islam.

There are Muhammadans also in the widely spread race of the Jats, to which belong many ruling families in Upper India.

The great pastoral tribe of the Ahirs of the United Provinces, Kathiawar and Khandesh, also has Muhammadan representatives. And so have the other cattle-keeping castes, the Gaulis and the Sabalias; also the Khatkis, or butchers.

Among the cultivating classes some few of the Kambohs of the Punjab, of the Makvanas of Gujarat, and many of the Rajbansis of the Koch tribe, have adopted Islam. The last-named were not converted from Hinduism, but some of the original Koch tribe adopted the one religion and some the other.

The Machhis are some of them Hindus and some Musalmans. So also are the Vaghairs, another fishing caste, on the coasts of Cutch and Kathiawar.

The Bhunjas, or grain-parchers; the Chhipas, Bhandharas, and Khombatris, who are dyers; the Kharadis, or turners; the Kumbars, or potters; the Salats, or stonemasons; the

Kadias, or bricklayers ; and the Chunaras, or lime-burners, are similarly divided.

So of the trading Banjaras ; the Panjnigars, or starchers ; the Ghanchis, or oil-pressers ; the Maparas, who measure grain ; the Kalats, who distil and sell spirits ; and the Pakhalis, or water-carriers.

Lastly, there are several castes or tribes who are by profession actors, dancers, singers, jugglers, buffoons, etc., parts of each of which have become Muhammadans. Such are the Nats, Garudis, Bhands, Banjanias, Chamthas, Bahrupias, Bhavaias, Gandhraps, and Vadis.

I pass now to the mention of some castes which, without dividing among themselves, have accepted some elements of Islam while retaining more or less of their original religion and practice, and present therefore a compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism.

This list also may be headed by some of the Rajput clans ; the Jadejas, who still rule in Cutch ; the Bargujars of Rohilkhand ; the Molesalams, represented by several thakors, or chieftains ; the Sials, who used to rule at Jhang ; the Samas of Sindh, and perhaps also the Osvals of Marwar, have all had more or less connection with Islam, and present some Hindu and some Musalman characteristics. The Molesalams, in dress and appearance, resemble Hindus, but they marry either among themselves or with Musalmans. The Jadejas have been converted and have then again reverted. The Samas keep their Rajput names, but their ceremonies are mostly Muhammadan.

The Bishnavis consider themselves Hindu rather than Musalman, but add "shaikh" to their Hindu name. They observe the ceremonies of both religions.

The Kharrals of the Punjab and the Nianas of Cutch both call themselves Musalmans, but both have many Hindu customs. The Kasbatis of Gujarat also call themselves Musalmans, but sometimes take Hindu wives. The Kamalias of Gujarat profess Islam but worship Bahucharaji, and serve as musicians in her temple ; while the Musaddis,

who are Muhammadan devotees, have adopted the prayer of Guru Nanak as their rule of faith. The Meos, of the Alwar region, are Muhammadan in name, but retain their village gods and employ Brahmans as well as the Kazi. Some of the Kanbis of Gujarat were converted to Islam, and took the name of Matia, or believer, but, except that they bury their dead, their customs have remained Hindu.

The great trading classes of Khojas, Momnas and Memans, the first two of which are mostly Shiahs and the third Sunnis, have, as is well known, retained much of Hindu law and custom.

Some of the wilder tribes also, as the Tadvīs and Nirdhis of Khandesh, have a mixed regard for the faith of Islam and certain Hindu deities.

No doubt many more instances could be found, both under this list of whole classes partly converted, and under the other list of parts of classes wholly converted; but, writing here, in Grasse, I have but a very meagre collection of books to refer to.

But apart from connections created by actual conversion, either complete or partial, countless instances may be observed of Hindus and Musalmans acting together in full accord without any check arising from differences of religious opinion. These relations are sometimes political, sometimes social, sometimes even criminal, and sometimes, again, they bear upon religion itself.

In the first place there is the dominating factor of inter-marriage. Some of the Mughal Emperors, as is well known, had Hindu as well as Musalman Queens. Intermarriages between Rajputs and Musalmans were so common that we have the name Rangarh to express the original issue of such marriages. The Kasbatis, as mentioned above, sometimes take Hindu wives; and the Molesalams, who are partly Hindu, may intermarry with Musalmans; and a recent Jam of Navanagar had a Musalman wife, and his son by her was declared and accepted as his successor.

Hindus held high office, both civil and military, under

the Mughal Emperors, and recently the Muhammadan State of Hyderabad had Hindu Prime Ministers, and the Hindu State of Jaipur a Musalman Prime Minister. Baroda has had a Muhammadan Prime Minister and a Chief Justice.

Those great marauders, the Pindaris, were some of them Hindus and some Musalmans. In the Mutiny both communities took part, and Hindus fought in support of a Muhammadan dynasty, and Musalmans for a representative of the Peshva. And the conspiracy which is now the subject of trial at Lahore included followers of both religions. One of the witnesses in that trial, the approver Nawab Khan, stated in evidence that "There were no Hindu-Muhammadan troubles at Manilla. On the other hand, the Hindus were divided among themselves and most Muhammadans among themselves."

We see the two communities coming together in public meeting. For instance, at Allahabad in July, 1913, to consider various large questions, such as the condition of Indians in South Africa, the separation of judicial and executive functions, education, and so on. Another at Cawnpore in the same year for the same purpose. Both Hindus and Muhammadans joined in the celebration in London of the birthday of Guru Govind Singh; and students of both communities at Cambridge joined in making collections to be equally divided between the Universities of Aligarh and Benares. And there was once a meeting at Delhi of such leaders as Dayanand Sarasvati, Said Ahmad Khan, and Keshub Chandra Sen, to consider jointly the question of religious and social reform.

We find Hindus and Muhammadans joining to present an address to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji; again to Mr. Sinha; in raising a memorial to Mr. Gokhale; the Anjuman Islam presenting an address to Mr. Gandhi; Mrs. Sarojini Naidu speaking before the Muslim League; and Hindu ladies entertaining the Begam of Bhopal. And we find Musalman as well as Hindu schools closing out of respect to the late Lala Hari Ram Settu.

Last May, at Allahabad, the Raja of Mahmudabad at a general meeting observed that on the question before him, "as fortunately now on many more, there is no cleavage in the opinions of the two great communities, Hindu and Musalman, that inhabit these provinces."

And the *Bengali* of Calcutta, in the same month, observed that "the better mind of both communities is bent upon a Hindu-Muhammadan solidarity which is recognized as the first condition of national progress."

At an evening party given by the Muhammadans of Calcutta to the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Mr. Justice Sharfuddin, addressing the Maharaja, said the Muhammadan community was grateful to him for the leading part he had taken in all movements calculated to bring about a *rapprochement* between the two great communities of India.

At Nasik, last July, Mr. Kasimali Jairazbhai Pirbhai, Vice-President of the Bombay Moslem League, told his co-religionists that there was a great field of activity before them in helping to raise the depressed classes, a work in which they might best promote a spirit of co-operation with the Hindus.

And the *Observer*, a leading organ of Muhammadan opinion in the Punjab, has lately urged that a joint session of the National Congress and the Moslem League should be held this year.

There are societies of a philanthropic character which have both Hindu and Muhammadan members; the Seva Sadan has an Islamic branch; the Servants of India include some Musalmans; and some of the co-operative societies bring both communities together—so much so, it is said, that in one village the necessity of united action put an end to the frequently-recurring Muharram strife. There was a joint Hindu and Muhammadan Committee of the Indian South African League. There is an Indian Union Society in London to promote common interests. It is a slight but not insignificant matter that when Hiranand Shaukiram, the future social reformer of Sindh, went for his

education to Calcutta, he formed a small and intimate society—I cannot recall the title—of some half a dozen persons, one of whom was a Muhammadan.

There are joint clubs where Hindus and Muhammadans meet: the Orient in Bombay, the Lumsden in Amritsar, and I believe one such has recently been opened in Calcutta. There is also a joint ladies' club in Lahore. Not long ago the Punjab Association Club entertained the Punjab Muslim Club. I have myself dined at the Orient Club with a Hindu guest on one side of me and a Musalman on the other. What are called Cosmopolitan dinners are sometimes given, especially after social conferences; and recently at an Indian students' dinner at Cambridge a Musalman proposed the health of the Hindus and a Hindu that of the Muslims.

Hindus returned a Muhammadan representative to the Viceroy's Council for several years. The *Indian Patriot*, a Hindu paper, recommended a Muhammadan as the first member of the Executive Council. In the Councils members support and oppose one another independently of their religious tenets. So also of at least the Bombay Municipal Corporation; and a Musalman President of that body has been proposed by a Parsi and seconded by a Hindu.

In Lahore there is a "League of Help" with a Hindu Hon. Secretary and a Muhammadan Hon. Treasurer.

In Haidarabad (Nizam's) there was a meeting of women of all creeds, who assembled to give expression (in six different languages) to their sorrow at the death of Mr. Gokhale. The Muhammadan ladies, the report says, vied with the Hindus in eloquence on the subject. There was also a children's meeting in the same place, at which Hindu and Muhammadan boys acted together in a play written by a Hindu. And a poem by a young Muhammadan was recited on the same occasion.

In Karachi a "Citizens' Association" has lately been formed, consisting of persons from all communities, with

the object of dealing with all public questions arising from time to time.

In Surat last July a public meeting was held, with Saiad Edrus among the Musalmans and the Nagarseth among the Hindus present, to lament the death of a Parsi Judge.

Many Hindu ladies were present at an evening party given recently at Poona by the Nawab Begam Sahiba of Janjira, where both Musalman and Hindu ladies took part in musical recitals.

Turning now to some more expressly religious points of contact between Hindus and Musalmans, it may be noted that Chaitanya, the great Bengal teacher of the sixteenth century, had some Musalmans among his followers; also that H.H. the Aga Khan has some Hindu followers—the Jhivars certainly, if not others. Again, Ramkrishna Paramahansa, the supreme modern saint of the Hindus, got himself initiated by an Islamic saint into one of the deepest phases of Muhammadanism; and the present Guru of the great Sringeri monastery in Mysore has very friendly relations with the Muhammadans, receiving addresses from them and presenting them with shawls and other marks of honour. Musalmans also visit the Belur matha near Howrah on the occasion of the Paramahansa's birthday; and Bhai Baldev Narayan named as his masters Jamaluddin as well as Keshub Chandra Sen and Ramkrishna. Hindus also take part in the lighter side of some Muhammadan festivals, as the Muharram and the Shab-i-barat, and offer vows at Musalman shrines, as at Penkonda and Trichinopoly, and there exists somewhere in the Panch Mahals (at Champaner, if I remember right) a Muhammadan shrine actually on the top of a Hindu temple, with access to it only through the temple. The Devalaya of Bengal, a religious society, of Hindu origin though absolutely unsectarian in character, has Muhammadans among its members.

It may be urged that idols, which are an abomination to Musalmans, are a conspicuous feature of Hindu worship. That is so; but it is to be remembered that idols, conspicuous

though they are, are not essential to Hinduism. The history of Hinduism contains a long record of attempts to get rid of idols, from Buddha down to the Samajas of the present day. The Jains, I believe, originally did not recognize them. Sankaracharya personally objected to them. Chaitanya seems not to have regarded them. Kabir wrote against them. The first Guru of the Sikhs, while not disallowing them, referred to them as vain things, and the tenth Guru absolutely suppressed their use. There have been smaller sects, too, such as the Alakhgirs and the Khirakasis, who have rejected them. As Hinduism grows to Vedantism and Muhammadanism to Sufism, the two creeds will find more and more of common ground.

And now I will conclude by quoting a few expressions of feeling or opinion by Indians—some Hindu and some Muhammadan—on the subject of their mutual relations, and all in accord with the various incidents brought together above.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga writes: "Let us, both Hindus and Muhammadans, pray to God that we remain united with each other, steadfast, too, in our loyalty to our gracious Sovereign, while ever zealous in the cause of education, ever faithful to the creeds of our great ancestors."

Pandit Motilal Nehru, of Allahabad, says that an Indian nationality which recognizes no distinctions of class or creed is being formed, and that no form can bear comparison with the union of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities.

The late Mr. Gokhale said that India must belong equally to all classes and races inhabiting the country.

The *Hindu*, a leading Madras daily paper, comments on the growing desire of the Muhammadan community to work in harmony with the Hindus, and says that the spirit of co-operation between them is gathering force year by year.

The *Indian Mirror*, of Calcutta, observes that the union of all communities would solve the problem of India's

1916
050
A81

6607/1123

regeneration, and that the cause of India is the cause of all who dwell within the Empire.

The *Leader*, of Allahabad, observes that there is at the present day not a fraction of the bitterness between the two communities that existed not long ago.

And Mr. Justice Sankara Nayar tells the graduates of the Madras University that they must be prepared to extend the hand of brotherhood to their fellow-countrymen irrespective of class, caste or creed.

Turning now to Muhammadan writers or speakers, we find Nawab Said Muhammad saying: "Hindus and Muhammadans have lived side by side now for centuries, and it is not in the nature of things that one may be able to rise at the expense of the other. Both these great communities have to live together and work out their destiny jointly."

Khwaja Kamaluddin says that the generous teaching of the Koran enjoins upon him to pay his respects and allegiance to Ramchandra, Krishna and Lord Buddha.

Mr. Mazharul Haq deprecates wretched and useless bickerings, and says that the people of Bihar refuse to be sectarian, aggressive or obstinate.

Sir Said Ali Imam insists on the necessity of friendliness and co-operation between Hindus and Muhammadans, and says that regard for the feelings and sentiments, needs and requirements of all is the key-note of true Indian nationalism.

H.H. the Aga Khan says that it is the part of wise statesmanship to seek not so much to satisfy Muhammadan as Muhammadan or Hindu as Hindu, as to win the co-operation of all moderate men.

The *Moslem*, a Poona paper, announced on its institution that it would recognize no Moslem interests which are opposed to the general interests of India.

And, referring to the death of Mr. Ghosh, the editor of the Calcutta paper, the *Indian Nation*, Nawab Abdur Rahaman observed that the death was a loss not only to the Hindu, but also the Muhammadan community and to the whole country at large.

These few quotations, like the points of connection and the little incidents collected above, are merely specimens of what might be adduced to show that the two communities can live and work peacefully together. Of course there have been for ages past bitter animosities between them, just as there have been different divisions of the Hindus among themselves, and of the Musalmans among themselves ; but these may be expected to diminish as education advances and common interests become more clearly discerned.

Though outbreaks of animosity among the lower classes on both sides are not uncommon, there is not normally that antipathy between them that some people suppose. As shown above, religious leaders on both sides have had followers from the other side. To some extent the lower classes celebrate each other's festivals. In Sindh those of the Lohanas who as officials came much in contact with the Muhammadan rulers adopted the Musalman style of dress and let their beards grow ; and, while remaining Hindus, they retain these habits to the present day. Again, the actual conversions which from time to time occur imply a good deal of previous sympathy. Only last July, as the *Tribune* of Lahore reports, a number of Brahmans, Banias, and other castes at Surat and Broach openly embraced Islam, which faith they had for some time observed secretly. It is true the Muhammadans have a strong objection to any physical representation of the deity ; but so had the Buddha, and so had Sankaracharya, and so has the Devalaya of Calcutta in the present day. And whatever the divergencies of the two faiths in the lower stages, they seem in their highest evolution—in the Vedanta and in Sufism—to draw very near to one another. In illustration of the great liberality of these two religions one or two final quotations may be given. Sri Ramkrishna taught that all religions are true and practically everything in them is true except those points in which they declare other faiths to be false. Another Hindu teacher said to his disciples : "Wherever God is worshipped draw near." And a Muhammadan

has prayed in these terms: "O God, in every temple I see people that see Thee and in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee. Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee."

Thus, I submit, there is little ground for the belief sometimes expressed that the differences of Hindus and Muhammadans are a bar to the founding of an Indian nationality. I mean a true nationality, neither based in its origin solely on ancient Indian tradition (as some modern Indian writers now argue that it should be) nor narrowed in its operation down to a desire to force its own particular form of civilization upon all who come in contact with it, (which is perhaps in some degree a European fault), but a wide nationality accepting as its birthright all past thought wherever arising, allowing large space for differences within its own borders and recognizing that there are common rights and duties which go beyond the bounds of nationality and extend to the whole human race.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, December 13, 1915, a paper by G. C. Whitworth, Esq., L.C.S. (retired), entitled, "Hindus and Muhammadans," was read for him by Mr. J. B. Pennington. The Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present : Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick S. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Daniel Hamilton, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Mrs. Drury, Mr. John Lee Warner, Mrs. Sewell, Miss Wilde, Miss Spiers, Colonel Beattie, R.A.M.C., Mrs. Nash, Mr. Edwards, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Whitworth, Miss Whitworth, The Rev. Mr. MacInnea, Mr. P. C. Ghosh, Mrs. Thornton, Miss Dove, Miss Bradley, Mr. Rahinin, Mr. Faruki, Miss Wade, Mr. J. D. Nicholson, Colonel Cockburn, Colonel Stewart, Mrs. Wigley, Mr. H. Bruce-Joy, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mrs. Collis, Mr. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. Hassanally, Mr. M. A. Azim, Mrs. Forbes, Mr. S. M. Dikshit, Dr. Bhabha, Mr. and Mrs. James McDonald, Mr. W. Hawkins, Mr. M. Shafi, Mr. A. Reid, Mr. M. H. Kidwai, Mr. G. Ritchie, Mr. F. H. Brown, Major Oswald, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. Frank, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. D. N. Singh, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Whitworth, whose absence we regret, needs no introduction to you. He is known to you all as a distinguished retired member of the Indian Civil Service and as an author of established reputation, possessing a scholarly knowledge of Indian languages. I had the privilege of being associated with him in official work when he was Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and I was struck by his insight into the conditions of Indian life and his breadth of outlook on the future of the people. I will ask Mr. Pennington to read Mr. Whitworth's paper.

(The paper was then read.)

The Hon. Secretary read a letter from Sir George Birdwood, in which Sir George expressed his deep regret at it being totally impossible for him to be present at the reading of Mr. Whitworth's paper. This regret was

intensified by the fact that he would thus miss supporting his good friend, the Mirza Abbas Ali Baig in the chair, and also because he was deeply interested in the subject of the paper.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will agree with me that we are much indebted to Mr. Whitworth for his valuable contribution to a subject of perpetual interest. Our acknowledgments are also due to Mr. Pennington. The paper, as you have seen, is replete with suggestive facts, concisely stated, and with interesting quotations from the writings and speeches of eminent publicists, the cumulative effect of which is to show that the environments of the two great communities forming the bulk of the population of India are not unfavourable to an approximation of their larger interests. And yet there are fundamental differences, the interaction of which has not been in the direction of increasing cleavage, but of a process of gradual assimilation, which is still going on. The late Mr. Justice Ranade, the foremost Hindu of his time, showed by his scholarly researches that the impact of Moslem civilization, with its central conception of man's equality, had no other but a liberalizing effect upon the ancient customs and usages upon the Hindus. At the same time Moslem thought has been absorbing the sublime idealism of Hindu philosophy. The Theistic movements which are now developing in India can be traced to the combined influence of the pure monotheism of Islam and the humanizing spiritualism of Christianity. In estimating the value of Mr. Whitworth's inferences it has to be borne in mind that the dominant forces which have exercised the greatest influence upon the social structure and even upon the psychology of the two communities are, in the case of the Hindus, the caste system, which preserves and perpetuates race types and develops inherited aptitudes, and in the case of the Muhammadans the democratizing tendency of Islam which leads to racial fusion. These may appear like mutually destructive forces, but in the course of centuries they have converged in evolving many common features in the organizations of both Hindus and Muhammadans. The Moslems found in India a vast mosaic of races and creeds each confined in a water-tight compartment. The Hindu-Moslem contact of nearly a thousand years has produced some very curious and interesting results. The Moslem social fabric, which rests upon a democratic basis, has not remained unaffected, in all its parts, by the spirit of exclusiveness which permeates the socio-religious group system of the Hindus ; whilst some Hindu castes have been developing the Moslem characteristic of expansion and fusion. For instance, in Western India, the Khojas, the Memans, and the Bohras, who in influence, wealth and enterprise occupy a very high place among Moslem sub-communities, do not inter-marry outside their own jamaats (communities), which are largely modelled on Hindu caste usages. On the other hand, the Rajputs have been steadily extending the area of permissible inter-marriage. The Kayasthas, an intellectual caste with minor differences, have been gathering their scattered forces into a larger and more homogeneous fold. With regard to inter-marriages between Hindus and Moslems, many notable recent instances can be given in addition to those which Mr. Whitworth mentions. I happen to know three or four Moslem rulers of the

present day whose mothers were Rajputanis. The wife of a late Nawab of Junagadh was a Hindu. I happened to be present at her funeral, which was attended by large crowds both of Hindus and Moslems, who equally shared the mourning of the ruling house. Conversely, besides the Jam of Navanagar, to whom allusion is made in the paper, I knew one very enlightened Maharaja in the same province, who among his four Ranis had a Moslem. The late Prime Minister of Hyderabad, who is the leading nobleman in that State, to whom also reference is made in the paper, has now a Moslem wife. With regard to the intermingling of usages and customs, even when there is a religious element in them, Baroda furnishes some striking illustrations. The Gackwars of Baroda in their childhood wear the symbols of Moslem mourning during the Muharram. On the two great I'd days the Maharajas proceed in procession, with all the pomp and ceremonial of Moslem potentates, to the Central Cathedral Mosque to start the prayers there. One well-known Gackwar, whom perhaps some of us have seen, had an equal inclination towards the tenets of both faiths, Moslem and Hindu. Both Muhammadans and Hindus in the State claimed him with equal devotion and loyalty as one of themselves. He showed by his example the common ground on which the philosophical Vedantism of the Hindus can meet in harmony the esoteric Sufism of the Muhammadans. Poona, the capital of the Mahratta Empire, where Hindu influences are very pronounced, most of the Tabuts, which, as you know, are imitation mausolea commemorating the tragic martyrdom of Husain, a grandson of the Moslem Prophet, are set up and carried in procession by the Hindus. During the celebration of the Muharram which extends over ten days, the two communities most cordially fraternize. Tendencies of this sort which are widespread all over India, and which are being accelerated by the cohesive forces which British culture has set in motion, bear out Mr Whitworth's main conclusion that the differences between Hindus and Muhammadans are not such as to bar the founding of a common Indian nationality. These differences are often painted in very sombre colours, but the bright picture which Mr Whitworth has presented to our view seems to me nearer a true delineation of the general attitude of the two communities towards one another. Mr Whitworth evidently views with cordial goodwill the evolution of a Hindu-Moslem solidarity, which certainly will render easier the task of Government and at the same time open up a higher destiny for the people of India.

Mr S. M. DIKSHIT said that after such a paper full of most instructive details, and the inspiring address of the President, he was afraid he could not throw any new light upon the subject. Hindus and Muhammadans were only nominally described as two distinct sections of the Indian population, and he could easily understand the writer of the paper when he said he disliked to treat them as Hindus and Muhammadans. Even to-day those who have watched the social relations of Hindus and Muhammadans, whether they have been in British India or Native States, could not fail to testify to one common impression that at the bottom the differences that are made so much of in contemporary literature do not, as a matter of fact, exist. People who have travelled in Native States would

discover that wherever there was a Muhammadan ruler he was very much attached to his Hindu subjects. He thought that the present *rapprochement* or the mutual good understanding between Hindus and Muhammadans and other religions was the result of a liberal widespread culture which had been filtering down through all classes. Missionary influence also had had a considerable share. There was a time when European District Officers had stayed for many years in their own districts and were loved by the people; they spoke the language of the country as well as the common people did, and their name was a household word in the mouths of the women and children. It would be noticed that before the days of the Suez Canal District Officers used to live long in the country and their long stay gave them an opportunity of reading the minds and aspirations of the people. He thought that with the personal influence of rulers and the personal influence of educationists it was quite possible that every part of India would correspondingly be influenced, and that the culture which had brought one race in another country was a very great influence and had the natural and inevitable tendency to bring about the fusion of ideas.

Sir FREDERICK LELY said he had read and heard with interest Mr. Whitworth's paper and could corroborate, so far as his knowledge went, all that he had said. Mr. Whitworth had not mentioned one fact—namely, the far less frequency of what were called cow-killing riots. Forty or fifty years ago these unpleasant occurrences happened every year, but of late had almost entirely ceased. He thought that the spirit of the age in all parts of the world was making for toleration and against religious bigotry. He mentioned that at one time the hostility between the Roman Catholics and Protestants was just as acute as ever it was between Hindus and Muhammadans but had now almost entirely disappeared, and he thought it could be claimed that a wave of religious toleration, of broadmindedness, was a characteristic of the age. He was afraid that before the war there was a risk of cleavage, not so much between one religion and another as between one class and another, and hoped that one effect of the war would be to create a diminution of that. He considered that Mr. Whitworth was quite right, that, whatever had happened in the past, Muhammadans and Hindus in India were learning to live together in greater harmony and with a better understanding of each other.

Mr. SYUD HOSSAIN said that he congratulated the East India Association on the lecture which had been given. It was refreshing to find a paper conceived and written in the spirit in which Mr. Whitworth had presented it. The speaker's reason for that was that, unfortunately, the whole tendency of a great deal of the Anglo-Indian literature and journalism in the past had been in a direction diametrically the opposite of that pursued by Mr. Whitworth. When from an able, sympathetic, and well-informed man of Mr. Whitworth's type and character views of this kind were expressed, one rather began to wonder why some of his colleagues should have so unnecessarily insisted upon pursuing opposite views and an opposite trend in regard to Indian affairs. The speaker mentioned that works dealing with Indian history, written under British auspices, some of them prescribed as text-books, had apparently taken for their central fact the text

that Hindus and Muhammadans through the ages had been at each other's throats in India. If one read some of those works inspired by a misconceived notion of Imperial exigency, one would come to the conclusion that the whole of Indian history consisted of nothing but a kind of mutually destructive process unceasingly going on as between Hindus and Muhammadans. That, of course, was a distortion of the historical perspective, for there was no adequate recognition of the peaceful, friendly and neighbourly relation which had existed between the masses of the two communities during centuries of orderly and organized administration. Happily (it was a matter perhaps of very recent development, but undoubtedly a very definite and incontrovertible circumstance), there was a general process of letting in light going on all over India in regard to those assumptions. It was satisfactory to find that some of the suspicion and mistrust which had come to be artificially generated was being dispelled. From his own experience the speaker could give a very important illustration of this. He happened to be present in Dacca in 1906 when the All India Moslem League was founded. It was his fortune to be in touch with the promoters of the League, and he could say from his personal knowledge that the All India Moslem League was conceived in a spirit antagonistic to the political objects of the Indian National Congress. Yet in less than ten years the League had achieved not only a unity of political purpose but of national sentiment with the Congress, and he himself knew leading Muhammadans who adhered as staunchly to the principle of Indian nationality as any Congressman past or present. He thought that was a very hopeful circumstance for the future of India. He agreed with the Chairman that the evolution of a sounder political instinct should not only unite the people, but simplify the task of government in India, and that process must inevitably lead in the fulness of time to the dawn of a happier and worthier era for the country.

Mr A YUSUF ALI said that the paper had admirably summed up some of the recent utterances on what he, in common with the writer of the paper, hated to call the Hindu Muhammadan question. There was one point of view he would like to see worked out more in detail—that was the historical influence that the two communities have exerted on each other. If one went back to mediæval Moslem literature, one found that the two great landmarks which almost transformed the point of view of the Muslims were contact with Greek thought and contact with Hindu thought, and the speaker was not at all sure that contact with Hindu thought was not the more important of the two. The speaker mentioned that when he was at Cambridge one of his friends wrote a prize essay on the mutual influence of Hindu and Muhammadan civilization in India, and was able to present a large number of facts which conclusively proved that the old idea that Moslem rule in India had not thoroughly imbued Hindu civilization or that Hindu civilization did not act upon the Muslims in evolving their own policy, educational, social, and religious, was altogether wrong. If one looked at the present practical arts of India, one found most of the artisans were Muslims, that the raw material is produced by the Hindus, and that the higher processes of completion are

modelled (for good or evil) on modern European civilization. He thought that was a very fine illustration of the subtle process that was going on in India at the present time. It seemed to the speaker that if the Hindus in reviving their religion and the Muhammadans in seeking new light on modern Islam would remember that nothing was exactly as it was before, but that a new force had come from the West and that that new force must count because it is a strong and worthy force, then only should we be able to have a higher Indian civilization as a whole. He would like to give one or two reminiscences of his own. He had been in charge of a district which was predominantly Hindu, with a headquarters station which was, if not predominantly Muhammadan, at least as Muhammadan as it was Hindu, and he found that the conditions and feeling in the headquarters town and in the villages were very different. In the town there was much talk of unity, but no cohesion. In the villages, where the people lived their own simple lives unspoilt by the race for office and by the greed for "loaves and fishes," the feeling was very friendly. Hindus and Muhammadans mixed together, and always found points of similarity amongst themselves. Where, however, you had a hungry race for office, or the *Amla*-feeling let loose, you began to find the trail of the serpent. You found that if one man was dissatisfied with another, and one happened to be a Hindu and the other a Muhammadan, the charge laid was, not that the offending party was wrong, but that he was a Hindu if the party opposing was a Mussulman, and *vice versa*. Such a charge was made because it was effective where perhaps any other could be proved to be false. There were many circumstances to encourage this "rigging" of party disputes. Where the sides were evenly balanced the feeling was, if anything, the more bitter. He thought that that state of matters must cease. The Hindus and Muhammadans who had received a liberal English education were in contact with the larger practical movements that were taking shape in the country. They must see the folly of these local tactics, often dishonest, always disastrous to the public life of India. It was not enough merely to have realized that the simplicity of the old life did make for union. It was imperative to make goodwill the governing principle in the newer relations of town life. It was not an intellectual process, but a matter of heart and will. If it succeeded in the larger sphere of social and political life as well as in individual and local relations, then the speaker was confident that there would be no difficulty in the building up of an Indian nationality or in the winning for themselves their rightful place in the Empire.

Sir JAMES WILSON said that he was glad Mr. Whitworth had put together so many evidences of the way in which Hindus and Muhammadans in India could co-operate for the common good, and the gradual process of fusion taking place between them, but, at the same time, he thought that what had been said so far might lead some of the audience to go away with the idea that there was no such thing as the Hindu-Muhammadan question. He had been in the Punjab most of his life, and whatever might be the case in other parts of India, the Hindu-Muhammadan question in the Punjab was one which gave a good deal of practical trouble. It was not so bad as it used to be, but it was there and had to

be thought of. There was always a danger of riots such as took place the other day in the South-West Punjab, although that, perhaps, was more a question of class and trade than of religion. He, too, could give many instances from the Punjab of Hindus and Muhammadans working well together. One of his best Indian officers was a Hindu, and there were many questions which came before him to decide in which there was on the one side a Hindu shopkeeper and on the other a Muhammadan peasant. The speaker used to sit beside him while he was doing his work, and was struck by the way in which the Muhammadan peasant accepted the decision of the Hindu officer with quite as much confidence as he would that of an English officer. Another of his best Indian officers was a Muhammadan, who had to deal with cases in the same way, and over and over again Hindus were quite content to accept his decision, and there was never any complaint against him of showing partiality. The speaker thought that the Hindus and Muhammadans could quite well work together without giving up their own distinctive characteristics. He looked forward to the time when the Hindus, without ceasing to be Hindus, and the Muhammadans, without ceasing to be Muhammadans, would co-operate for that great idea of Indian nationality. He thought the general feeling of their all belonging to one nation should be encouraged, but that, also, the inhabitants of every Province should try to feel that their Province was something to be proud of and to work for, and, indeed, the residents of every district should be taught to work together for the good of their district without regard to the differences of religion.

Dr POLLEN, in replying on the debate, said there was very little adverse criticism to discuss, for all the speakers seemed to cordially concur with the views and conclusions set forth by Mr Whitworth. He would, however, just read a few remarks which Mr. Whitworth had sent him to be read or not read at his discretion. Mr Whitworth says "I am well aware of at least some of the shortcomings of my paper, especially of its onesidedness and its scrappy character, but if it is onesided it is because the side now taken needs to be put forward, the opposite side having been unduly advanced in the past, and I hope that some of the little scraps may at least be suggestive and may be supplemented by the experience of some of the audience. Since sending in the paper I have noticed many incidents which might well be added, and there is one which even at this date I will mention as bearing on the question of Sectarian Universities. The following is an extract from the *Wednesday Review* of September 22 last

"Commenting on the report on education issued recently by the Government of India, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes 'The report notes that in several of the provincial reports mention is made of the readiness of Mahomedans to enter the common schools and of the unpopularity of special institutions. Notwithstanding satisfactory progress in the number of Mahomedan pupils in Madras, schools chiefly intended for this class of the community decreased and their pupils fell off by over 10,000. The Mahomedan High School in Bombay, which offers many advantages, is shunned by those who can afford to send their children to other institutions. The Director in Burma, in answering the question

whether Mahomedans are really apathetic in the matter of education, says that their only apathy seems to be in not wishing to send their children to purely Mahomedan schools. We regard this as a very hopeful sign both for the Mahomedan community and for the Indian people as a whole. It shows that our fellow countrymen are becoming keenly alive to the value of a genuinely sound system of education, which can never be imparted in a communal institution."

Dr Pollen continued as follows

Mr Whitworth says he declines even to mention the "Divide and Rule" fiction, but has left it to me to deal with the fiction if it did crop up in the discussion. It has only come in incidentally in some of the remarks made by Mr Syud Hossain, and with regard to it I need only repeat what I have often said that the policy of "Divide and Rule" is utterly alien to the Great Queen's Proclamation and to the Imperial utterances of the King Emperors, Edward VII and George V, and no responsible Government servant who is true to his King-Emperor would think of pursuing the policy of dividing the great communities in order that Great Britain might rule over them. Sir James Wilson had pointed out that in the part of India which he knew best the cleavage between the two great sections of the community was very marked, and he feared it could not be easily bridged, but it was quite possible for the two sections of the communities to differ widely in their manners and customs and at the same time have very essential common thoughts, feelings, and interests. No one, I think, would like to see the two communities rubbing all their angles down and merging in form and gloss their particular and essential picturesqueness, but we all desired to see them united in common efforts to improve the whole for the good of all, and it was desirable to encourage and strengthen all tendencies in this direction. The fidelity of the two great races to their King-Emperor could not be questioned, and they seemed to vie with each other in devotion to their Motherland and the British Empire.

Mr OWEN DUNN said that a very pleasant duty had been placed upon him—that of proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his kindness in presiding. It was many years since the Chairman and he first made each other's acquaintance in Bombay, but this was the very first occasion on which he had ever heard the Chairman make a speech. He could say that he had found it an intellectual treat, as no doubt all those present had. It seemed to him that it was one of the most notable speeches that he had heard at the meetings of the Association, and had seemed to give a standard to the speeches that followed, which had been of a high order and great interest.

SIR ROLAND WILSON said he had much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks, and the only contribution he would like to add to the many interesting points of view that had been presented was to raise for consideration the question whether it might not be possible to carry fusion, of which so much had been heard, in some degree into the legal sphere. All the members of the Association would know that there is now one law throughout India in criminal and most civil matters, but that there are separate laws administered in civil matters relating to the family for

Hindus on the one hand and Muhammadans on the other. That was quite right so long as they attached importance to their own family usages, but it seemed that the present law which requires a person who desires to be governed by the Indian Succession Act, or the Marriage Act of 1872, to declare that he does not profess the Hindu, the Muhammadan, or the Christian, or in fact any of the great recognized religions, rather tended to aggravate that division. He thought it would be a good thing if a Hindu or Muhammadan were at liberty to say whether he desired to be governed in family matters by the general law of India and not by the special law of any creed. He did not know how many would avail themselves of the right, but that was a matter which ought to be left to the free choice of the individual. He entirely concurred with what had been said by the previous speakers as to the admirable address of the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN : Your Secretary being an old friend of mine showed his partiality by selecting another old friend to propose the vote of thanks, and Mr. Dunn has generously viewed everything through a magnifying glass. However, I thank you most cordially for the kind manner in which you have carried it.

The proceedings then terminated.

INDIAN WOMEN AND NATIONAL WELL-BEING

BY LADY MUIR-MACKENZIE

DESTINY has willed that the fortunes of India and England should be interlaced, if not for ever, at any rate for an appreciable time. Has mutual gain resulted from this unparalleled union of East and West? Surely. I can imagine our island race would have become, for instance, more and more rigid and narrow in religious perspective had it not to plan the welfare of the followers of other religions. England has been redeemed from believing, as did eighteenth-century England, that the tenets of her own State Church could alone solve the world's spiritual problems because she has come in contact with many high-souled Hindus, Buddhists and Muhammadans. Then Indian art, architecture and psychic thought, have widened our perceptions. Above all, the magic of India pulls at our heart-strings and appeals to our affections, so that we look beyond our parish pumps in order to consider the problems which beset a multitudinous population living very far away from us.

In her turn what can India learn from us? This land has not only given birth to Watts and his steam-engine, but also to Shakespeare, Newton, Lister and Darwin. The fellow-citizens of these benefactors of the human race *must* have gifts to bestow. But perhaps the best gift England has given India is internal peace and a breathing-space in which to solve her own intimate and peculiar problems. Now, I believe India's most pressing problem to-day is how to secure a healthy, happy population. I don't say England has quite solved this problem for her

own comparatively small population, but her sanitary, medical and eugenic experts point the way. India may even profit by our mistakes.

Man, apt to be more extravagant and wasteful than woman, has acquiesced without perceptible demur in an extravagant birth-rate—extravagant because it has resulted in a deplorably high infant mortality. Woman's point of view is just manifesting itself in these matters, and she thinks a well-maintained surviving birth-rate is the end for which to strive.

In India, some castes own to an 80 per cent. infant death-rate; and in parts of Sind 95 per cent. of the women die when their children are born. Think of the suffering and the waste this means. Why is not our splendid intellectual heritage brought to bear here? In England, with all our advantage of climate and scientific knowledge, our infant death-rate is shamefully high, and we have no child-marriage problem to face. There are sentimental people in our midst who say, "Do not try to alter India—her old-world customs are so picturesque." This was said before Sati was abolished. There was an old-fashioned English saying, "What was good enough for my father is good enough for me;" but to-day another set of people are beginning to inquire if what was good enough for their grandfather is in reality worthy of their children. Young India will perhaps join Young England on this issue.

In reality dirt is not picturesque, and disease is never beautiful, and the poorest and most ignorant people in the world are *glad*, when shown the way, to escape from both. Now, how could we spread medical and sanitary knowledge throughout India? By first teaching Indian women to be doctors, nurses, and health officers. At this moment there are thirty-eight girl medical students in the Grant Medical College in Bombay working alongside the men. Does anyone try and make it easy and pleasant for these girls? No; they have to be exceptionally heroic souls to face all the difficulties. The English ladies in the University Settlement in Bombay found these medical

students sharing in some cases one room with many other members of their family, and perhaps doing all the cooking in addition to their medical studies. Now these kind English friends have turned part of their Settlement into a hostel for these girls.

I am sure you will agree that India ought to grant more facilities to women students ; she wants others besides the very heroic and exceptional girls to study as doctors. She needs the everyday girl, who happens to feel a vocation, for the sacred calling of nurse or physician. We must remember that there are to-day only about 500 women doctors in a population of 150,000,000 women, which means that only 3,000,000 women can ever hope to secure medical attendance. Never can we hope that enough European doctors will be available to grapple with this problem : India must train her own people. Luckily Indian women seem capable of becoming excellent physicians and surgeons. Why should there not be medical travelling scholarships for especially brilliant Indian women ? Who will assert that it is not an advantage for a doctor to see something of the European Medical Schools ? I have had letters from Bombay women begging me to help them to acquire a medical school for women in that city ; there is to be a medical school in Delhi for women, founded in memory of Lady Hardinge ; and this is a step in the right direction.

Now, supposing we could count on a supply of women doctors, nurses and health officers, how could we get them into touch with the scattered village population ? Florence Nightingale long ago suggested that Health Missionaries might travel in the rural districts, and teach elementary hygiene and sanitation and bring medical succour to outlying places.

To-day in the Bombay Presidency a brave attempt has been made to bring succour to the helpless village mother when her child is born. The idea was conceived by Mrs. Emanuel, the wife of a member of the Indian Civil Service, and she has founded an institution known as the Indian Woman's Aid Society. A dispensary for women

and children has been established in Alibag, with a fully qualified English woman doctor assisted by an Indian midwife, a compounder, a second qualified nurse and a probationer. A travelling dispensary, in connection with the Alibag Dispensary, has carried the good work farther afield.

It is certain that the majority of Indian women prefer to suffer and die rather than consult a male physician, and it is equally certain that the powers that be only play with the question of securing *adequate* medical relief such as the women could accept. It is possible to travel in India for two hundred miles at a time, and meet with no doctor and no dispensaries even for men; and yet on the whole Indian men are incomparably better provided with medical assistance than the women. However, both men and women in the villages are equally ignorant of hygiene and sanitary science, and if the women once understood, they would put their knowledge into practice, and the men and the children would benefit. The measure of the well-being of a nation is the measure of the happiness and well-being of its women. All nations suffer from disease and misery because the men cannot see that by holding women cheap, and carrying out the principle in their own households that "Might is Right," they are hurting their very selves. In India some men once petitioned for a woman's hospital in their town as so many of the young wives were dying; they thought it would be really cheaper to subscribe to keep them alive than to pay for a second marriage. This is only a crude form of expressing the universal way of regarding women as chattels born to be the means to some men's ends, never born in order to enjoy a separate and happy existence.

Wisdom now whispers that the time has come for men and women to co-operate on equal terms to help their common nations. I have known men in Bombay meet in the Town Hall to discuss the problems of sanitation, but I never heard that a single man brought his wife with him. Yet we must look to the co-operation of the house-mother to translate wise aspirations into living facts.

I please myself by imagining that the Health Missionaries

pictured by Florence Nightingale have actually materialized. I can see a devoted little band of men and women arrange to tour through a given number of villages. There would be a woman doctor, and possibly a man doctor, a maternity nurse, a dispenser and health lecturer. There would be a magic lantern to illustrate their lectures, and a tangible realistic model, such as we have at the Natural History Museum, showing the gyrations of the fly between the refuse-heap, the family cooking-pot and the baby's milk. There would also be a microscope to show the startled audience the strange beasts who live in a drop of water. The village dhai (or midwife) would meet with special attention. In the eighteenth century in France a certain notable woman used to tour through the villages with a wax model of a human figure, and teach anatomy to the wise women of those days, much to the benefit of their patients. Why not think out such a wax model for India? Gradually it would dawn upon the people why it is they suffer from plague and other diseases. I have seen three-fourths of the population of a large village limping about with rags round their legs because they were infested by guinea-worms. It was easy for us to see that if all the offal is thrown out of the houses into the village street and the women carry the dirt on their feet, and then step into the village water-supply while they fill their water-pots, diseases will be spread. By the way, it would be interesting to think out a co-operative scheme for distributing the village water-supply and the benefits of intensive cultivation, but it would take too long to discuss to-day.

I feel sure the Indian villager does not want to be poisoned; he could be taught and coaxed, especially by his own people, into changing his ways.

Do you see any reason why this dream about Health Missionaries should not come true? Perhaps there are people in the room to-day who may be destined to work out the details. Many Indians are metaphysicians, and know that anything once conceived in the abstract *can* be brought forth in the concrete.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, January 24, 1916, a paper was read by Lady Muir-Mackenzie, entitled "Indian Women and National Well-Being." C. W. Saleeby, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.E., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederic Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Lely, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Daniel Hamilton, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.S.I., Mr. J. B. Pennington and Mrs. Brandt, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Drury, Mr. H. Dubash, Mr. M. Zahuruddin, Mr. and Mrs. R. Sewell, Mrs. White, Mrs. Phillips, Mrs. Jackson, Miss Fisher, Miss Roache, Miss Cemben, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Mr. H. R. Cook, Dr. and Mrs. Barker, Mr. D. Singh, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. Sassoon, Miss Steer, Mrs. Gordon Farquharson, Miss Collis, Mr. and Mrs. James Macdonald, Mrs. and Miss Hamilton, Sinjoro and Sinjorino Blaise and friend, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Miss Dove, Mrs. Nettlefold, Mrs. Forbes, Mrs. Tucker, Colonel Roberts, Mrs. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Mrs. Emanuel, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Dr. Clarke, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, Mr. Eric Hope, Mrs. Haigh, Miss Burton, Mrs. Gow, Mr. J. D. Nicholson, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mrs. Drysdale, Mrs. Seaton, Mrs. Wigley, Miss Mackay, Mr. Maulvi Sadruddin, Mrs. Taylor, Lady Mary Cooke, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Miss Holmer, Mr. M. W. Hassan Ally, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mr. Pollak, Miss Lilley, Mrs. Kent, Mr. M. Abdul Aziz, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss Hodson, Mr. R. P. Wilder, Mr. M. H. Kidwai, Miss M. Ashworth, Mrs. Kent, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. Grubb, the Rev F. Penny, Mr. Sydney G. Edudge, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am here to do what I am told, which is that I am now to open the discussion. There is something absurd in that, because I know nothing at all at first hand of this problem, whereas there are many distinguished Indians here who can tell us with authority and with first-hand knowledge what they know, and what we should know—what I for one very much want to know. But, still, I will do what I am told.

We have listened to a paper ridiculously brief, considering the dignity of its treatment and the matter with which it is concerned. There is here something which is real imperialism; something which is real patriotism

and really constructive of the future, something carrying on the very best traditions which make this country worth living in and worth fighting for; and it is all over in a quarter of an hour. There are other speeches, made elsewhere—but enough said. However, I hope it will be widely read.

Before the meeting I looked up what Carlyle said seventy years ago on some of the glories of this country, where he discusses and balances the comparative value of our Indian Empire and our Shakespeare, and considers which is worth most to us, and I wondered how far either Shakespeare or India is valued and utilized as they should be by us still. Since Carlyle wrote, one of the supreme human beings of history, Florence Nightingale, made her great career, and it is that tradition above all which this paper follows. I looked up yesterday the second volume—I hope you all know it better than I do—of Sir Edward Cook's masterly life of Florence Nightingale. We think of her as a kind, good-hearted, sentimental lady who went out to the Crimea, and turned over the soldiers' pillows, and the dying soldiers kissed her shadow on the wall as she went about at night with a lamp, and it is thought that that was the substance of her life work. I remember once, when I used her name in something like its proper connection in something I had written, the editor wrote back and asked if it was not really out of place to speak of her as anything more than I have just described. She was, in fact, one of the creators of the idea of national—nay, imperial—hygiene, and after she had done her work in the Crimea, her interest in the soldier—which, of course, must have meant interest in the soldier in India—led her to the study of the problems of the Indian population themselves. She agitated, and ultimately persuaded the politicians of her time to appoint a Royal Commission to deal with these hygienic problems in India, and not with out profit. She wrote wonderful letters—and I beg you to look them up in that great classic—in which she argued that the finest way in which we might introduce anything worthy in our civilization in India was to make hygiene the handmaid of civilization. She wrote, I think it was to Sir Bartle Frere, saying it might be his glorious destiny to spread our Empire with knowledge instead of with the sword. These were great conceptions, and they are abundantly relevant to day. Knowledge and hygiene, and wisdom and love were to go out as conquerors to spread power and real Empire, instead of famine, disease, and danger. These were great ideas. She saw done an infinitesimal part of what was to be done, but oh how little! You ought to have had here in the chair to day Sir Ronald Ross, but perhaps he was not available, as he was recently in Gallipoli. His great work in regard to malaria comes into my head at the moment. They die in India literally at the rate of millions per annum—and I do not mean thousands or hundreds of thousands, but millions—of malaria, and the various kinds of disease that are really all due to malaria. It may sound boastful, but for all practical purposes it is legitimate to say that we know all about malaria, and, further, that our knowledge—like our Shakespeare and our Lister—comes essentially from this country. What, then, is our duty? By drainage, elementary sanitation, etc., we could obliterate malaria from India, we could not only reduce the terrible death-rate, which remains at such a

degree, but we could improve the bodily and mental vigour of the peoples inhabiting that great country, with mighty and beneficent consequences to themselves and to the Empire of which they are so numerous and so immense a part. Those who go to see the moving pictures will remember how we used to see pictures of the Durbar, and I remember being told at one of those lectures how His Majesty's crown cost £50,000, and my companion, the wisest lady I know, said: "What might not have been done with that £50,000, if, instead of buying jewels for that crown, the money had been spent upon draining a few pools round some villages, and thus abolishing malaria? There might have been some fine fat healthy Indian children, instead of malarial little kids, to be real jewels in His Majesty's crown, of the pattern of the Roman matron we have all heard of." It is that kind of imperialism which is foreshadowed in the writings of Florence Nightingale, and in the paper we have just heard. When I turn to the statistics, they are almost inconceivably ghastly. I have here some figures I am going to quote in an hour at the Royal Society of Medicine, from one of my great teachers—Dr. Ballantyne of Edinburgh—wherein he shows that, if you look after the mother before her baby is born and when it is born, you can reduce the danger of death from maternity to what is in effect *nil*. He gives me the records—as yet unpublished—of the Royal Maternity Hospital in Edinburgh for the past seven years; of 238 mothers coming in, not average mothers, but mothers whose condition and need was exceptionally grave—the bad cases which the doctors outside could not deal with—only eight died, and they died from such things as pneumonia, tumour of the brain, and so forth, which had nothing whatever to do with the fact that they were expectant mothers, or the birth of their babies. This is to say that, if knowledge and good conditions are given to the mothers of our species in time, there is no need for any of them to die. That is not an expectation; that is a proved fact from the records of that hospital. On the other hand, in Lady Muir-Mackenzie's paper it is recorded that ninety-five per cent. of the women in some parts of Sind die when their children are born; and yet we are told there are sentimental people in our midst who say: "Do not try to alter India—her old-world customs are so picturesque." What kind of sentiment is it that looks on at the death of 95 out of every 100 women when they are giving their powers to create the future? Never so urgent as now was the need for what I call "Imperial Eugenics." Think how much Imperial health we need for our Imperial welfare: it may be for doing things on the battlefield; it may be for greater campaigns of peace to come. How much we need at home and in India of what Lady Muir-Mackenzie calls "a healthy, happy population"! Only by care of motherhood is this possible. National well-being—national survival, even—everything that makes a nation great, depends upon such considerations as are dealt with in the paper. (Hear, hear.) Now I will call upon someone to continue the discussion, as I am afraid I have already said more than I meant to say.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said that, as he had not seen a copy of the paper before, he was somewhat at a disadvantage. The brevity of the paper took

him greatly by surprise ; knowing how varied the interests of the Lecturer were, he had fully expected from her a review of the different conditions under which the Indian women lived ; their drawbacks and compensating advantages, and, where there were remediable evils, the remedies to be applied ; also he had expected some reference to the question of general education, which was intimately bound up with sanitation and hygiene. However, they had got a good case made out for greater attention to sanitation, not only from the individual point of view, but also from the national point of view. The welfare of future generations, socially, intellectually, and politically, depended on their having a healthy and vigorous manhood and womanhood. With regard to the figures of infantile mortality, he had a chapter in his book written some time ago, and he had attempted to show that in a city like Cawnpore one out of every three children born died in its first year. The Lecturer had given a much higher figure, in some cases up to eighty per cent., but that could hardly be accepted as representative of the whole country. Then, with regard to the next figure, of ninety-five per cent. of married women dying in child-birth, it seemed to him quite impossible the figure could be correct. In India, practically every woman of child-bearing age was married, unless she was a widow. The proportion of the sexes in the general population showed a decided preponderance of males over females. Now, if ninety-five out of every one hundred women died when their children were born, the result would be that the adult population would have less than five women left to every one hundred men. Such a deduction would be absurd. The mortality, both among infants and among child-bearing women, was undoubtedly higher than anything that could be expected under tolerable conditions, and he wished to support the main argument of the Lecturer, although he could not accept her figures as correct or representative. Whatever the correct figures were, however, they must recognize that the mortality was appalling, and therefore it was their duty to study the question and try to devise some practical scheme for dealing with the matter. The Lecturer had placed before them some very excellent suggestions. He cordially agreed that we could not take the subject in hand, with any hope of success, without enlisting the sympathies and the instructed co-operation of the women themselves. (Hear, hear.) That was a most important point, and he thought they would all agree with him that the first and most important step in that direction was to have a further extension of women's education. The education of women should be most particularly directed to points which would aim at improving the conditions of life, because women held the key to national life and national well-being. Education should not be an exotic system implanted on them from without, but should be a natural system which should grow up and take account of all the conditions of life in India itself. It was only by recognizing that that they would make any progress at all.

With regard to hygiene, he was glad to see that in the paper it was dealt with more from the personal than from the municipal point of view. A great deal of municipal expenditure on sanitation was wasted.

The expenditure of money was not necessarily synonymous with the creation of utilities. It was only when they came to questions of personal hygiene that moral influences began to bear fruit. But they were up against a paradox, suggesting one of the most difficult problems of Indian life. In the matter of cleanliness and personal attention to health, the Indian people had already many advantages over large masses of the population in Europe. Many of their social and religious usages had a hygienic meaning, and the cleansing, healing, disinfecting sun was a most potent ally. But they must remember that the adjustment of primitive ideas to town life was a difficult matter. The short-cuts of a free and easy life in the open air worked havoc in the close atmosphere of a town. Adequate drainage, well planned housing, and medical and surgical care, may be of comparatively minor importance to individuals living in close contact with Nature, as in the villages, but their neglect in towns spelt disaster. Old habits were not suitable for new conditions, and therefore, if hygiene was to make any progress at all in India, the minds of the people must be strongly and systematically directed to the new conditions (Hear, hear)

Mrs EMANUEL said she would like to say a few words on the question of home hygiene. She had visited many homes in India, and had seen many babies born and many die, and many poor women die during the birth of their babies, and it had always struck her that the cleanliness of the home was very superficial, the rooms might look clean, but when one pried beneath the surface a very unsatisfactory state of affairs was often found. With regard to what had been said on malaria they had been for years in India trying to fight malaria, but the population of India was so vast it was difficult to reach them all, and it was almost an impossibility to teach the women that, if their children had fever, for instance, and they allowed them to run about the streets unattended, they could not be expected to get any better. She had travelled much amongst the villages, and had made attempts to teach the people by talking to them, but the people would not be lectured, and in her opinion hygiene could only be brought home to the people by the system now carried out in one of the hospitals for which she was responsible. Here they attended to the women, and persuaded them to come themselves and ask questions with regard to their own health before their babies were born, they were encouraged to come before the event, and were attended to at their confinements, and were visited afterwards for ten days for the original fee, and quite free if very poor. The women would only learn from their own personal feelings and experiences, it was no use teaching them from a national point of view. She could not help thinking that the best plan was for the Government to encourage the scheme she had suggested to them years ago, of travelling dispensaries for women and children, because in the villages it was clear the poor people must be visited by a doctor and a nurse, who would show them by personal illustration how the sick could be made whole again (Hear, hear)

The SECRETARY As our Chairman is engaged to deliver a lecture elsewhere, and has to leave us now, I think we ought to pass a very

cordial vote of thanks to him for the light he has thrown upon the paper this evening, and for the knowledge he has brought upon this subject.

The proposal, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said that it was unfortunate he had to leave them; he was just beginning to learn, which was a most delightful and valuable process, and he deplored the fact that he had to go away; but he was due to lecture to some people who were just going to set out on this very business in our own benighted land—to try and cut down our infant mortality, in the face of which we could not hold up the finger of scorn to any other country.

Sir KRISHNA GUPTA then took the chair.

Dr. CLARKE said that, as regarded the question of statistics raised by Mr. Yusif Ali, he agreed those must not be taken as applying to the whole of India. In some parts of London, for instance, the death-rate was as low as ten per thousand, whereas in other parts it was as high as fifty per thousand, and even in one case seventy per thousand. Undoubtedly in the Eastern countries the death-rate was very high indeed, mainly because of the insanitary conditions and want of knowledge on the part of those attending children at birth. He thought what the Lecturer had proposed was the best solution of the difficulty; they required to have skilled midwives and maternity nurses who should be educated and paid by the Government; but he regretted to say the Government in India were not doing all they ought to do in regard to education: in that connection the Native States were far ahead. He remembered when he was in Edinburgh they had a stiff fight to get ladies to be educated as medical students, and the prejudice was very strong indeed against them; but the prejudice here, however, was nothing to the prejudice in India, because where it resulted in losing caste the matter was very serious indeed, and if ladies in India were undertaking medical duties they must be very brave indeed. Certainly the best work done by women had been the work done by women doctors. He had a brother in India, and he personally had spent a number of winters in India travelling through the villages, and he fully realized the difficulties of the work there. The great difficulty was the question of caste, which was against women doing anything of the kind. Only women could, however, satisfactorily do the work required in India, and he trusted pressure would be brought to bear on the Government to do something to help to stop the terrible death-rate. It was a very important problem, and he hoped something would be done in the future in that direction.

Sir FREDERIC LELY said the Lecturer had struck the right note, but sanitation in India was not without practical difficulty which was not very easy to tackle. As to the care of women and children, he could not help thinking Government had been much to blame, the reason being that they measured Indian problems with an English foot-rule. "England felt no need of women doctors, so why should India?" And they built up a costly and efficient department, oblivious of the fact that the most important part of the population remained outside it. A number of cour-

ageous women, seeing the need of their country, sought to qualify as doctors. Did the Government sympathize, encourage, help? No, they merely said: "You may enter the schools along with the men on sufferance, but we will do nothing to make your way easy or less repulsive." The provision of even decent lodging has been left to a band of English ladies working on private funds. No one can say this negative attitude is worthy of an enlightened and sympathetic Government. Lady Muir-Mackenzie had alluded to the great central school to be established in the new official capital of Delhi, by semi-private agency. Personally he would have preferred to see less grandiose schools in the great centres of the people—Bombay and Calcutta—where there are great hospitals for clinical practice, and the homes of educated women from which to draw students. He earnestly hoped the school would be a success; for if it were not the women's movement would have to bear the brunt, for opponents would say there was no solid public opinion at the back of it. The Lecturer spoke of health evangelizing parties to travel about from village to village. He would like to see one such party organized for a single selected district—a woman doctor, a compounder, and perhaps a teacher with a lantern and suitable slides. The initial cost would not be great, and the opportunity would be given of getting experience. If successful, the demand for extension to other districts would be irresistible.

Mrs. VILLIERS STUART said she would like to support the Lecturer, and also the very practical remarks of the last speaker. If there was one thing India had to learn from England, it was in connection with the question of medical science and hygiene. She fully agreed, however, that we had very much to learn from India in many respects.

Mr. HASSAN ALLY said he would like to make a few remarks. They were told the Government had done its best, and therefore was not to be blamed. He would like to say in India everything was governed and supervised by the Government—lighting, sanitation, and everything. Even the municipalities, although to all outward appearance self-governing, were under the influence of the Government. They were told by some speakers the people did not know much of sanitation; but, on the other hand, they must not forget that the Indian villagers lived in ideal surroundings, with plenty of sunshine and fresh air. He agreed, in regard to the towns, sanitation was an important matter, but it was quite different in the villages. The Muhammadans, owing to their religion, were required always to wear nice clean clothes, to go to prayers five times in a day, and to regularly perform their ablutions; therefore their cleanliness was not to be questioned. Then, again, Hindus took a bath every day. What the Indian people mostly required was education, which would bring in its train modern civilization, hygiene, etc. (Hear, hear.)

Miss ASHWORTH said she had served in India as an Inspectress of Schools, and she was of the opinion that it was desirable to appoint medical inspectors of schools in India, whose duty it would be periodically to examine and report on the physical condition of the children, and to instruct teachers in school hygiene. There were many ladies in India well qualified for this work and who would be glad to do it.

Referring to the hard conditions of the women teachers in vernacular schools, she said her attention was drawn to the fact that the retiring age was fifty-five, and that throughout all the years women had been employed in the schools not *one* had lived long enough to enjoy her well-earned pension.

She agreed that there was urgent need for a special college for women in Bombay. There were now many women students taking the medical course, and they were obliged at present to attend the same lectures and work in the laboratories side by side with the men—a most undesirable arrangement and opposed to all the traditions of the East. The result was that women students were drawn largely from an undesirable class. A few exceptionally courageous women of good social class braved the unpleasantness of the mixed classes for the sake of the training, which they valued highly; the rest of the students were drawn from an inferior class not over-sensitive in these matters. It was only possible to get suitable women of the right class for training as doctors or teachers by offering them a special women's college where they could study under suitable conditions.

With regard to the teaching of hygiene, it was already included in the curriculum of the vernacular schools, but the teachers did not understand the subject, and the teaching was unpractical and ineffective.

The LECTURER, in reply, said she had enjoyed the discussion very much indeed, especially the words which fell from Dr. Saleeby, which carried great weight. She had recently been speaking to some of the women doctors who were going out to the Delhi College, including one brilliant lecturer. It was very difficult to get suitable medical women to go out to India, because Government refused to give them suitable fees.

She hoped the Women's Medical College at Delhi would be a great success, otherwise the failure of the new venture would be thrown in the teeth of those anxious to forward the cause of female education, just as Sir Frederic Lely had suggested.

With regard to the Parsee community, for instance, they used to suffer from terrible infantile mortality, owing to their strange customs, which had resulted in the gradual decline of the community. Now, however, owing to the great improvement of conditions, and the building of a fine maternity hospital in Bombay, etc., there were very few deaths. Some of the speakers, apparently, hardly realized what a retrogression there had been in regard to sanitation.

With regard to the question of women doctors, there was no prejudice in India against women doctors themselves; there was, however, a prejudice against such things as dissection and so on, which was part of the training: that was one of the great difficulties in the way of a solution of the problem. She was very interested in what Miss Ashworth had said as to the kind of women who took up the work, and she hoped the way would be made clear, and that the women of India would have a chance of getting the benefit of the best intellect of India for their female medical advisers. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Sir KRISHNA GUPTA, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer, said she had put her finger on the plague-spot of the civic life of

India. A nation had to live before it could advance. Undoubtedly, infantile mortality in India was very high ; in Calcutta it was from 300 to 400 per thousand. With regard to malaria, he knew from personal experience how the people suffered ; and healthy children could not be expected when parents were practically decimated by malaria. In Bengal, with a population of over sixty millions, the problem of drainage, etc., was a very difficult matter indeed, owing to the flat nature of the country, there being hardly any gradients at all. The whole thing resolved itself into a question of money, and how to find the millions which would be necessary to carry out improvements.

With regard to hygiene, the question turned upon education ; the people must be educated and made to realize the benefits of hygiene. Various schemes had been suggested, but they all required money ; therefore the only real question before them was how to find the money necessary to introduce the much-needed improvements in India. (Hear, hear.)

The proposal was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

Dr. POLLEN moved a vote of thanks to Sir Krishna Gupta for so kindly taking the chair on the departure of Dr. Saleeby.

On being put to the meeting, this vote was unanimously carried, and the proceedings then terminated.

THE CHINESE AS A WARRIOR IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY*

By S. G. CHENG

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—At this critical time, when the baleful star shines over the Continent of Europe, twelve Powers have unsheathed the sword, gunfire spreads over the globe, and two-thirds of the world's population are involved in war, it is no time for us to be unscrupulously indifferent or wastefully grieved. This life-and-death struggle affords opportunity not only to those actually taking part to utilize every bit of the moral and spiritual power in their possession, but to every watchful thinker to recollect the past, to explain the present, and to infer the future of human evolution. War, be it an evil or a necessity, is no stranger to Chinese history; our race has not been immune from the horror of destruction. The Yellow River has once been reddened with blood; the green cornfield has been the scene of many battles; the manly youth has been bold and willing to sacrifice his life for his country; the best brain has been used in producing weapons and in drafting plans to kill the enemy. Should the Creator pass sentence on all those who have killed members of mankind under the disguise of a difference in nationality, the Chinese would by no means have a chance of evading the penalty. Should the fact that some opponents have been killed by order of the State and under the cover of the national flag be honour and glory, we Chinese, viewed from our history, are fully justified in claiming to be of equal rank with the greatest warrior even of the present day.

At the threshold of our four-thousand-years-old history, the prominent feature is to conquer those unyielding to our will. The Great Emperor, Huang Ti, to whom the creation of Chinese characters and the invention of wheels and carriages are attributed, attacked and suppressed the rebellious kingdom of Ch'ihYu, who, occupying the north-eastern corner of the Empire, part of the present Chihli province, had set him at defiance. The magnetic compass, invented by the Chinese, but improved by Europeans,

* A lecture read before the China Society at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on January 27, 1916, Sir Charles Addis in the chair.

owes its origin to the war preparations of the great Emperor. Highways being absent, maps being unprepared, the compass needle invariably showed the direction and guided the Imperial troops to march through marshy lands and mountain barriers to their destination. The army consequently came back in triumph.

Even before the time of this great Emperor were drafted the eight diagrams of the Canon of Changes by Emperor Fu Hsi (2852 B.C.). These diagrams were permuted into sixty-four by King Wen (1150 B.C.), who also wrote an exegesis on them. The seventh diagram of the sixty-four is called the diagram of Army, in which we find the following sayings: "The Army, coming forth, must act according to Law, if not, ill luck ensues. If the Army is properly employed, good luck will ensue and no blame will arise. The Emperor will then receive the favour of God to govern the people. In retreat, if the Army still preserve order, no danger will ensue. Should the soldiers lose their energy as if they were lying dead in a baggage cart, ill luck will follow. Should a part of the Army be under a good command, and another part be idle and undisciplined, it may be attended with luck and may be in danger."

In the fifteenth diagram it is again said that, "At the moment when humility is no longer to be tolerated, it is advantageous to mobilize our army to subjugate the enemy."

The Canon of Changes is to the general reader a mystery, and its pathological symbols are not understandable without thorough study, but the above extracts from the original text are illustrative, and show the attention given by our ancient Emperor to warfare.

To the ancients, war was one of the means of ruling, but by them it was never encouraged or lightly indulged in. Here and there we find warnings that armaments are devilish instruments and war a most dangerous enterprise. In fact, war is waged by them not in the sense that it is a biological necessity, but because it is the only means of relieving people from the oppression of their vicious rulers. Once it is found that there is any other means of solving their difficulties without appealing to armed force, our ancients have no hesitation in withdrawing their troops and confessing the crime they are committing in wasting lives. A good example of this is found in the Canon of History, a record of events that happened during the period from the reign of the Emperor Yao to the middle of the Chow Dynasty—i.e., from 2356 to about 600 B.C.

During the reign of the Emperor Shun (2317-2208 B.C.), the Great Yu, his Minister of State, was charged with the responsibility of conquering the Principality of Miao, the ruler of which had ill-treated the inhabitants and had refused to obey the Emperor's order. A mass of troops having therefore been assembled, the Great Yu commanded them to punish their opponents. But after thirty days' fighting—a long war at that time—the people of Miao remained unconquered, and the enemy was as obstinate as ever. A Staff Officer then admonished the Commander that it was only sincerity and perfect virtue that could win the heart of a people, and war was not a good means of cherishing their affections. If the Emperor increased his virtuous conduct and more widely distributed his

virtuous teachings, these rebellious people, being conscientious, would duly yield to his (the Emperor's) command of their own will, and this enemy kingdom would automatically form a part of the Empire. The Commander-in-Chief, being moved by this admonition, immediately withdrew the troops, and the Emperor prepared to act as the Staff Officer advised. After the lapse of seventy days the people of Miao, realizing the grace and benevolence of the Emperor, came unanimously to bow at the Palace Gate.

The same Canon is full of war records, army proclamations, and military orders. Written in concise, classical Chinese, these proclamations and orders convey nothing but the warrior's spirit, and give the reader the impression of being suddenly confronted with the shining light of silver armour. Stirring language will stimulate the patriotic and gallant feeling of a soldier, and a sacred order will put him into a state of what Baron Von der Goltz calls "imagination." It will suffice to give a few extracts as space permits. You may be interested in reading the following :

"Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by God. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the Imperial House. Give me your help to carry out the charge of the Emperor."

"Assist me to carry out the punishment appointed by God. I will greatly reward you. If you do not obey my serene order, I will put you to death and you will find no forgiveness."

"My military prowess is displayed, and I enter the territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment of evil will be shown, and will be more glorious than that of any previous monarch."

"Be brave. Be tigers and panthers. Be like bear and grizzly bear."

These orders were issued by different commanders at different battles, and all show a manly and courageous spirit.

The Canon of Poetry, again, abounds with warrior songs, of which most are gallant and daring, though some are sentimental. One or two songs will suffice to display the feelings of the man in arms of that time :

My war chariot is yoked,
And its four steeds are strong.
Who dare remain inactive?
I shall have three big victories in one month.

Foolish were the savages of Ching,
Presuming to oppose our great region.
Fang Shu is of noble age,
But full of vigour in his plans.
He led his army on,
Seized the chief enemy, and made capture of booty.
Numerous were his war chariots—
Numerous and in grand array.
Like the clap or the roll of thunder the onset.
Intelligent and true is our leader Fang Shu.
He had gone and smitten the enemy,
And these savages came, awed by majesty.

Another Canon, *Chou Li*, or State Regulations of the Chou Dynasty, devotes chapters to army organization. Military ceremony is regulated with as much elaboration as the wedding and mourning ceremonies by our ancient rulers, but space and time do not permit of our touching on them now.

One important point to be observed is that up till about 200 B.C. the Chinese Army was maintained with universal service. At that time the agricultural land of the Empire consisted of divisions of nine hundred mows ($\frac{1}{4}$ acre) each. In each division one-ninth of the land was the land of the Emperor, and the rest was let to the tenants free of charge, but on condition that they should cultivate and plough the Emperor's land. All the tenants of military age were liable to military service in time of need, therefore, in spite of the smallness of the then standing army, a big army could be put into the field at short notice by turning the peasants into soldiers. One must remember that an army of two thousand years ago was not such a scientific organization as it is at the present day. Training was an easy matter, and everyone physically fit could use weapons and bear arms without requiring a long period of instruction.

Now to come to Confucius himself. Being a religious teacher, he only makes scanty mention of war. Nevertheless, it must be said that he implicitly admits that war is inevitable, but should only be waged with caution and as a last resort. In the *Analects* he, in reply to a question about government, says that the requisites of a government are that there be sufficiency of military preparations, sufficiency of food, and confidence of the people in the ruler. On another occasion he says that if a good man be allowed to teach people for seven years, they may then be employed in war, but to lead an uninstructed people to war is to throw them away. Questioned as to his choice of associates in case he is called upon to conduct an army, the Master (Confucius) says that he will not act with one who is unscrupulously bold and dies without regret, and that he must act with those who are thoughtful and cautious, who are skilful in adjusting plans and carrying them into execution.

The life of Confucius fell within a period in which the federal Princes overruled the Emperors, and in which the kingdoms which had not yet been absorbed into the Chinese Empire often attempted to extend their territories at the expense of these Princes. It is an established rule that wherever many independent and evenly balanced States gather within a limited area, hostilities are bound to frequently occur. This is true everywhere—in China, in America, and in Europe. In spite of their preparations for this war, the German Empire has had forty-four years of peace since the declaration at Versailles by William I in 1871, whereas before that year, especially during the seventeenth century, the Teutonic States were more often at war than at peace. Had there been no federal union, the North American continent would have heard more cannonade, and the existing peace and solidarity would have been impossible. For this reason, the formation of United States of Europe has been made the aim of Pacifists. If it is true of Europe or America, it is true of China. What is aimed at by the so-called Pacifists has been tested and found true.

in the history of China. The years between 770 B.C. and 255 B.C. saw the emergence of China proper. The territory of the Chinese Empire at that time extended not far beyond the Huang Ho to the north, and not far beyond the Yangtse in the south. The Yellow Sea bounded the east, and the western boundary had not yet reached the foot of the Tibetan Plateau. In an area half of that possessed by our present generation, more than twenty independent Principalities existed, overruling the Emperor, facing each other in arms, endeavouring to wipe each other out, and forming alliances whenever opportunity offered. These Principalities were never quiet for a single day or night. To meet these circumstances, it was necessary to find distinguished men. Tacticians, strategists, inventors of armaments, skilful diplomats, all answered the country's call to serve the Prince or King.

It is only through a careful study of military history that a man, keeping in mind certain tactical and strategical principles, can possibly be expected to command an army in the field. A study of Chinese history of the period under consideration would certainly enlighten the mind of an army officer, and also that of the general reader of receptive mind. The size of an army, the nature of the combatants, may change from day to day, armaments may be altered by the adoption of new inventions, and the science of war of two thousand years ago be no longer applicable to the present day, but first principles might remain the same throughout the long range of history.

In the first place, we cannot do better than examine the celebrated work of Sun Tzu, the oldest military treatise of the kind ever rendered in a European language, though not the oldest in China—the oldest being probably that of T'ai Kung, at the beginning of the Chou Dynasty. No reader of any intelligence will condemn it because of its antiquity, and a thorough study will compel one to admit that though there are differences of expression, there are points of similarity in the doctrines of Sun Tzu and those of modern European writers. The late Field Marshal Lord Roberts, in a letter to the translator of Sun Tzu, Dr. Lionel Giles, expressly stated that "many of Sun's maxims are perfectly applicable to the present day." As recently as June, 1915, Mr. Russell, in an article to *The Times*, actually made comparisons between Sun's book and German military treatises.

Let us take some points from Sun Tzu's work, and compare them with modern works.

In the first chapter of Sun's work, "Laying Plans," he exposes the five principal factors governing the Art of War. The first of them is the Moral Law. The significance of this law is quite plain to those who have some slight acquaintance with strategical books. Major S. L. Murray defines the essence of war as a struggle between spiritual and moral forces on both sides. Von Clausewitz makes the luminous remark that the physical forces in war are little more than the wooden handle, whilst the moral forces are the noble metal. The same view is held by the French writer, Commandant G. Golin, who says that the moral forces act most powerfully and have a preponderant effect in the essential act of war.

Sun defines the Moral Law as that which causes people to be in complete accord with their leader, so that they will follow him regardless of

their lives, undismayed by any danger. One might complain that his definition was not extensive enough, lacking the strength and energy of that given by Clausewitz—that the chief moral powers are the talent of the Commander, the military virtue of the army, and its national feeling. But let it be remembered that when Sun's book was written, the term "nation" was obscure, if not non-existent. What is conveyed by national feeling at the present day was expressed in the saying—loyalty and obedience to the Emperor or King. Enthusiasm, zeal, and faith, are implied in Sun's Moral Law. The other two items of the moral forces of Clausewitz are classified by Sun as two other factors of the war. (We will leave the second and third factors for the moment, to return to them presently.)

The fourth factor is the personality of the Commander, which comprises the virtues of wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage, and strictness. Baron Von der Goltz gives as the qualifications of a General: (a) Sincerity and force of conviction, (b) power of will, (c) self-reliance, (d) courage and love of responsibility, (e) nobility of mind or greatness of soul, (f) a thorough knowledge of the secrets of human nature, (g) imagination, (h) good memory, (i) creative mind, and (j) love of action. This classification, we must admit, is more exhaustive than that of Sun. But a Marshal who takes up his pen to-day, with the knowledge of past battles to teach him, with the convenience of intelligence and abundance of scientific records to enable him to make more profound research, must not be overpraised for his ability to form a more scientific analysis than the Chinese strategist of 500 B.C. Nevertheless, most of the principles laid down by Sun are implicitly or explicitly confirmed by the German General now commanding the Turkish forces. For instance, the saying of Sun-tze that, "while heeding the profit of his counsel, a General must avail himself of any helpful circumstances over and above the ordinary rules," and that, "according as circumstances are favourable, one should modify one's plans," is nearly identical with Von der Goltz's warning that "in the application of principles and means to war, some slight addition of personal invention is always necessary."

The fifth factor of Sun is Method and Regulation, by which he means the marshalling of the army in its proper subdivisions, the gradations of rank among the officers, and the maintenance of roads by which supplies may reach the army. Herein lies an indisputable concurrence between Clausewitz and Sun. The former says that the whole body of instruction for formations, drill, and field service is comprised in Regulations and Methods, and on these things depends the real conduct of war. Being alterable from time to time, these things cannot be conducted on any general principles, but Methods and Regulations imply some freedom of arrangement. There may be little in common between divisional marshalling of troops and gradation of army officers of the nineteenth century and those of Sun's time, owing to differences in size and constitution. But some points on the question of subsistence will be interesting.

Sun says that a wise General makes a point of foraging on the enemy, but on another occasion says that an army without its commissariat, without provisions, without bases of supply, will be lost. A comparison of these

sayings with that of Napoleon is striking. Napoleon, to use his own words, when occasion arose, put the country on both sides of the road along which his troops passed "under blood and fire," in order to squeeze provisions from it. But historians and strategists are all agreed that he was, above all, a master in organizing his lines of communication, and that purchases, convoys, requisitions, magazines, and enforced feeding by the population, all helped to satisfy his soldiers' wants.

The second and third factors are Astronomy and Geography. In geography, Sun includes distances, great and small, the danger and safety of the ground, narrow passes, the chances of life and death. Strategical and tactical writers have never failed to consider the importance of ground. For the defence of a mountain or the fording of a river, different tactics have certainly to be employed.

The factor of astronomy reminds me of the fact that Clausewitz took "weather" as an example of "friction." An unexpected fog or hurricane may upset the whole scheme of offence or defence. A Chinese General of A.D. 200, according to a romantic history, in leading a fleet of sailing ships, succeeded in changing the wind into the direction he wanted by offering sacrifices and praying to God. He even makes a knowledge of astronomy an essential qualification of generalship. Once again we find the same thing emphasized by Clausewitz, this Chinese General, and Sun Tzū.

These five factors constitute the general aspect of war. In another chapter of Sun's book, he says that war is based on deception. "When we are able to attack we must seem unable, when using our forces we must seem inactive, when we are near we must make the enemy believe we are far away, when far away we must make him believe we are near."

We can now see that what Colonel Henderson considers the most practical maxim of General Stonewall Jackson, Commander of the forces of the South Confederates during the American Civil War—the mystification of the enemy—was not excluded from the scope of Sun Tzū's speculations.

Numerical superiority is another important condition for securing victory in the past as well as at the present day. Sun's theory as to numbers is that if our force is ten to the enemy's one we ought to surround him, if ours is five to the enemy's one we ought to attack him, if we are twice as numerous we ought to divide our army into two and attack the enemy on two sides, if equally matched we can offer battle, if inferior in numbers we should avoid the enemy and be on the defensive. In a modern war of considerable importance, the two belligerents are as a rule evenly balanced, the front is extended a very long way, and there is often more than one theatre of war. Therefore, what Sun says may not be applicable to present warfare, but in separate battles his theory would still hold good.

Another maxim of Sun Tzū is agreed to by most modern writers. He says: "If we wish to fight, the enemy can be forced to an engagement, even though he be sheltered behind a high rampart and a deep trench. All we need to do is to attack some other place that he will be obliged to relieve, appear at points which the enemy must hasten to defend;

march swiftly to places where you are not expected." Nearly all European writers lay it down as an axiom that an offensive army must attack the enemy with concentrated forces at decisive points, the winning or losing of which may decide the victory or defeat of the whole war.

War being the most serious game, and endangering national existence, should not be used as an occasion for commanders and soldiers to show off their courage and ability in order to gain fame for selfish ends. The only permissible object is to destroy the enemy's army and to impose their will on it. Therefore, says Sun Tzū, the General who advances without coveting fame, and retreats without fearing disgrace, and whose only thought is to protect his country and do good service to his Sovereign, is the jewel of the kingdom.

The battlefield is no place for rehearsal, and affords no time for trial. Every opportunity is to be used and every step is to be decisive. Sun Tzū says that "the skilful fighter puts himself into a position which makes defeat impossible, and does not miss the moment for defeating the enemy, and thus it is that the victorious strategist only seeks battle after victory has been won, whereas he who is destined to defeat first fights, and afterwards looks for victory."

This doctrine is exactly the same as Clausewitz's instructions to the Prussian Crown Prince, that a General must not be content with being assured of victory, but that he must be bodily and spiritually, extensively and intensively, certain. It is well to be sure of victory, but it is better to be perfectly sure!

Again, Sun Tzū says "Attack your enemy where he is not prepared, pounce on him by surprise." There is no necessity for me to expound this maxim or to interpret Clausewitz's doctrine of surprise. A minor initial attack may not decide a battle, but it will produce a disastrous moral effect on the enemy. On the other hand, an initial success will stimulate our courage and sense of responsibility to its highest pitch, and rouse the whole body of our civilian population to back our army. A good example of this is found in the destruction of the Russian cruisers at Port Arthur by Japanese torpedoes even before the declaration of war. Russia had not yet prepared for war when they were upset by the enemy's surprise attack.

Before leaving Sun Tzū, I would like to be allowed to say a few words on his method of employing spies. He says "There are five classes of spies—(a) local spies, (b) inward spies, (c) converted spies, (d) doomed spies, and (e) surviving spies. When the five kinds of spies are all at work, none can discover our secret system. Having local spies means employing the services of the inhabitants of a district, having inward spies means making use of officials of the enemy by bribery, having converted spies means getting hold of the enemy's spies and using them for our own purposes, having doomed spies means doing certain things openly for purposes of deception, and allowing our own spies to know of them and report them to the enemy. Surviving spies, finally, are those who bring back intelligence from the enemy's camp. Spies cannot be usefully employed unless the employer has a certain intuitive sagacity, and they

220 *The Chinese as a Warrior in the Light of History*

cannot be properly managed unless he is benevolent and straightforward. Without subtle ingenuity of mind, an army commander cannot make certain of the truth of their reports."

Having no experience of the spy service, I do not attempt to criticize this gospel of spying. The modern spy system, as shown by this war, is most elaborately organized, and every imaginable means has been applied by both belligerents. Sun's classification may not be perfect in the eyes of a modern critic, but we can blushing claim to have had a system of espionage two thousand years in advance of Germany!

A contemporary of Sun Tzū, Wu Tzū, wrote another book, the "Art of War," from which I will only make a few quotations. Wu Tzū said that "the foundation of victory is good government." In peace time it is only with an active, progressive Government which develops national wealth, educates and trains the people, and organizes communications, that war preparations can be made possible. When the trumpets sound, and the soldiers answer the Fatherland's call, it is only with a prompt, shrewd, and zealous ruler at the head of the nation, born of a man who has both intellect and military prowess to boast of, that the Generals and Commanders are willing and ready to die for and to win the honour of the country.

This doctrine universally and perpetually holds good, and though this Chinese strategist may be the first man in point of time to put it into concrete language, he is not the only man to appreciate its importance, for the French Commandant, Monsieur G. Golin, in the concluding chapter of "La Transformation de la Guerre," asserts that it is clearly the duty of politicians to act in conjunction with the military authorities in the way which best conforms to the national interests. "War is always the servant of policy," but, once war is declared, the Cabinet must not, except in case of necessity, interfere with the conduct of the Generals in the field. According to the modern practice of Continental countries, once diplomatic relations are broken off, martial law (not military law) is applicable over the whole region of war, and the War Minister surrenders a great part of his office to the Chief of the General Staff. Good government in peace and during war is the first essential of triumphant victory.

Wu Tzū's qualifications for generalship are: reason, preparation, determination, vigilance, and simplicity. Courage is needed, but courage alone which is heedless in encounter, and rash encounter which is ignorant of the consequences, cannot be called good. In war there are four important influences: spirit, ground, opportunity, and force.

About a century later than Wu Tzū lived a remarkable General, T'ien Tan, commanding the forces of the Principality of Chi', part of the present Shantung Province, against the invading army of the Principality of Yen. Apart from the characteristics of courage, determination, and ingenious planning, he employed tactical methods which sound romantic, but which have even been employed in this war, according to a newspaper report.

"After this General had succeeded in enticing the Prince of Yen to call back his victorious General Yo I, for whom he was perhaps no match, by spreading the false news that the victor intended to raise his standard against his Prince in the occupied territory, he got together a thousand

oxen and fastened sharp swords to their horns and torches to their tails. At the same time he painted the skins of these animals with various dreadful figures and images, so that those who caught sight of them would faint with terror. Having seen everything in order, he commanded all the torches attached to the tails to be lighted, and the whole army to advance in the wake of these pioneers. The oxen and cows, feeling the flames behind them, naturally could not stand still, but were obliged to advance at the highest speed, breaking through every obstacle on the way, until they died. The enemy's trenches were consequently penetrated, and not only was the invaded and occupied territory retaken, but the Ch'i Army entered into the heart of the enemy's country."

Strange though this method of fighting may appear, the following telegram, appearing in the *Observer* of June 6, 1915, is worth quoting:

"A message from Rome to the *Petit Parisien* says that the Italian soldiers, in their attack against the Austrian entrenchment at Monte Corada, employed wild mountain buffaloes to break the enemy's wire entanglements."

"The Austrian garrison, who had retired into the fort situated on the summit of the mountain, had erected high barbed wire defences, as well as placed mines for defensive purposes. At a certain moment some fifty native buffaloes were driven forward by the Italians towards the Austrian defences. The explosion of a few bombs sufficed to stampede the animals, who, with their horns and hoofs smashed through the enemy's entanglements. In a quarter of an hour, the ground was swept free of every obstacle, and the Italian soldiers were able to march towards the summit."

It has been pointed out by Dr Lionel Giles (*"Sun Tzu on the Art of War,"* p. 120) that a similar method was employed by Hannibal on the road to Casilinum against Fabius Cunctator (*Livy* xxii, ch. 16, 17). The parallel here is really closer, as on this occasion it was resorted to in the night time.

With this General I must conclude the so called fighting period of our history. Immediately after this period came Shih Huang, or the first Emperor, who succeeded in overthrowing the Chou Dynasty and absorbed all the Principalities. Local autonomy was withdrawn, and the districts into which his Empire was divided came under the direct rule of the throne. Under the impression that peace would reign for ever, he abolished all armaments, the conscription system having already been abolished by his ancestors some years before. This is the first epoch in which the fighting spirit of China declined. Nevertheless, he made himself a remarkable ruler by building the Great Wall, which was intended to shut off all Tartars outside the Empire. Sir Henry Norman rightly states that this wall has never been effective in repelling the Tartar conquerors of China, but one must remember that a wall, if well garrisoned, was effective for defence in ancient times. It may have failed to achieve its end, but this wall, even to the present day, as a German author remarks, is a sign of the highest "Kulturstufe."

This first Emperor died after a short reign, and his son saw the downfall of his mighty Empire, which was then divided and held by several rebellious leaders, and was finally unified under the House of the Han.

Dynasty. During the strife amongst the leaders after the fall of the Ch'in Empire, there was one General whose interpretation of strategy is amazing. In a battle he ordered his troops to line facing a mountain, and with their backs to the bank of a river, across which there was no pontoon. After having gained the victory in this battle, he was asked as to the meaning of his acting in contradiction to the fundamental principles of strategy, which taught that for advance an easy road should be selected and a safe path of retreat be provided for at the back of the army. The General boldly replied that it was only by putting them in a death-trap that soldiers could be encouraged to seek a place of survival. A knowledge of human nature is essential to a General, and this General grasped it in an exceedingly adventurous way.

The two Han Dynasties, the former and the latter, 206 B. C. to A.D. 221, saw some years of peace, but the Tartars and the Hsiung-nu constantly threatened the Hans, who despatched several expeditions to subdue them; and the Hans succeeded in sending an expedition to modern Tonquin. The downfall of the later Han Dynasty was followed by a division of the Empire into three kingdoms, which division was again a source of struggle and bloodshed. These kingdoms lasted from 221-265, a short but exciting epoch. Apart from the success of various eminent Generals in fighting between the kingdoms, a General Chu-ko Liang conquered and annexed the kingdom of Burma, and his method of conquest was most romantic.

The King of Burma was a match for the Chinese General in obstinacy, if not in fighting capacity. After he had been captured the first time, the conquering General tried to convince him of his own superiority, and tested his sincerity towards the conqueror. The conquered captive never bowed to him, and declared that it was only on account of his being unduly mystified in strategy that he surrendered; had he previously been aware of the actual fighting strength of the conqueror, he would never have become a prisoner. The General set him free at once, and offered to wage another battle to determine his fate. They did so, and the Burmese King was a second time taken prisoner. Once again he pleaded that it was only due to a slight mistake in his tactics that he met with the mischance, and he was ready to wage another battle if he were released. The General consented at once, and captured the conquered King again after a battle. Once again he was released and recaptured. The same tragedy was repeated seven times, until, after the seventh battle, the King refused to be released.

The epoch of the Three Kingdoms gave us not only a record of great battles, but also a record of curious uses of strategy. Space does not allow of my going into them.

This epoch was followed by the two Chin Dynasties (265-420), which was followed by a period of division between the North and the South of China (420-618). During this time various chieftains and kings outside the Chinese boundaries invaded the interior; some succeeded, others failed. Rulers of alien origin occupied some parts of the country, and natives occupied the rest. After a series of battles, Li Yüan, the founder

of the T'ang Dynasty, reunited the Empire and brought it under the rule of his house.

The T'ang Dynasty (618-907) is one in which the greatest poets and artists were produced, most of whom were sentimental and tired of warfare. None the less, internal trouble occurred many a time, a Korean expedition was sent, Turkestan was attacked once, the Turcoman territory was invaded and made a part of the Empire. Moreover, the T'ang Dynasty adopted the system of universal service, and all the peasants were liable to serve in the army. But, contrary to the Emperor's expectations that it would afford him protection, the dynasty was ruined by military anarchy and the overweening arrogance of army officers. With the downfall of the T'angs, China was split into a number of more or less independent States from 907 to 960, when it was united under the Sung Dynasty.

The Sung Dynasty is remarkable for its encounters with the people outside the wall. The Mongols, who were our enemies six hundred years ago, are our fellow citizens at the present day. They have been absorbed by the Chinese, and intermarriage has to a certain extent united the two races. They, in virtue of their traditional ability to fight, would contribute largely to the strength of the Chinese Army if they were properly organized. The recollection of Genghis Khan is stamped on the European mind, and makes them dread the possibility of a new "Yellow Peril" arising from the Chinese, of whom the Mongols are a part. But before entering into the life of this Khan, I must mention some important events of the Sung Dynasty. It is during this period that the region now occupied by the Province of Szechuen was conquered, and the present Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces annexed to the Empire.

Prominent Generals abound, into whose biographies and doctrines of strategy we cannot now go, but a poem by General Yo Fei, who is now worshipped as a War God, and whose maxim as a statesman was that "civilians should be ashamed of receiving improper money and soldiers should have contempt for death," may be worth reading, and his spirit may be thus revealed. The poem runs

In my rage my hair lifts up the helmet,
I lean against a balustrade,
While the patterning rain is going to stop
Raising my thoughtful eyes,
I cry aloud towards heaven,
And burning thoughts rise up in my soul.

At the age of thirty to me the official dignity is dust and clay;
Cloud covers and moon shines on the three-thousand mile way;
Let me not idly wait until my youthful locks turn white,
Nor waste my time in useless repining.

The shame of the Ching K'ang period
Is not yet avenged
The deep indignation of us public servants,
When can it be removed?
I, riding in a warrior's chariot,
Shall break my way through the Ho-lan mountain barrier.

It is my stern resolve to feast upon the brutal barbarian's flesh,
And smilingly to quench my thirst with the blood of the Huns.

Wait and see us from to-day
Restore and repair our ancient Empire,
And then appear in triumph at
Our Emperor's Palace Gate.

Now to come to the life of the first Mongol Emperor, Genghis Khan. His success in ruling China is not so attractive as his conquest of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. After the victories of his youth over the rival Tartar and Turkic tribes which peopled the borders of his Mongolian patrimony, and over the King of the Keraites, Wang Khan, who was known as the Prester John of Asia, he was proclaimed the Emperor of the Mongols, the Tartars, and all the northern races of Asia. During the twenties of the thirteenth century, the whole country north of the Oxus and the Balkh, the cradle of the earliest tradition of the Aryan race, was ravaged and ruined by him. Many rich and populous Persian provinces on the shore of the Caspian Sea fell under his rule. An expedition was sent to Delhi, and several Indian provinces were conquered. After the fall of the Crimea, the next region to be invaded was that of the Russians, whose army was assembled on the Dnieper to meet the invading foe. Having routed the Russian army and occupied Great Bulgaria, and having glutted himself with booty and massacre, Genghis Khan returned to Mongolia. To use the words of a French scholar, M. Pierre de la Croix, this Great Khan laid the foundation of an Empire greater in its extent than those possessed by Alexander or Augustus, began his conquests with fewer forces than Caesar, excelled all his successors put together in the numbers of his victories, and deserves to be entitled by historians the Sultan of the Mongols and Turks, the Conqueror of the World, the only King of Kings, the Support of Princes, the Master of Thrones and Crowns.

The Mongolian Dynasty in China was superseded in 1360 by the Chinese Ming Dynasty, who, again, were conquered by the Manchus in 1628. Formosa and Corea became part of the Chinese Empire at the accession of the Manchus. Turkestan, the territories of the Khalkars, Tibet, and part of Central Asia, were either made tributary or their rebellions were suppressed by the Imperial troops. We did not lack bravery in fighting the Europeans, but we did not possess their skill in the manufacture of armaments. We were naturally at a disadvantage, having only sailing ships to oppose to ironclads, and cavalry to withstand cannon-fire. Here I end my historical survey.

One objection I must now dispose of. It will probably be said that, however picturesque the art of war and the records of Chinese battles may be, they are, after all, things of the past. Every civilized nation can boast of something ancient, but that which is most valued is what has survived to the present day. "Nations rise, they grow, they bloom, they decay, and they cease to be." China, though she has not decayed, has no military strength compared with a modern armed State, taking her area and population into consideration. This I will explain, and I shall also venture to predict her future military development.

Apart from the Empire of the conquering Mongols, which extended from the China Sea to the Dnieper, and from Siberia to the Indian Ocean, the Manchu Empire was perhaps the greatest ever recorded in history. Cochin-China, Burma, Corea, Formosa, were at one time tributary to us, and in addition to China proper we held, as we do at the present time, Outer and Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, Tibet, and Turkestan, including Ili, as component parts of the Empire. Four-fifths of the area of the vast Asiatic Continent was under one ruler, and his frontiers were well defended. The Emperor K'ang Hsi, after attaining his majority in 1671, devoted his energy to advancing our culture and promoting the study of our literature. Let us remember that it was this Emperor who gave the Roman Catholic Mission a foothold throughout China. It was, again, this Emperor who first introduced European science and art into the curriculum of a Chinese scholar. After His Majesty's death, during the two reigns lasting more than a hundred years, peace and solidarity reigned over every corner of the Empire, and prosperity was enjoyed by every one of his subjects. It was only natural that this uniquely extensive possession and excessive peace and happiness should have an enervating effect on the warriors. Briefly, the case was this, to borrow the expression of an American statesman—we were then too proud to fight. Assimilating our position to that of the Roman Empire, we were too civilized to struggle. Consequently, mishaps befall us whenever we had to combat any European armed nation.

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, in spite of the production of scholarly Generals like Tséng Kuo-fan and Hu Lin-i, the people were alarmed at the idea of warfare and their minds were imbued with the fear of death. These fears were increased by the massacres of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion and the saying that "no good man ever became a soldier." Moreover, the standing army consisted mostly of Manchu troops, whose fighting strength was exceedingly doubtful. Such a people would be easily preyed upon by any stronger power.

Will the effect be to annihilate the fighting power of China? The answer is decidedly, No. Such a state of things is not peculiar to the Chinese.

The defeat at Jena marks the beginning of the modern Prussian Army, and led finally to the unification of the German Empire; the victory of Trafalgar accounted for the Britons' unconsciousness of their external danger and their unpreparedness for this war. Ever since the overthrow of Bonaparte, every citizen of the British Empire has been possessed with the ideas of wealth and happiness. The Victorian era was the most peaceful and splendid recorded in British history. Apart from some minor conflicts here and there, warfare was a thing of the past and the sword was nearly rusted. The public were absorbed in the enjoyment of the delicious and palatable fruit which industrial and commercial activity brought within their reach. With the abolition of the duel, people refused to settle their differences except by their reasoning powers. Physical struggle was something beyond their grasp or imagination. Treitschke was right in saying that British supremacy was only a sham.

Nevertheless, since the outbreak of this war, Britons have not suffered from the want of manly spirit. Men full of a sense of duty are ready to answer their country's call, killing the enemy as they would beat their opponent on the tennis-court; meeting their death with an ordinary London joke; holding the command of the seas against the mightiest gale and the heaviest waves, and exposing themselves to numerous kinds of danger—mines, submarines, aircraft—with the indescribable boldness and coolness which is added to their usual joy and humour. In spite of Lord Roberts's criticism that British soldiers do not possess much initiative, they have shown much tenacity and endurance, and have left their sweet-hearts' arms without many tears. Steel in, bullets out; Court ladies have abandoned their dancing and comforts for the sake of turning out shrapnel. The long period of peace has not in the least impaired the Briton's valour.

Why should one suspect that the Chinese, who have been peace-loving, would utterly lose their fighting power? Quite the contrary, it is only a peace-loving people, which has done everything in accordance with justice and reason, that will use its iron fist most forcibly, once it realizes that peaceful means are of no avail in dealing with perversity and injustice. Moreover, Newton's First Law of Motion holds true in psychology and politics. To every action there is reaction. The reactionary force is sometimes stronger than the original acting one. History has shown that a mighty and militant power always comes out of a humiliated nation.

Ever since the twentieth century, peace in China has given way to chaos, and the love of peace has yielded to the fear and hatred of humiliation. Reason and justice have been trampled to pieces before stronger hands. However vast an area and however gorgeous a natural defence our Almighty God has given us Chinese, many of our Gibaltars have been robbed by burglars with revolvers in their hands from their civilian owners. That which is most essential to us for national defence, and consequently for national existence, is not in our own hands. The treacherous Western philosophers have turned the world upside down with their fictitious and illusive statements. The stronger ones are not only unshamed, but think it glorious to rob the weaker ones of their possessions. The vast Continent of Asia which we Chinese inhabit, and have possessed from time immemorial, is threatened with the domination of some alien races.

Should this world conflagration restore to the human race reason and justice—which is unlikely—we shall be glad to retain our peace-loving habit and to join in the moral and scientific development of the world. Should war be the only means of achieving our defensive ends, let us prepare for war by all means and at any cost. With a population of four hundred million souls, working harder than any other nation, and having a physical vigour equal to that of the most warlike races, you, if you judge us from our military history, including the brilliant campaigns of the Mongols, will see what we can do to our foes who dare think of humiliating us.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

"THERE would not appear to be much room for romance in the prosaic details of a highly technical profession dealing with mathematical deductions and land measurements," said Sir Thomas Holdich in the introduction to his lecture before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, January 13, on "The Romance of Indian Surveys." But the story he told was full of adventure and daring, and although the maximum of fact was packed into the allotted hour, the audience, held almost spell bound, entirely forgot to be restless. The progress of a great scheme for the accurate mapping of India and the attainment of a full knowledge of her vast resources has been accompanied by a tide of adventure on the fringe of internal work, which has resulted in a record of geographical enterprise unsurpassed by the three great geographical nations of the past—Spain, Portugal, and Holland. Beginning with Captain Keeling, who first visited Surat in 1607, and practically opened up the way to India, Sir Thomas told of many adventurers who followed—Hawkins, who journeyed to the Court of the Great Mogul, and enlisted his favour for English commercial enterprise on the western coast of India, Burns, Wood, Rennell, Lambton, Everest, Lynch, Jones, Rawlinson, Malcolm, Pottinger, Tanner, and others, also the Indians who have done such fine work—Nain Sing, "A K," Kunthup, Sheikh Mohiudin. Small wonder that, with these names, the lecture was full of adventure and romance. Sir Thomas expressed keen regret that the collection of the logs and journals of many ancient mariners outgrew the means of storing them, and were lost, and that when the India Office inherited the records of the old Company in 1860, tons of literary material were turned out, but certain journals, maps, and charts have been missing ever since. The first surveys of the Persian Gulf were made between 1820 and 1830, in the intervals of slave-trade suppression, pirate-hunting, commerce extension, and the establishment of British supremacy in the Gulf. Not less remarkable stories of wild and venturesome adventure survive of the survey of Mesopotamia. The work carried on by officers of the Indian Survey, amid dangers and difficulties, in Mesopotamia, said Sir Thomas, may well be regarded as an unpen-

able record for the old Indian navy. After his account of transfrontier explorations—for instance, those of Burns to the Khanates beyond the Oxus, and Wood to discover the source of the river—Sir Thomas said that such explorations were discouraged by the Indian Government, as irresponsible travellers might involve a frontier expedition and serious loss of life to uphold the sacredness of European life on and beyond the borderland. This policy, however, cuts two ways—it discourages unimportant notoriety hunters, but it curtails the possibility of obtaining valuable information. “When we contrast our inherent fear of ‘complications’ arising out of indiscreet exploration with the method actually pursued by Russia during the same period, or which would most certainly have been pursued by Germany had she been in our place, we begin to doubt whether that official policy of excessive caution was not misplaced. Indeed, when we started the great Afghan War in 1878, we found it very much misplaced,” added Sir Thomas, “for the loss of life entailed by want of topographical knowledge was sometimes deplorable.” The India of to-day, he declared, with its hotels and its telephones, its motors and electricity, is fast becoming unromantic and prosaic, but there is romance enough in the records of the days of early researches. Nothing, he said, has been done that is more thrilling in its way than the passing of our Indian triangulation right through and over the Himalayas to a junction with the Russian surveys, so as to bring Petrograd into direct measurement with Calcutta. Telling of the daring dash of a frontier survey party under Sheikh Mohiudin into the deserts north of the Helmund, Sir Thomas pointed out that only one man escaped death from thirst, and he carried the unfinished map wound under his kamirbund, so preserving it from damage. He was picked up unconscious by a passing Afghan from the edge of the moist bed of a pool which had probably saved his life. “That western frontier is the very home of romantic adventure still, but it is by no means usually connected with the Indian Ordnance Survey.”

“Central Mesopotamia” was the subject of Mr. Perceval Landon’s lecture to the Central Asian Society last month, and he pointed out that one has to speak of the country with uncertainty. Check by jowl the old jostles the new, the bricks of Nebuchadnezzar were used by French engineers to build a modern dam. Ancient prejudices and magnificent hospitality still continue, but there is nothing the Arabs of to-day love so much as a short railway journey, sixteen in a compartment—perhaps among the ruins of Carchemish. So long as man exists, said Mr. Landon, the muddy waters of the Euphrates and Tigris will continue to offer him their priceless gifts, and no soil can produce greater or more frequent crops than that of these long fallow levels. The plans of Sir William Wilcocks, some of them carried into effect, are not fully understood or appreciated by the average Briton as they deserve, but they will eventually turn Mesopotamia into a second and greater Egypt by reviving in newer and better forms the old system of irrigation. The British Empire and the whole civilized world owe a debt of gratitude to Sir William, his scheme, for

sheer benefit to humanity, ranks with that of De L'Espey. Mr Landon outlined the route of the proposed Bagdad railway, he thought that the part already in working order might, despite great gaps, be of some use to the Turks for the transport of munitions, but, apart from its military and political value, Mr Landon has no faith in the possibility of its competition commercially with the rivers. It cannot be finished until after the war, and that will be a different chapter in its history. The lecture was illustrated by interesting lantern slides, some of which showed recent explorations, and the fatal effect of the air on the sun baked clay bricks, and Mr Landon expressed the hope that the treasure chest of this great land would be unlocked by British hands, and its contents be distributed by them to a waiting world.

Speaking on the "Strategic Geography of the British Empire" at the January meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, Dr Vaughan Cornish insisted on the importance of the Persian Gulf as a more vulnerable position even than Egypt, for the Power dominating the Gulf controls the Indian Ocean and guards the gates of India. Persia he described as a "corridor country" on the line from Constantinople to India, if it were left in the possession of Germany, the question of the defence of India would arise in a new form. Germany's efforts to raise trouble in Persia and induce the Persians to throw in their lot with the Turks in Mesopotamia throw light on Germany's intention of obtaining control of the eastern shore of the Gulf as the necessary accompaniment of a naval base at Koweit. Port Said is a stop preventing access from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, Port Said and Aden are a double stop, securing communication across the Indian Ocean. The advantage of our occupation of the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates is of capital importance for securing our sea communications across the Indian Ocean, and for the defence of the Indian frontier by our land forces. The distance from Constantinople to Quetta is practically the same as from Moscow to Quetta, but if Germany dominated the Persian Gulf, Karachi would be her nearest point of attack on India. Mr Mackinder, M P, spoke of the importance of Persia and the campaign in Mesopotamia. Dominance by sea must be supported, he argued, by a land force on the farther shore, to prevent the enemy from holding the shore bases, the Expeditionary Force in France and Flanders is necessary to the North Sea Fleet, so it was vital to hold not only the Persian Gulf, but to land forces on the enemy's shore beyond the coastline. Lord Sydenham presided at the meeting, and declared that the Kaiser's dream of Eastern dominion would fade, as Napoleon's had done, but the vital factor would be a powerful British navy. In Napoleon's time armies were smaller, there were fewer good roads, and communications were restricted, the strategic value of railways in Europe made it more difficult to cut communications, and large armies made turning movements more difficult, hence trenches from Flanders to the Alps, demanding artillery for siege warfare, as in olden times. Lord Sydenham considered that economic pressure would play an important part in ending the war.

The conversazione of the Orient Literary Society last month brought together Orientals in a wide sense, including, in addition to Indians of all creeds, Japanese, Egyptians, and others, as well as many British friends who sympathize with the aim of the Society, which is to introduce Eastern literature and poetry to the West. The singing of Ratan Devi (Mrs. Coomaraswamy) was much enjoyed, and the rest of the programme included recitations in several languages, also Western music. The Society holds its meetings monthly at Prince Henry's Room, 17, Fleet Street, the President is Syud Hussain.

The birthday of the Prophet was celebrated in London by the Islamic Society in a gathering at the Hotel Cecil, which was partly religious, partly social. Portions of the Koran were read, and Mr. A Yusuf Ali gave a very interesting outline of the life of Muhammad and the influence of Islam in history. Lord Headley was present, and in a brief speech expressed the hope that London would soon possess a mosque worthy of Islam. Some classical Japanese dances created a great impression, Dr. Pollen recited in English, and other friends in several Oriental languages.

The eighty-sixth anniversary of the Brahmo Somaj was celebrated in London on Sunday, January 23. There was a religious service in the morning, and in the afternoon, at a largely attended meeting including Indians of all creeds and British friends, the Rev Walter Walsh, D.D., and Sir Krishna Gupta gave addresses.

Ratan Devi's second concert at the Aeolian Hall attracted a large audience, and aroused great interest. Classical songs were sung, as well as Kashmiri folk-songs. Dr. Coomaraswamy again gave explanations of the music, as also of the classic Japanese dances given by Michio Itow.

The Union of East and West did good service last month in giving a dramatic rendering of "Chitra," by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, at the Grafton Galleries, London. The poem, though adapted from the ancient Indian epic the "Mahabharata," sets forth an ever new question, and, in the education of a girl on the same lines as a boy, touches a note which is distinctly dominant in these days. "Chitra" proved to be more a recital than a play, full of dramatic action, but its special interest was well sustained. Miss Mona Limerick played the title rôle, Mr. Esme Percy, who took the part of Arjuna, is a member of the London Scottish. A contrast was the amusing play, "The Maharani of Arakan," adapted by Mr. George Calderon from a story by Sir Rabindranath, and its fun was heartily appreciated. Mr. Whelan, who presided, made an interesting speech on Indian drama.

The short visit to this country of Sir Ali Imam, ex-Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has aroused great interest, and he has been entertained by the London Indian Association and the National Indian Association. These social gatherings have afforded him opportunities, which he warmly welcomed, of meeting many old and new friends, British and Indian, and he was deeply touched by the cordiality with which he was received. Sir Ali, as was pointed out by the President of the London Indian Association, had expressed his faith in the formula "I am an Indian first and everything else afterwards," and in his official, as well as his unofficial life, he had not deviated from that principle. Communal considerations had never obscured his vision, for him distinctions between Hindus and Moslems did not exist. In his fidelity to this faith he sustained the traditions of a famous family and a great province. Sir Ali's expression of gratitude and appreciation was accompanied by the declaration that to meet friends of all nationalities within the Empire gave great hope to all who looked for the drawing closer of the bonds which unite them. The Indian songs sung by Mrs Maude Mann, and the English songs sung by her in the Indian manner, were keenly enjoyed and appreciated.

The National Indian Association did not forget the lonely students on Christmas Day, and arranged a very enjoyable evening for them and other friends, the programme included old English games, Father Christmas, and a Christmas tree, on which were hung bags of Indian spices. Three or four days later the usual Christmas party was given, and was largely attended. Professor Inayat Khan and his musicians gave Indian music, which was keenly enjoyed, there were also two dramatic sketches and an exhibition of conjuring.

At the Wednesday afternoon "At Home" of the Association, at which Mrs N C Sen and Miss Rosanna Powell are hostesses every week, two special interests have been enjoyed. The welcome to Sir Ali Imam already mentioned, and the story of the heroic work done by British women in Serbia. In the most simple yet enthralling manner Mrs Aldridge told her experiences as a member of Mrs St Clair Stobart's hospital units, and of the special work done for the civil population in the lull between the fighting when the Austrians were driven back, and the final attack on Serbia which ended with the great retreat. Mrs Stobart had the happy inspiration of making use of the trained women doctors and nurses who accompanied her by establishing civil dispensaries in country districts within forty or fifty miles of her military hospital at Kragujevatz. Serbia has been so depleted of her medical men by her years of war and by typhus that the civilians are suffering severely. The simple but effective camp dispensaries which were established were centres of healing and consolation to the distressed people, and that women were able to carry out this splendid service was a still greater astonishment to the patients, who came from great distances when they heard of the skill of the British

women. This peaceful service, however, was disturbed by the nearer approach of renewed warfare, and the dispensaries had to be closed. Then followed days and nights of unceasing work for the wounded Serbian soldiers who had had to face the huge guns of the enemy and cover the retreat. Finally, the great trek began, the whole people moving westwards and the enemy close on their heels. For seven weeks the British women tramped with the stricken people across plains and over mountains, in mud, rain, snow, and blizzard, sleeping out in the open, sharing food and clothing. On reaching the Adriatic coast, the British women were taken by steamer to Brindisi, then came a quick journey through Italy and France to England. Never will they forget the horrors of that long trek, out they have left behind in the hearts of the Serbians a memory that will never fade of how British women rendered heroic service and shared their sorrows.

At the "Women Explorers'" dinner, given at the Lyceum Club on January 31, Miss Marie de Czaplicka was one of the guests of honour. She is a Polish lady, a scientist, who, after gaining diplomas and distinctions in her own country at the University of Warsaw, came to study at the School of Economics (London University) and at Oxford. She was invited by the University of Oxford to be the leader of an anthropological research expedition in Siberia in 1914-15, and has recently returned after eighteen months of most successful work. She is the first woman to be appointed leader of a scientific expedition, and is now busy collating the results. She was accompanied by men and women scientists, and in spite of the difficulties of transport arising out of the war, all specimens, etc., have arrived safely, as well as the members of the expedition. Mrs Flinders Petrie was also a guest of honour, and spoke of the beauty and fascination of Sinai, and the work done with her husband in that lonely land. Miss Czaplicka, it may be added, is lecturing in various parts of the country on her work in Siberia, and also on Poland and its history, in the latter lecture she points out that the Poles are in the unhappy circumstances of fighting in three belligerent armies—German, Austrian, and Russian—and that they are called upon to lay waste their own land.

The original Islamic Society (founded in 1886) commemorated the celebration of the birth of the Holy Prophet of Islam at the Imperial Hotel, Russell Square, on Saturday, January 29. Speeches were made by Professor Léon, M.A., on "The Life of the Prophet", "The Spiritual Teachings of Islam," by Moulvi M. Sayal, M.A., B.T., "The Practical Teachings of Islam," by M. M. Kassimoff, Esq., a recitation of "Al-Amin," by M. A. Ghanee, Esq., "The Esoteric Teachings of Islam," by Professor Inayat Khan Sufi, "The Influence of Islam on Humanity," by Dr. Syed, H. R. Abdul Majid, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. Mr. M. W. Hassan Ally proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair, and thanked all the guests of the evening and friends.

The following is a list of the present office-bearers of the Society, the offices of which are situated at 46, Great Russell Street.

President. Dr. Syed, H R Abdul Majid, LL D, Barrister-at-Law

Vice-Presidents Ali Hikmat Nahid Bey, M M Kassimoff, Esq.,
H Omar Flight, Esq., Moulvi F. M Sayal, M A, B T, S A Khan, Esq.

Hon. Secretary M W Hassan Ally, Esq

Joint Hon Secretary M A Basith, Esq

Hon. Treasurer M M S Lakhesar, Esq.

Joint Hon Treasurer M A Ghanee, Esq

Committee Professor M Sana ullah, B A, Professor Inayat Khan Sufi,
M. E Abdul Latif, Esq., Ahmed Hamid, Esq, Wahid ur Rahman, Esq.,
B A, Aziz Qutab, Esq, B.A., Barrister at Law, Quazi Abdullah, Esq,
B A, B T., Suleiman Schleich, Esq, S. M Kazim, Esq., Barrister at-Law

Hon Solicitors John Tucker, Esq, Edward Dalgado, Esq, M A

In a paper on "Biblical Criticism in East and West," read before the Anglo Russian Literary Society on February 1, the Rev. J Stevenson, B.D., said we cannot estimate the debt which we owe to the East for some of the most intrinsic elements in our life and thought to day. Civilization sprang from the Euphrates Valley as far as we have learnt by the discoveries of the past seventy years. In no department of learning is our debt greater than in the matter of the textual criticism of the New Testament. The preservation and transmission of the text, the combining of the books into one volume, the early revisions of the text, the quotations of the Fathers, early examples of liturgical uses, chapter divisions, all come to us from this fascinating part of the world. Criticism of the text began in Alexandria, and was continued in Syria and by Jerome, it died out as the Roman Empire waned, and was again revived in the West at the period of the Renaissance. Since the year 1516, when Erasmus produced his Greek New Testament, the science has ever gone forward, till to day some 4,000 Greek manuscripts and as many Latin manuscripts, besides versions in Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, Slavonic, etc., have been discovered, examined, and collated. Scholars like Bentley, Bengel, Griesbach, Westcott and Hort, and Scrivener, besides many others, have spent their lives in order that a text of the New Testament may be produced which will be as near as possible an exact representation of the work as it left the hands of the original writers.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE FAR EAST

AN IRISHWOMAN IN CHINA By Mrs De Burgh Daly. Colonial Edition.
(*T. Werner Laurie, Ltd*)

After Dr Christie's "Thirty Years in Moukden" (reviewed in our July number for 1914), this is, perhaps, the most readable book on Manchuria, covering as it does the troublous periods of the Boxer revolt, the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo Japanese War, and the Republican revolution, in the thick of which the authoress was, and all of which are depicted to us in outline with deft and womanly touches by Mrs Daly

It appears, from her account (which, however, is not always easy to unravel), that as Miss French she first sallied forth from "Ould Oireland" to China in 1888 (having received some medical training previously), in order to take up a women's hospital subordinate post at Ningpo. There is a certain banality about the description of what was to her a novel voyage, and this part of the book may be judiciously skipped in these busy days, as it is apt to prejudice one against the more informative and deserving portions describing Manchurian experiences. The illustrations covering the Ningpo chapters are mostly reproduced native Chinese sketches of local industries and street scenes. These will perhaps interest the general public, if only as local curiosities, more than actual photographs would do, but it must be stated that the subjects (as described in English at foot) do not always tally with the tall-tale Chinese inscriptions on the pictures themselves, which Mrs. Daly evidently had not yet learnt to read. Her natural history is sometimes a trifle at fault, not to mention her attempts to reproduce local dialect. For instance (p. 26), the *san-h* (pronounced in Cantonese *sam lai*, and therefore known as such to foreigners everywhere in China through their Cantonese cooks), is not a "kind of sea-trout," but a shad, and at Ningpo it is known by the not very euphonious name of *s-ng*, which is their way of saying *sā-yu*, or "season fish," so called because between May and September it visits the Chinese rivers. I once caught one with my hands (weighing about six or eight pounds) during a

river flood at Kewkiang. Sometimes the Ningpo people call it the *lo ng* — it is really the *Aloea Reevesii*, and, it would seem, not of the *Salmo* genus at all. The "*Kue hwa*" (p. 32) is certainly not a "peach or plum blossom," but is the well known *Olea fragrans*, as fully described by Bretschneider. In describing the "Ningpo varnish" (from a tree common all over the Yangtze Valley), Mrs. Daly describes how it gives a sort of erysipelas "if it gets into a cut or abrasion." It is much worse than that. Some people cannot "abide" it, or abide with it, even with their whole unpunctured skin. I remember in 1878 how the U.S. Consul at Chinkiang, having once so suffered after his dining room had been varnished, carefully avoided entering any house where he even sniffed this varnish. On p. 36, Mrs. Daly not only expresses doubts about the Chinese eating dogs and rats, but she adds that she never came across even a native who had seen such meats exposed for sale. Naturally, unless one travels south as well as north, one misses many strange things, for instance, unless one visits Amoy, it is not likely that human milk will be seen exposed for sale. At Canton, "spatchcocked" rats, exposed for sale, are as commonly seen as "autumnal leaves in Vallambrosa," whilst the shop where certain parts of the cat are eaten, chiefly by old men, is known in the City of Rams to all visitors. I myself once bought an edible puppy from a cage, he was a true "wonk," with tongue and palate "as black as your hat," a splendid fighter, and he followed my sedan chair eight miles a day for over a year through the narrow, crowded streets. Again (p. 62), ladies at Ningpo are warned by the authoress not to step over the yoke of a sedan chair, as it might bring ill luck. This is a universal superstition, and particularly if (in Manchu times) a woman strode over a prostrate man's "pigtail", a woman may not "bestride" any thing belonging to a mere man's personal dignity, but she may stride over anything she likes when only women's "rights" are touched.

It appears that after a few years' work at Ningpo, Miss French decided to marry the Port Physician, Dr. C. C. de Burgh Daly, who, in 1903, finding that his many activities at Ningpo still fell short of his willing scope, applied for the post of Port Doctor at Newchwang, and accordingly Mrs. Daly now transfers her narrative to the northern port, where, off and on, she seems to have been eighteen or nineteen years, and to her experiences in Manchuria, including flying visits to Moukden and other stricken war fields. This is by far the best part of her book, and it leaves upon one the impression that her judgment has by this time ripened and her mind considerably broadened, yet even here there is often a feminine inconsequence (here meaning "want of sequence") observable. It is often difficult to make sure whether any given event is actually taking place, or *did* once take place, or *will* take place, when, in due course, she comes in the course of further travels to describe the why and the wherefore of it. This little defect runs throughout the whole book. For instance (on p. 62), there were no railways, still less were there telephones, at the time she seems to write about, on pp. 75, 202, events "spoken of" or "mentioned in previous chapters" are developed, on p. 221 a polite

Japanese officer, "some time after the war," seems to escort her through forbidden Port Arthur places at a period when her visit to that centre suggests the time before or during the Russian occupation. In fact, there is an air throughout of charming feminine looseness, indefiniteness, and irresponsibility, redeemed, perhaps, by the freshness of her remarks, which, if occasionally inaccurate, are in the main just, sympathetic, and sensible.

There is naturally a great deal said about the plague. She calls the peccant animal to which that dread disease is traced the "tarabagon, or musquash," whilst Dr Christie in his book styles it the *tarbagan*, a kind of marmot. In connection with this terrible pneumatic plague, which disappeared as suddenly and mysteriously as it came, Dr Daly's services were, of course, invaluable. On p. 276, Mrs Daly mentions with gratitude the noble services of an unknown young British engineer who assisted the lamented Dr Jackson at the time when the latter gave up his life for his friends. It certainly is remarkable if, as Mrs Daly says, "I cannot find any mention here or elsewhere of the self-sacrificing work of this brave engineer", and as the Viceroy Siliang so generously recorded and acknowledged the services of Dr Jackson, someone ought to find out and record the name of this young engineer for the benefit and example of posterity. On p. 270, the authoress points out that "diavolo" was known (as most things) in China long before that play thing became furious in England, but that it is called "Great wasp" is quite another question. In Peking it is called *Tzu k'ung chu*, which seems to mean "Shake the empty bamboo [chunk]," and if it is true that the buzzing sound causes it to be connected with the "wasp" (*ma fêng*) at Newchwang, then it would probably be "Drive the wasp," and not "Great wasp," the word *ta* in the presumed combination *ta ma fêng* meaning "to hit or drive about," as well as "great." This, however, is a point for local gossips.

Mrs Daly's experiences amongst the Russians were on all occasions pleasant, and she gives a very fair and just account of their many lovable qualities and warm-heartedness, as contrasted with the cold brutality of the Germans—of whom, however, she only speaks by hearsay. In spite of her own husband's scepticism as to her capacity to "get along" with Russian, she seems to have acquired quite a useful little smattering of that language, and when she quotes a sentence or two of it, she does so with reasonable accuracy. She had four trips to the "distressful country" and back during her twenty-five years' wanderings—once *via* Siberia, once by the Red Sea, and twice *via* the Pacific and Atlantic. She nearly lost her life on the last occasion, when the *Empress of Britain* collided with a collier, and had to go back to Quebec and abandon her voyage. There are a fair number of misprints and *coquilles* in the book: perhaps the most original is "Tertian Quid" (p. 79). The most serious is "the terrible massacre of Pao-ung Fu" (p. 179), evidently a mistake for T'ai yuan Fu in the neighbouring province of Shan Si. The Pao-ung Fu troubles were quite minor in comparison.—E. H. PARKER.

CORRESPONDENCE

- - -
 "A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"
 - -

THE COST OF ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA, JAPAN,
AND U.S.A.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

My attention has been drawn to an article in the January number of the "Modern Review" by my friend, Lala Lajpat Rai, entitled "The Cost of Administration in India, Japan, and the United States of America," in which he states that the Indian administration is the most costly in the world. He cannot possibly mean that, because, in spite of high salaries to the officials of the upper grade, it is, after all, the cheapest per head of the population, as shown in "Truths About India" (the publication of the East India Association). It is there shown (page 100) that the cost of administration per head was at that time in India 6s. 4d., whereas in Japan it was 13s. 4d., and in the United States of America, 54s. 7d. It seems, therefore, that the cost of administration even in Japan is more than double that of India.

It must be admitted that the salaries of American officials of the higher rank are extraordinarily low as compared with those prevailing in Great Britain, so low, indeed,

that one cannot help thinking that they must find some compensation, especially as the cost of living in the United States of America is notoriously higher than in this country.

It must also be admitted that the lower ranks of the Indian Service (especially the police) are underpaid even yet, in spite of constant small increases. It is not true, I believe, that they do not receive an allowance on account of a rise in prices, or that such allowance is confined to the higher grades of the Service ; and I am sure the author does not mean to say that the condition of the lowest official is so miserable as to "justify" corruption. He probably means that it is some excuse for corruption ; and even that is not true, because, of course, the real remedy is resignation. No one is obliged to accept a salary on which he cannot live, and when he does it is only as a stepping-stone to something better, just as people do everywhere.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

APPOINTMENTS TO THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA

THE Secretary of State for India in Council desires to make it clear that the purpose of the Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1915, is to render possible, during the continuance of the present war and for a period not exceeding two years thereafter, the appointment to the Indian Civil Service of persons who have been prevented by the war and consequent developments from entering by the usual Open Competition.

1. Open Competitive Examination

The Annual Open Competition will continue to be held under the normal conditions, but a greatly reduced number of places will be offered for competition while the war continues.

Any person not engaged in military or naval service who desires to enter the Indian Civil Service must enter for the Open Competition, full particulars of which can be obtained from the Civil Service Commissioners, London, W. Candidates must be natural-born subjects of His Majesty, and, except in the cases described below, must be between the ages of 22 and 24 on August 1 in the year of examination. Any candidate who has served in the Army or Navy for three months subsequent to August 4, 1914, may deduct three months from his age, and any candidate who has served for more than three months may deduct one year from his age. This concession extends to certain forms of service rendered with the armed forces of the Crown in a non-combatant capacity, provided that the employment has not been on ordinary commercial terms. Particulars as to the exact terms of the concession can be obtained from the Civil Service Commissioners.

For entry to the examination to be held in 1916, application must be made to the Civil Service Commissioners before June 1, 1916.

Not less than one-fourth of the persons appointed to the Indian Civil Service during the period in which the Act of 1915 is in force must be admitted through the Open Competition.

2 Appointment without Examination

Under the special powers conferred by the recent Act, the Secretary of State in Council will fill by nomination in the manner described below not more than three fourths of the vacancies during the period in question.

To avoid misunderstanding, it is desired to make it clear that those persons only will be eligible for appointment by nomination whose educational qualifications and character would have qualified them for appointment in the normal way had they been successful at the Open Competition

As regards age, the Secretary of State for India in Council has provisionally decided that no candidate will be eligible whose age exceeded 24 years on August 1, 1915, but this limit will be open to reduction in the light of future circumstances

As regards European candidates, the Secretary of State for India has stated in Parliament that no candidate would be eligible for nomination who had not rendered military or naval service during the present war, and that his present intention was not to make nominations until the end of the war, when a strong representative Committee would be constituted to consider and report on the qualifications of the candidates. The Committee will be guided by rules made under the Act, which will specify the conditions of eligibility, such as age-limits, length of military service, education, and the like

The Secretary of State also stated that, in view of the curtailment of the number of posts offered for competition, he proposes as an exceptional measure to nominate such number of Indian candidates, from among those who appeared at the Open Competitions in 1915 and later, as may be necessary to bring the number of Indians appointed during the period to the Indian Civil Service up to the average number successful during the preceding ten years. No Indian candidate will be appointed by nomination unless he has competed at the examination, and has been certified by the Civil Service Commissioners to have shown himself to be possessed of the educational qualifications necessary for appointment under normal conditions, to be eligible in respect of health, and to be of good moral character

India Office,

January 28, 1916

COMMERCIAL NOTES

THE following has been handed to us for publication by the Imperial Institute :

PULP FOR PAPER

AN IMPERIAL OPPORTUNITY

The decision of the Swedish Government to prohibit the export of wood-pulp calls attention to the enormous extent to which this country has preferred to rely on Sweden for this commodity, while all the time the resources of the British Empire, if adequately developed, are perfectly capable of supplying all our demands in this direction. Swedish wood-pulp is produced from the soft coniferous woods, such as the various kinds of fir, pine, and spruce, and in Canada and Newfoundland huge areas of these woods are still untouched, the present employment of this timber for paper-making purposes being on a scale which, compared with the natural resources of those Dominions for the purpose, is quite trivial.

Many other parts of the British Empire are, moreover, capable of supplying paper-making materials. A great variety of these materials have already been investigated at the Imperial Institute, and hardly a month passes without fresh British sources for the raw material for paper-making being brought to light.

In Central and Northern India, for instance, enormous

forest areas are covered with waste grasses, which are at present of little or no economic value. At least half-a-dozen different types of these grasses yield a pulp of first-class quality. In the Mysore district the forests already explored would yield 60,000 tons of grasses per annum for paper-material purposes. Large tracts of bamboos are also available in various parts of our Indian Empire for the same purpose, Lower Burma and Southern India being especially rich in this respect. Factories for working bamboos for paper have in fact already been established in the East in Japanese Formosa and in French Indo-China. Trials on a commercial scale have been carried out with success at a paper-mill in India, but the development of the manufacture has been hindered by the war.

British Africa offers an alternative paper-making material in the "elephant grass" of Uganda, a perennial grass occurring in a wide zone across Tropical Africa, which is a source of great annoyance and expense to agriculturists in that Protectorate. A first-rate pulp was prepared from this grass at the Imperial Institute. The commercial prospects of any scheme for an industry would, of course, depend on the expense of manufacture and transport. The necessary chemicals and fuel for manufacture are available in East Africa. The supply of "elephant grass" is practically inexhaustible, the land on which it is grown being now regarded as "bush."

Other promising paper-making materials which have been reported on by the Imperial Institute come from the Sudan, South and East Africa, British Guiana, the Federated Malay States and the British West Indies, where, at Trinidad, a factory is at work turning out pulp from the sugar-cane residues, hitherto used only for fuel.

LONDON THEATRES

St. James's Theatre.—"The Basker." By Clifford Mills.

Now, "the basker" is a man who takes life very easily; has many privileges and few responsibilities: if he is at all threatened with the latter, he passes them on adroitly; he is a very bad worker, and a very good friend. He is, moreover, in this particular play, interpreted by Sir George Alexander, and his name is George de Lacorfe. But he has a grandmother, the Duchess of Cheviot, who every year, on his birthday, presents him with a beautifully bound volume: "The History of the de Lacorfes." He never reads it, but places the uncut tomes together on his bookcase, where together they look like some "Encyclopædia Britannica." He is fond of Diana Talbot, but sees no reason why his second cousin Richard, the black sheep of the family, should not have her and the dukedom. The problem set us by Clifford Mills is how to instil ambition and passion into George the Basker. It is soon apparent that Diana will create the latter, but what of the former? There is, of course, the unworthiness of the second cousin, the constant preaching of his grandmother and other relations, but what is it that gives the driving-force? Why, his valet. It is he who reads the history of the de Lacorfes to improve his mind, it is he who inspires him with chivalry and romance (though cashiered in the process). And so George makes good. He marries the girl on the day appointed for her wedding with Richard, he decides not to pass on the dukedom, he satisfies for the first time his grandmother.

Sir George played the hero with his customary skill, Mr. Bridges Adams was excellent as Richard. The return to the stage of Geneviève Ward, as the Duchess, was most welcome. Will there be "baskers" in future?

His Majesty's Theatre.—"Mrs. Pretty and the Premier" (a Comic Play of Australian Life). By Arthur H. Adams.

At a time like the present, with the magic word "Anzac" on the lips of all, it is particularly apposite to have plays on the London stage which tell us something of life in the great self-governing Colonies. Australian plays, in the popular imagination, are expected to deal chiefly with Bush life; but

here we have something quite different. We have not a distant ranch on an everlasting plain, but the hub of the continent—to wit, the Premier's Room at Parliament House. And a Prime Minister on the stage—that is indeed rather new. Moreover, it is not Downing Street—that would be a bold dramatic experiment, perhaps too bold—but it is—well, in the Antipodes. The play, therefore, exercises a double fascination.

Now, the Premier of the Labour Party is a misogynist, and a lady, the wealthiest estate-owner in Australia, hides in his official room to get an interview, but falls asleep. He finds her, conducts her out. The "Press" find it out, demand an explanation, backed up by the leader of the Opposition. He tells them the truth—"A bit thin, isn't it?" quoth they (and even his Chief Whip agrees)—so he tells them a lie: "She is my wife" (sensation). Then he must satisfy them by producing her in three days. So here is a nice kettle of fish. But, after all, that was the only way he could save his party. What matters that "the lady in the case" is engaged to the leader of the Opposition, that he himself is totally inexperienced in proposing? He wins her all the same, and she proves her devotion to her new husband once for all by entrapping his political opponent into the Premier's Room, and preventing him from hearing the division-bell in a snap division when it all depended on one vote. Mr. Arthur Bourchier as the Premier was a great success, and Mr. Murray Carrington as leader of the Opposition was also effective. Miss Kyrle Bellew, as the ranch-owner who began by protesting against his new Land Acts, and ended by marrying him, was very pleasing. Dix, his private secretary, of the wondrous phrases, who must never leave him (otherwise disaster), was amusingly acted by Norman Page.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL 1, 1916

YÜAN SHÍ-K'AI AS HWANG-TI

BY E. H. PARKER

THE most determined well-wishers of China, as well as the admirers and defenders of Yuan, must admit that there are certain Gilbertian touches in the *opera data* by him, *ne quid republica detrimenti capiat*. There will be plenty of ground, on the other hand, for shouting *Io triumphe* as the action narrative proceeds; but meanwhile a sop of comfort may be conceded to the Jeremiahs and the pacifists of the Far East in yielding this much against him. The new Emperor, who, it must be remembered, is only, and only wishes to be, a constitutional monarch, and claims no heaven-sent, autocratic, or absolute power—indeed, he expressly *disclaims* all three—had already, as President, been rather effusive with his titles, decorations, and orders; foreigners as well as natives had been liberally doused with Excellent Crop (civil) and Striped Tiger (military) orders, each in four or more degrees of rank. China is not, still less is Yuan, responsible for foreign newspaper translations, and the former term, as a matter of fact, refers to an auspicious incident in the founding of a new dynasty or era 3,000 years ago, whilst the Carved or Striped Tiger (chariot) also refers to certain imperial regalia introduced by a new dispensation of 1,700 years back. Whilst amusing our serio-comic imaginations at poor struggling China's expense, we must, therefore, not omit to reflect how the

European legends of the Garter or the Golden Fleece would lend themselves, when translated, to the witticisms of a mischievous Chinese literary wag. When the unfortunate Admiral Cheng was cruelly assassinated at Shanghai in November last, Yuan, in his fidelity to the memory of a trusty servant, promptly created him an hereditary Marquess, with (quite a new thing for China) a perpetual grant of 3,000 *mu* (about a square mile) of good land; the eldest son now, therefore, enjoys both title and estate. This generous but impetuous "hit" was evidently off Yüan's own bat, for his counsellors promptly asked in severe official form what precedent, source, or justification there was for creating a noble under the Constitutional Law of the Republic. The reply was: "Let the patents and other formalities be exactly as under the late Manchu dynasty for the present." The very last mandate Yüan signed as President was one conferring upon Confucius LXXVI. (who thus easily beats, in "countability," the Princes Henry of Reuss) the rank of *Kün-wang*, or Prince of the Second Class, corresponding in general idea, perhaps, to the graded German *Furst*, as distinct from *Prinz*. Confucius and his ancestors had already, through several dynasties and for many centuries, been hereditary Dukes, practically the only exception to the strict Manchu rule that no Chinese could ever be a Duke or Prince, or marry a *geboren* Manchu, although swarms of Mongols, Turki, etc., were freely admitted, as being marriageable, to these exalted honours. Then came a week's holiday for the New Year, and on January 6 appears, printed in triumphant red ink, the first number of the *Government Gazette* to introduce the new "reign style" of *Hung-hien*, or "Great Constitution," and, accordingly, all mandates issued subsequently to the Confucian affair of December 31 (*i.e.*, last day of the fourth year of the Republic) bear dates 1st, 2nd, to the 5th day of "Great Statute" (for there never was a Chinese word equivalent to "constitution," and "statute" has been adapted for that purpose to and into the official language since



Confucius the 76th, Hereditary Duke since the 11th century,
made Prince on the 31st December, 1915 Born, February 1871
His son, born, October 1906

This photograph was presented by Confucius to a Catholic
Priest, who sent it to the writer of this paper.

the year 1905, when, after the *verte réprimande* of Japanese defeat and the consequent desire for popular support, the idea was first seriously discussed). Thus Yüan, who from first to last makes use *himself* of no self-glorifying imperial phraseology, and in no way modifies the modest shape and almost democratic wording of his mandates as evolved up to date, ingeniously combines the old idea of a reign title attached to the *personality* of a monarch with the idea of an impersonal constitution which may go on for ever, no matter who may be *yuan-shou*, or "head of the State"—an expression he freely makes use of in explaining his status. He pays no heed whatever to the fulsome expressions indulged in day by day and bit by bit by his faithful lieges in *crescendo* scale, such as "sacred glance," "all-highest," "your Majesty," "heavenly decision," and so on; he does not even protest when the "coiled dragon's" (*i.e.*, undisclosed genius) services are depicted by his acclaimers: how he first raised a true army; how he defeated the intrigues of 1898; how he prevented the completion of the Boxer fiasco; how by conciliatory action he got rid of the foreign armies of occupation, and started a grand career of Chinese reform at Tientsin; how he insisted there on educational reconstruction and the immediate abolition of the futile degree examination fetish; how he was ordered up from his viceregal Tientsin post to take charge of foreign affairs at Peking in 1907, and to act as general adviser; how he then persistently advocated, in the face of reactionary opposition, a National Assembly, local and town councils, financial and educational reform, and a "trust the people" policy generally; in a word, how he performed all those meritorious services which the writer of the present article has enumerated and insisted upon in five previous articles already contributed on this subject to the ASIATIC REVIEW since the year 1912. He never brags or blusters in the style of "*Der Susse*." There is only one instance in which Yuan, whilst ignoring servile nonsense, actually protests, and it does him high credit; he says (Decem-

ber 18) that he notices with pain how his old colleagues, military and civil, are, one after the other, beginning to say "your subject." He adds: "True, I (he never says *We*) have become Prince or head of the State, in spite of my innate unworthiness, but this is because the dangers of the time require it, and the people see it and approve it; still, I have in no way the pretension to be on a par in quality with our ancient Emperors, and must beg my old colleagues, at least, kindly to refrain, when addressing me officially, from the use of the expression 'your subject.'" In another mandate he refers to the discovery by Europeans of a fossil dragon in a cave near the treaty port of Ichang, and says he will be pleased if this discovery should, on further inquiry, turn out to have genuine scientific importance; but he ridicules at the same time the suggestion made to him that it is Heaven's omen of the uncoiled dragon (*i.e.*, disclosed Emperor), and says: "My only omen of fitness is a passion for the welfare of the Chinese people."

To return for a moment to our sop thrown in advance to adverse critics. The wholesale ennobling of high territorial officials which took place on December 21 was, perhaps, a policy of doubtful wisdom, if only because by its sheer promiscuousness it tended, when coupled with the previous broadcast and almost daily showering upon Chinese and foreigners alike of the republican orders and decorations above described, to make the new "imperial" honours cheap and ridiculous, almost lowering their value to the level of the absurd Prussian Iron Cross, the *absence* of which now threatens to become a mark of real distinction, bringing to mind the well-known exclamatory remark of Talleyrand when the British Ambassador in plain evening dress entered a reception-room blazing with decorated French, German, Russian, and other civil and military officials: *Mais, comme c'est vraiment distingué!* Moreover, the arbitrary dividing off into Dukes, Marquesses, Counts, Viscounts, and Barons was of itself calculated to create immediate jealousies and

bad blood, for each military or civil governor would of course promptly ask: "Why should A be a Marquess, whilst I, B, am only a Viscount? What have I done amiss that C should have precedence of me? Was I ever a self-constituted *tutuh*? Is my loyalty doubtful?" It must be remembered that many of the provincial governors actually in power are still the original *tutuh*s who "pronounced" during the revolution of 1911 without asking "for your leave," or even saying "by your leave." In July, 1912, when Yuan was firmly seated as temporary President, he "officially confirmed" most of these "appointments," and thus obtained a solid ground qualifying himself to give them "orders," which at first he had been particularly chary of doing. Then his next steps were to grant them special leave, arrange exchanges of posts, send for them to consult, and so on; meanwhile, he had to deal with several revolutions and rebellions, run the central Government without cash balances at Peking or remittances from the provinces, and at the same time keep in hand the restive, plunder-loving soldiery to whom he owed his personal safety. From these cautious steps he gradually proceeded to the summoning to Peking of doubtful personages (Ts'ai Ao, the present arch-rebel in Yün Nan, was one); the unavoidable "whitewashing" of speculators and blunderers who at least had been thoroughly loyal to him, but who had in decency to be removed; the getting quietly rid of old friends (like T'ang Shao-i, for instance) who were unable to follow his policy on party grounds; the breaking up of squabbling parties whose internecine strife threatened to wreck the whole Chinese State; and the dealing with other jealousies and unexpected hitches, both native and foreign. Ts'ai Ao was particularly keen, for instance, in driving away the British on the Burma frontier. Small wonder, therefore, that when almost every prominent man has rendered, or thinks he has rendered, services of some sort, positive or negative, this casting among the promiscuous crowd of an apple of discord in the shape of a brand

new graded "nobility" should be regarded by even his most determined well-wishers as savouring of a boomerang policy likely to recoil upon the thrower. The graceful creation of an O.M. kind of limited order upon four "old cronies" stands upon a different footing, and involves nothing more showy or expensive than an autographed portrait. All these four men are above the tinsel glitter of a coronet; three of them are ex-Viceroy, and the fourth is Chang Kien, a man very well known in Shanghai, who has during the past ten years consistently declined high or lucrative office, and has busied himself chiefly with commercial and industrial progress, railways, improvement of rivers and canals, popular representation, economical development, and so on. Li King-hi's last post was that of Viceroy in Yün Nan, whence the Republicans ejected him in 1911, and where his passionate anti-British policy had for some time much annoyed Prince K'ing, besides leaving the quarrelsome legacy to Ts'ai Ao, who caused similar embarrassment to the President in the summer of 1912; he was (probably for this reason) ordered to Peking to serve in "well-paid inactivity" as "Inspector of all China's frontiers." Li King-hi is too wealthy, as the most prominent senior survivor of the Li Hung-chang family, to care for empty titles, and probably really needs the favour or support of Yüan less than Yüan does that of him; he is therefore a nasty man to be "up against," and, moreover, he has no particular repute for uprightness; the other members of the Li family are "dark horses" for the moment. Sü Shi-ch'ang and Chao Erh-sün were both Viceroy at Mukden (1905-1909), both of excellent repute; the latter was also Viceroy in Sz Ch'wan when his brother Chao Erh-fêng was conquering Tibet. The last-named was murdered as Viceroy in Sz Ch'wan during the revolution; the accompanying photograph of the event was taken by an eye-witness. Sü Shi-Ch'ang (Secretary of State) and Chang Kien were both seized with "the diplomatic illness" when Yüan's imperial chrysalis was developing, and that,

it must be confessed, is rather a bad sign, especially as nearly the whole Cantonese group—none too loyal at any time to any but local interests—are now left out in the cold. Thus it seems plain that, however much foreigners in the interests of trade, and the Chinese people generally in the interests of peace and order, may approve of Yüan's action, there still seem to be not a few of his own friends who view the situation with misgiving. Yüan's whole career, however, is almost without a flaw or unofficial censure so far as recorded history goes, and it is probable that in consenting to become constitutional Emperor he is really rather the unwilling, or perhaps fain the honestly willing, instrument of the powerful military domination that supports him centrally and provincially; and he sees clearly that, oath or no oath, he must "ride the tiger" or be eaten by the animal. Of course, no jealous rival or vindictive enemy will admit this of him, but the writer thinks it likely to be so.

It is remarkable how little is known even in China about Yüan Shi-k'ai's official pedigree. His uncle or great uncle, Yüan Kiah-san, appears in official history as an active agent in suppressing the rebels in 1862-1863; amongst other things, he was successful in impeaching the imperial Manchu Generalissimo Shêngpao, who was suspected of acting in collusion with Miao P'ei-lin, the leader of the so-called Nienfei branch of the Taipings. This uncle or great uncle died in 1863 as Imperial Commissioner in the war and titular Viceroy of Transport. His eldest son, Yüan Pao-hêng, was a genuine literary man, and also a member of the Hanlin Academy; there was another son, Yüan Pao-ling, who was nominally a minor member of the Grand Secretariat at Peking, but does not appear to have attained official eminence. The elder brother did good service against the Nienfei, both with the father and after the father's death, receiving reward for his own special services in 1868, after which he was detached to assist the distinguished Viceroy and Imperial Commissioner Tso

Tsung-t'ang in his ten years' campaign against the Mussulmans and against Yakub Beg of Kashgar ; this lasted till 1874, when he seems from the records to have already left Tso, for in 1876 he reappears as Vice-President of the Board of Punishments, charged with the duty of repairing the Imperial Tombs near Peking. In 1878 he was given a post in connection with the great famine, and lost his life through the plague which followed (the writer's personal experiences of this famine are described in "John Chinaman," chap. i, Murray, 1901). A cousin of his named Yüan Pao-k'ing had been in office in Kiang Su province, but was dead in 1878 ; it is highly probable that this cousin was the father of Yuan Shi-k'ai, and is the man who, under the manifestly posthumous title of "the lord Yuan Twan-min," has recently been recommended to the new Emperor for "temple honours," though it is not stated in either the memorial or the mandate that such is the case. There is still another Yuan who has just been recommended for "honours in the temple of the God of War," and this is a certain Yuan Ch'ung-hwan, who, as Imperial Commissioner of the Ming dynasty, bravely defended that corrupt house against Manchu incursions, and seems to have been executed by the Manchus when they entered Peking in 1644 ; but this man is distinctly stated to have been born in Canton, so that his relationship with Yuan Shi-k'ai's father's and uncle's family of Ho Nan province needs further elucidation ; but as all respectable Chinese families have genealogy records extending back (usually) 2,000 years or so, this point can easily be settled by inquiry in China. Yuan himself was only a *t'ung-chi*, or titular sub-prefect, when he was attached in 1882-1884 to Admiral-General Wu Ch'ang-k'ing's forces in Corea. In consequence of the murder of the Queen and the destruction of the Japanese Legation in the autumn of 1882, it was decided to arrest the King's father and "exile him for ever." Neither Li Hung-chang nor Yuan Shi-k'ai can be credited (if credit there be) with this smart *coup*, for Li Hung-chang was away in mourning for his mother at

the time, and the one-tooth grim warrior Chang Shu-shêng (see "China Past and Present," Chapman and Hall, 1903, p. 102, for the writer's experiences of this Viceroy) was during the hundred days' mourning temporarily acting for Li at Tientsin; but in the winter of 1884 Yüan Shü-k'ai, then serving under or with General Wu Chao-yu, was the first to report to Tientsin the second Korean massacre, news of which was immediately wired by Li Hung-chang to Peking. Yüan seems to have been sent for to explain in person, for in 1885 he came back to Korea with the peccant royal parent in his charge, forgiven by the Emperor at the instant prayer of his feeble son the King. The writer was perhaps the first foreigner to interview the King's father and Yüan at Chemulpo; descriptions of this interview and narratives of other matters connected with Yüan will be found in "John Chinaman." It was Sir Harry Parkes who had designed a policy for Korea, but his unfortunate death at Peking removed the "master hand," and things soon "went to pieces" in consequence.

The real history of the Emperor Yüan Shü-k'ai, free of all undue favour and prejudice alike, may accordingly thus be summed up: Son of quite an ordinary man, who never made his official mark in any way, connected none the less with a family that had done really honourable service to the State, born in a part of China where all the best Confucian traditions and simple "Old China" ways are inherent in the soil, Yüan, in 1882, obtained a petty civil post attached to the Chinese armies then watching dynastic intrigues in Korea. Being of a naturally direct, straight-thinking, courageous, and democratic frame of mind, he fell in easily with the Admiral-General's somewhat original notion of kidnapping the King's father, and being (then) a good-looking young fellow and a nice man to chat with, evidently struck Li Hung-chang as being just the person required to accompany the repentant old man back to his weak and foolish royal son. There, at Söul, Yüan was for the first time confronted with a mixed society of British, American, Russian, Japanese, and other foreign officials, all amorphous

in status and tentative-temporary in action like himself, but all united by one common personal sympathy with Yüan, as being civilized beings *in partibus infidelium*. For want of anything better to do in such a "God-forsaken country," as they used to call it, most of these officials were intriguing for all they were worth, with the object of not being "left" in case a general "grab" took place; but Yüan kept his head through it all, thoroughly enjoyed the fun, and impressed at least one individual (the writer) with the conviction that he was "straight"; but straightness does not always pay with diplomatists, so Yüan, after the writer left, seems to have been more and more suspected, until he had ultimately to clear out, *re infecta* so far as Chinese interests were concerned. After the Japanese War, Yüan was under a temporary cloud and forgotten; he had, meanwhile, during his twelve years' service, become first a *taotai* and then a Judge. In good old Chinese incongruous style, the Judge was considered a good sort of man to train up a genuine modern army. Why not? Lord Haldane had a success with his Territorials. Yüan's unrivalled experiences and confidential chats with foreigners in Corea had taught him a thing or two, more especially that China was governed by humbug—futile examinations, ridiculous pigtailed, the barren classics, dishonesty, national conceit, military incompetency, naval corruption, etc.—and he consequently utilized the exceptional knowledge his naturally receptive brain had absorbed by training a disciplined and *paid* army. Then came the incident of 1898, when a pushing Cantonese of the Enver Pasha type, in his excessive zeal (perhaps well meant) for reform, got the inexperienced young Emperor to try and make use of Yüan's really effective army (the first honestly paid and honestly trained army China had ever known) to run his aunt-mother the Dowager in, and murder her nephew Junglu (said by some to have once been her boyish paramour), then Viceroy at Tientsin, and Yüan's military supreme chief; but there was "nothing doing," and the Emperor himself was run in for life by the irate Dowager. In all this Yüan acted up to the very

highest canons of Chinese honour and ethics, and the writer pointed this out at the time over and over again in various books and magazines (1898-1901), always insisting upon it that China's hope lay in Yuan. Naturally the old Dowager was grateful, and Yuan accordingly soon found himself installed as Governor of Shan Tung. Then came the mad Boxer affair. If Yuan (at the Boxer centre) had joined in, things would have gone ill with the Legation refugees; but luckily, despite his personal loyalty to the Dowager, his anti-humbug instincts came well to the fore. Accordingly, he had a score or two of "invulnerable" Boxers summoned to be tested by his own foreign-drilled troops in his own *yamen*; the whole of them were shot dead, in spite of their holy invulnerability. He next arranged with Wu T'ing-fang, at Washington, to get telegrams through to Peking, and (aided by the sensible Junglu at Peking, and the Viceroy Liu K'un-yih at Nanking, who, by the way, was another "straight" acquaintance of the writer's) managed, with the further co-operation of the *doctrinaire* but by no means impracticable Viceroy Chang Chi-tung, of Hankow, to save the situation—in fact, they drew up a "treaty" with Shanghai, placing foreign trade out of Boxer bounds. Up to then he was still a youth compared with the other two (he was only twenty-seven in 1886), and thus for several years took, as he had to take, a back seat in the negotiations for reform which followed. The whole of the splendid State papers of these three Viceroys (Yuan, on Li Hung-chang's death had been promoted as Viceroy) are in the writer's possession, and he therefore knows fairly well what he is writing about. Liu and Yuan are really the two rare birds (honest, straightforward men) who have reformed China. It is a matter of common knowledge, attainable by any foreigner in China, how splendidly Yuan ruled and reformed during his five years at Tientsin; the results are before everyone's eyes there now. Tientsin was frankly accepted by both Peking and the provinces as a model for *all* reforms. In 1907 he was sent for to Peking, as a worrying combination of new "Constitution" business and

foreign affairs difficulties had proved more than the *doctri-naire* Chang Chi-tung (who had been first sent for) could effectively tackle. (Liu K'un-yih had been already dead for some years; he never would have anything to do with Peking, which place he loathed, where his uncouth "Doric" spoken dialect moreover,—which he could not in the least change—was found quite incomprehensible.) Yüan had a desperate struggle; he and Chang Chi-tung became almost personal enemies. For his own protection he had to run a newspaper of his own, and join in a Press campaign alike against revolutionists and reactionaries. Meanwhile, the hopelessly degenerate Manchus, thinking of nothing but raking in the dollars, indulging in concubines, jewels, opium, etc., were drifting from bad to worse. In 1898 the Emperor died (probably murdered), just after the Dowager (possibly, indeed, before her), and there were good hopes of the Regency, which Yüan loyally served. But female and eunuch influences were too strong for him; the late Emperor's wife was apparently pledged to "get even," and accordingly off went Yüan, with a compulsorily sore leg, home to Ho Nan (1909). Anyone who has closely followed his career since he was hurriedly sent for in 1911 by his own Manchu persecutors will see how consistently straight he has been. He tried his best to save the dynasty and have a Constitution, as previously urged in 1907, not entirely because he loved or even respected the dynasty, but because he was "Old China" to the core, and had an honourable and "non-German" type of mind. He tried hard to persuade the Cantonese self-seeking gang that China was not yet fitted for a republic; moreover, he always behaved from first to last as a chivalrous gentleman to the new Dowager (his enemy), and secured the best possible terms for the Manchus (who, with all their official faults, are not bad fellows socially). He has his reward; we now actually see Manchu battalions marching from Peking and fighting for Yüan against Yün Nan! The one time prospective heir to the Manchu throne (P'ulun) calls himself "your subject," and *begs* him to become Emperor. Here

comes the crucial point. Yüan took the oath. Certainly he did, and meant it. So did Mr. Gladstone when he swore by the nine gods that the British would relinquish Egypt. But neither of the two was a Bethmann-Hollweg, and both honestly meant it. Yet, after four years of miserable Cantonese intriguing (and no Cantonese really cares for China as a whole; it is only the independence of the Kwang region they lust after), party squabbling, assassination, rebellion, etc., Yüan at last saw that (as temporarily, at least, everyone, foreign, native, friend, or enemy had said) he, personally, villain or saint, was really the only individual morally and physically capable of holding the fort; and, anyhow, China was manifestly not yet educated up to the point of self-government. Moreover, his military supporters saw it, and probably insisted upon his donning the yellow. The mercantile classes and the farmers were sick of unrest, and even if the official "wishes" were a "fake," there was manifestly no other way of taking action within reasonable time and without causing innumerable local squabbles. The sagacity and prudence of Yüan under these most recent conditions has been really extraordinary. Japanese action is a matter of "high diplomacy," of which the writer knows absolutely nothing, and, if he did, he would not say anything, for Japan has been a true ally to us, and nothing is further from the sagacious Japanese mind than a treachery, turncoating, and coarse brutality of the Hohenzollern-Prussian type. Besides, we must see that Japan does not suffer from German intrigue with Chinese armies. But, Japanese motives aside, Yüan's consummate deftness and prudence have been astounding, whether he has deliberately seized greatness or had it thrust upon him. Ever since January 10 the last four pages of the successive *Government Gazettes* have contained a *raisonnée* explanation of the whole business (about 4,000 Chinese characters, say 8,000 English words) in the shape of a proclamation clearly setting forth in sober, measured, and deliberate terms the why and wherefore of the whole business: (1) How the monarchy agitation began; (2) how impossible it had proved to change

the whole theory of China's social system to one of individual equality ; (3) how it was absolutely necessary to have a definite head of the State ; (4) how, throughout all dynastic changes, China's social and government system had remained the same ; (5) how, with an area of 40,000,000 *li* (4,000,000 square miles), and five organically different races (Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, Tibetan, and Turki), it was impossible to govern with a shifting head ; (6) how rebellion after rebellion had broken out ever since the Republic was accepted ; (7) how perpetual unrest was inspired by each pretender having his own ideas of a superior ; (8) how progress in all its branches had become impossible owing to uncertainty and want of fixity ; (9) how the discrediting of the monarchical idea, with its dynastic scimmages, is not owing to any inherent defect in monarchy, but owing to the lack of a constitution with that monarchy, the virtue of a constitution lying in the fact that a constitutional monarch stands apart from the racket, and acts as a mediator, so that, if we establish a monarchy, we may look forward to a thousand years of the benefits of monarchy free from the past defects of monarchy ; (10) how the essence of it is government by law, and not government by force. It is with these considerations in his mind (goes on the State paper to say) that " Mr. Yuan," feeling his competency, and the only person really available, is prepared to sacrifice himself, and his sons and grandsons after him (this is the first hint of an *hereditary* monarchy), to the constitutional idea, which His Majesty thus defines: (1) Progress, such as will satisfy all interests ; (2) entire absence of the " joy for one family regardless of the people's wish " idea of past dynasties ; (3) elimination of the abuses which have existed for four thousand years ; (4) united effort by Prince and people. If Heaven aid us, after, say, ten years of fair trial we may hope for success and safety.

It is to be feared that few foreigners have taken the trouble to read this admirable State paper, published officially by the " Preparation for Parliament Bureau." Its style is simple and dignified ; there is not a word of twaddle or

slavishness in it, and before condemning Yüan it is only fair that it be carefully read, marked, and digested by foreign Powers. Meanwhile, a thoroughgoing Budget for 1916, item by item, has been published, and foreign bankers might well take the trouble to study it. It shows \$471,946,710 receipts and \$471,519,436 expenditure, of which \$286,000,000 is "ordinary" and the rest "extraordinary." Divide these totals by ten, and you get the approximate sterling amounts.

* * * * *

On February 23 a mandate is issued which considerably modifies the situation, and the cautious passive action of Yüan Shi-K'ai in leaving all initiative activity to "the people" thus enables him to make a desirable strategic movement without too much loss of face. He says in effect, "In view of the innumerable documents and telegrams received without intermission from the services, corporate bodies, and various prominent individuals urging that the Throne question may be settled without loss of time, it is easily understood that their patriotism has permanent peace and order in view: at the same time it is always right that those in power should act strictly according to the urgencies of the moment. Rebellion having broken out in Yün Nan and Kwei Chou, carrying with it disaffection in parts of Hu Nan and Sz Ch'wan, I am deeply grieved at the prospect of the suffering our people must face. Moreover, all sorts of malicious rumours are being circulated by the evilly disposed, in such wise that my original motive of saving the people and the State has been twisted into a pretext for a general contest for possession and power. Under these circumstances I cannot feel happy at the prospect of settling the Throne question off-hand, and have therefore definitely decided for postponement. I trust that all patriotic persons, governing or governed, will be able to appreciate this view; and meanwhile no further documents or telegrams urging the speedy settlement must be submitted to me."

THE GREAT WORK OF TO-MORROW FOR WHICH WE MUST PREPARE OURSELVES TO-DAY

BY CAPTAIN S. W. PETAVEI, R.E., RETIRED

IN the midst of our life-and-death struggle we have little time to pay attention to anything but the vital issues of the moment; still, we must bear in mind that war may be followed by events even more disastrous if we do not start in time to prepare ourselves to meet the labour difficulties that are likely to arise at some time or other after the cessation of hostilities. We none of us know what will be the economic situation after the war. We shall, of course, have great arrears of manufacturing to make up, and enormous material damages to repair, all demanding labour; but we cannot say what will be the total result of such gigantic disturbances of the labour market as will occur; and as we cannot know, we should be guilty of criminal negligence if we left matters to chance. Apart from our duty to those who have fought for their country, every thoughtful person must realize that if the workers, seething already with discontent, are mocked again by the ironies of our social system, by seeing unemployment, poverty and privation come in the train of *peace*, their cup is likely to be filled and there is no saying into what rash adventures they may be led.

Social reformers are divided in their councils, but our hope lies in the fact that we can appeal to the soldiers to take their own problem in hand. Though, as far as we are able to foresee, there will be work enough for them at

first, a reaction will set in sooner or later and there will be hard times.

Now, many of the soldiers' best friends have long recognized that we should form "industrial reserves" in which all time-expired men would have the option of serving and in which they would be employed producing the main necessities of life for themselves. Their reserve pay would supply them with a small cash wage whilst they were still learners. The organization could also earn some money by supplying something to the Army or doing other work for the public. The men would be able first to learn a trade and then to work for a time to save money for a start. If their start proved a false one and they failed they would be able to return to a suitable trade for a fresh start. An organization engaged principally in producing the necessities of life for itself is not limited, as regards the amount of labour it can employ, as a commercial concern is which has to find purchasers for what it produces.

"Industrial reserves" open up many possibilities of increased military efficiency and of very great economies. The advantages have been well recognized by distinguished soldiers, including the late Lord Roberts, who gave his support to organizations advocating this plan in slightly different forms.* At present, however, we are concerned with industrial reserves simply as the only way of putting an end once and for all to the scandal of discharged soldiers crowding the ranks of unskilled labour and often of the unemployed.

The question of the possibility of making "industrial reserves" entirely self-supporting is, fortunately, placed above all controversy. The Swiss have made a self-contained organization pay, though employing only tramps, vagrants and prisoners. There can be no question, therefore, as to whether we could do it with our discharged soldiers.

* The Educational Colonies Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., and the Soldiers' Land Settlement Association.

Now, dealing with the problem as it presents itself to-day, it is, of course, evident that we could not get "industrial reserves" suddenly into full working order even by taking factories over and adapting them, as we have now learnt to do on an emergency. It would probably be a good deal more than a year before such reserves, so hastily formed, could produce foodstuffs for themselves to any appreciable extent. Possibly also, owing to the difficulty of obtaining enough land, they would not produce much of their own meat, or even wheat, until they had ranches and farms in Canada.

But this difficulty is merely theoretical, and vanishes when we look at things practically. In this war we have called upon young men to leave their vocational training to serve their country. So we must make arrangements to give an industrial training to all of them who ask for it. It would be nothing short of a fraudulent evasion of our duty to push them out on the industrial world during the trade boom that is likely to occur at first, and to leave them after that to do the best they can as unskilled workers.

Obviously the cheapest and, from every point of view, the best way to give them some industrial training is to supply them with raw materials—wheat to grind into flour and make into bread, live-stock to convert into meat, leather and woollen goods and other raw materials to work upon under the departments of the Army skilled in the work, so providing for their own needs. A few comparatively would do the industrial work for the whole, and the rest could be employed preparing land and buildings for the use of the military organization, so that by-and-by it would form a practically self-contained industrial unit. In the meanwhile there would be improvement values to be placed to the credit of the "industrial reserves." On a fair valuation of improvements they should be self-supporting, if not self-contained, from the very first.

Besides this duty which we can do only by means of industrial reserves there are others the war will leave us

which can be done infinitely better by their means than in any other way. By far the best thing to do with men who have been partly but not wholly disabled would be to employ them in a military organization of that kind where they would have the comradeship of their fellow-sufferers and the sympathetic regard of all. Finally, in "industrial reserves" we should be able to give sure employment under model conditions to widows and orphans.

Service in the "industrial reserves" could be made very attractive to many soldiers as it would be a continuation of regimental life, only with more freedom and with industrial employment predominating. Occasional military exercises, however, would be both beneficial and popular. Many would elect to remain soldiers on those terms, even if there were plenty of openings at first for employment outside, and a nucleus organization would be formed ready to be expanded to meet probable future emergencies.

Thus, to be prepared to do our duty to those who have fought for us in this great crisis and (most elementary duty of all), to be ready to meet an only too probable economic and social storm that may sweep away our homes if it finds us unready we need some people who will take the trouble to get to know and make generally known what has been accomplished abroad in the way of self-supporting and nearly self-supporting technical training, and who will make themselves acquainted with some of the most elementary facts of modern industrialism which will show them that the larger an organization producing necessities for its own workers is, the easier its task; because the better it can subdivide and organize its labour and especially the better use it can make of unskilled workers.

We shall need, in order to start our industrial reserve, people experienced in the particular methods, both in agriculture and in other production of necessities, that are employed where a very large proportion of the workers are unskilled, but it is quite clear how we could supply that need.

The Swiss, I repeat, have made even men under sentence for vagrancy self-supporting by employing them in this way, so that we could certainly obtain very excellent result with school-boys. Nothing could be more evidently useful at the present time than to give boys that work and training in improvised farm-schools which would be the foundation on which to build, later, the organization for soldiers. It would not matter if their lessons were largely sacrificed to the practical and to training, as they could be kept in this organization (their earnings increasing rapidly), until they had attained the required standard of education.

After making ourselves acquainted with the facts—the Associations already mentioned have been formed to supply information about them—we must make them known, not so much among social reformers who too often will merely suggest some other plan supposed to be better and leave matters there, but among soldiers, who will take a practical view and appeal to the nation to do something of the kind for them. That is the trump card we have in our hands, and everything depends on how we play it. Steps are being taken now to provide holdings for soldiers who, on their return, want to become agriculturists. Those, however, will be a small minority. We need also an industrial training organization and city of refuge for all. The fate of the Empire, we must remember, may depend as much on the way we disband our great armies as it did on the way in which we brought them together.

"TAXATION IN INDIA"

BY J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

MRS. BESANT is, I am sure, quite incapable of deliberately misleading anyone even about her *bête noire* the present Government of India under which she has lived so long, and, I hope, in comparative comfort ; but the effect of her speech in seconding a resolution at the meeting of the National Indian Congress held in Bombay last Christmas (as reported in the January number of the *Indian Review*) would be to create a belief about taxation in India for which there is really no foundation whatever in fact. She is right, no doubt, in saying that the margin for any increase of taxation in India was some time ago (and is still to some extent) comparatively narrow ; but, after all, this margin is more ample in these days than might at first sight appear. The surplus produce of India (actually exported) was valued at about £160,000,000 before the war (almost the full value of the gross produce of the country as estimated by the Dadobhai Naoroji some forty years ago), and surely this is a taxable margin of very considerable dimensions when we consider that the Government at present takes only about one-eighth of this surplus as Land Revenue, which of course includes the rent in all Ryotwari Districts. Even the late Mr. Digby, whose estimate of the produce of India probably surpassed all others in its wild exaggeration, came to the conclusion that about 60 out of the 240 mil-

lions of British India (a goodly proportion for any country) were fairly prosperous, and therefore, I suppose, fairly taxable. Speaking generally, they are the only people who can be said to be taxed at all, because the Land Revenue, which is paid by a great number, is more in the nature of a rent than a tax pure and simple.

But Mrs. Besant goes on to say (relying on the late Mr. Gokhale, and others, but again giving no reference), that "taxation of a country (*sic*) trenches on the subsistence of the labourer," whereas, if there is one thing more certain than another in India it is that no mere labourer (coolie) as such pays any tax at all, except, perhaps, a few pence a year for salt, for which, however, he would have to pay at much the same rate even if it were not taxed at all. To say that India's production amounts to 22s. a head and that taxation, local and Imperial, was 5s. 5d. a head in 1910 is as grossly misleading a statement as could well be made, especially as it is insinuated in the context that every coolie pays taxes at that rate, and that the agricultural population are in imminent risk of bankruptcy by *reason of that taxation*. As shown above, the tax on the land (which is practically all a purely agricultural person pays) amounts to about one-eighth of the surplus produce actually exported, and cannot be more than 5 per cent. of the gross produce.

Surely Mrs. Besant must know quite well that the indebtedness of the Indian peasantry is due to quite other causes than the Land Revenue, and would be scarcely affected at all if the land tax were remitted altogether; and yet she puts this indebtedness forward as a reason for changing the system of government, which she, with astonishing confidence, declares actually produces that indebtedness. As a matter of fact, the great bulk of the people in British India pay practically no taxes at all, and so far from India being the most heavily taxed country in the world, as she insists it is, "in proportion to the production of the masses of the people," it is still probably the most lightly taxed of all civilized countries, considering

what the Government does for the people ; because the " masses " pay *nothing* (see " Truths About India," p. 100). She says further, " You must find out the produce of the labourer (coolie) and say how much ' of it you tax. ' " Well, however much the coolie (*quâ* coolie) may produce, the fact remains that he pays no tax at all. I say this advisedly, because, as I said before, though he may have to contribute the salt tax he would have to pay nearly, if not quite, as much for his salt if it were not taxed at all ; and under the present monopoly system he at any rate gets good salt instead of bad. My objection has never been to the weight of the salt tax which is now negligible, but to the monopoly of a necessary of life and the consequent often cruel prosecutions for infringement of that monopoly.

Mrs. Besant has evidently not taken the trouble to read " Truths About India," especially the first, or she would not have spoken as she did on the subject of " The Drain. "

Her remarks on famine and the poverty of India are true enough as far as they go, but they are not the whole truth. Much the same proportion of people in wealthy England suffer from want of sufficient food as in India in ordinary non-famine years, and perhaps suffer more on account of the cold.

What she says about the foreign trade of India five thousand years ago may be true : she does not give her authority ; but to speak of five thousand years of self-government in India is surely a joke—unless she means that India has had self-government up to date without knowing it. No doubt the villages do still govern themselves to a certain extent, just as they do in Russia at the present time in spite of an autocratic Tsar ; but that is not what is generally meant by self-government in the Home Rule sense.

Lastly, if the test of the goodness of a Government is the wealth and prosperity of the people, we may well be encouraged to go on as we are now doing in India ; for

India is undoubtedly absorbing an ever-increasing proportion of the world's precious metals, and that is, I suppose, one great proof of wealth and prosperity (see "Truths About India," pp. 142, 167 *et passim*, and p. 59 of "More Truths About India"). It may be worth while to reproduce some striking figures from the last-quoted work for which the *British Californian* (not, I imagine, "a sun-dried bureaucrat") is primarily responsible :

"Truly, there is a 'drain out' of India, as there is a drain out of every country doing business with the world ; but there is also a 'drain in.' During the last seventy years India has absorbed 2,250,000,000 ounces of silver, or more than one-third of the world's supply during that period. In the last decade she absorbed 720,000,000 out of 1,820,000,000 ounces produced in the whole world. Now 720,000,000 out of 1,820,000,000 is nearly 40 per cent. Is this a proof of increasing poverty ? During the last seventy years India has absorbed more than a tenth of the whole world's production. Moreover, India's absorption of gold is rapidly increasing. In the last two years she has absorbed £35,000,000 worth—more than one-sixth of the world's production for those two years."

Each person joining this society, whether an active member or not, is entitled to receive and wear a badge or medal, according to the rank he or she takes in the society. There are life members who pay down a certain fee at one time. There are special members, ordinary members, foreign members. Each may display his various decoration, order of merit or medal, which has to be worn on the left breast. The orders of merit are of blue, red, and white enamel, on a silver ground, in the form of a Maltese cross. This is of a very simple but highly refined design. The medals of the honorary members are of silver gilt. The medals of the life members are of silver. All are provided and mounted with red and blue ribbon. The design is of Paulownias, bamboo, and phoenix, stamped with a small red cube cross. Rosettes and buttons of indigo and red silk ribbon accompany the medals. When the *Hakuaisha*, or original Society of Mercy and Benevolence, was organized, an embryo badge of a straight red line, with a small red dot above and below the line, was adopted by the active staff; but when the Society of Mercy and Benevolence became affiliated and absorbed into the Red Cross Society, the symbol was changed, and the conventional Geneva Red Cross, on a white ground, is now proudly worn by all the Japanese doctors and nurses. This symbol, however, varies slightly from that worn by Europeans. The cross is represented with longer and thinner arms, which extend to the selvages of the white band, which is about five inches wide, space being allowed for the Government War Office stamp to be displayed as well, in black ideographs, upon the white armlet. This armlet is very effective on the dark blue uniform of the nurses' outdoor or dress attire, together with the many medals with which the selected unit displayed during their sojourn among us in England, for many of those who were chosen had been under fire on battlefields, or had rendered special service in some way or other.

The War Office of Japan alone trains army nurses. The

reserves, after the hospitals have been sufficiently supplied with able units, may take up other hospital work, or enter on private cases, in time of peace. But they are bound to remain under the entire control of the War Office, and for the term of fifteen years, to serve whenever required. All the staff must each have received at least three years' good training before being considered eligible for service. Added to these rules, each female nurse must have been through, and thoroughly completed the regular course of the Girls' High Schools in Japan.

When the numerous Red Cross hospitals throughout the country are not occupied (that is to say, housing the wounded soldiers and sailors), they are used as free hospitals for the poor, with the exception of those wards reserved for officers; but these are available on payment of a small fee for those who can afford the outlay. Beside numerous hospitals on land, there are two hospital ships belonging to the Red Cross Society. These, however, can be, and are generally, hired in time of peace as passenger steamers.

The Red Cross organization and work, it will therefore be seen, is good and extensive. But the foregoing information does not cover its extent: Besides the affiliation of the *Hakuaisha*, there is yet another auxiliary force at command, which is called the "Ladies' Association of Volunteer Nurses." This excellent association has placed its services, and is, under the control of the Red Cross Society, as far as completeness goes, though individual committees carry out the business. Its members are invited to join from all classes and provinces. They have to train for the term of two years, and when qualified they bind themselves to be ready for any emergency, to work among, and for, the wounded and disabled. All the work that the Red Cross Society and her sister societies have undertaken has been prompted, firstly, by strong intuitive traits of humanity, and secondly, by the deepest feelings of devotion and loyalty to the rulers of their beloved land.

So great is the desire to exalt their new-born empire in the eyes of mankind, that this humane corporate body ten years ago numbered 1,127,111 members, 369 surgeons, 171 dispensers, 2,874 female nurses, 1,544 male nurses, and 176 business officials*. It is now calculated that one in every forty-five Japanese belongs to the Red Cross Society! These statistics speak of the grand unity of thought, work, and desire that animates the nation. With this statement before us it cannot justly be said that Japan is indifferent to the sufferings of humanity, or to the distress of her soldiers and sailors who are called upon from time to time to make great sacrifices, or to even lay down their lives for their Emperor, their brethren, and their country. The one strong test above all others that is raising this nation in the esteem of the world, is that oneness and concord that exists, and grows, and finds fruition on occasions of vital concern and national anxiety.

Of later years vast fields of discovery have been ploughed in the prosecution of medical and surgical science. The subject of sanitation, particularly for the troops, has been thoroughly dealt with, with good results, diminishing the fearful epidemics of the past. Small-pox, which ravaged villages to an enormous extent, since the adoption of vaccination has wonderfully decreased, and the name of Dr. Jenner has called forth the deepest reverence. I believe I am right in stating that a statue to the memory of this discoverer adorns Japan at the present day. When we remember the prohibition and strict rules that were placed on the importation of foreign books to Japan on many vital subjects, particularly Dutch literature on the study of medicine and medical treatment of the West, less than a century ago, we may indeed rejoice that the "Era of Enlightenment" came to Japan in our own day. Vaccination was first *attempted* in Japan by a physician named Otsuki in the year 1830.†

* "Fifty Years of New Japan," vol. ii., p. 319. Compiled by Count Okuma, 1909.

† See Transactions Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. xli., part iii.

Foreign members who are in sympathy with this great organization in the Orient are sure to find a hearty welcome, and those who can join will strengthen the allied brotherhood and sisterhood between the West and Far East at this momentous crisis of the world's history. Universal work of this kind was never more needed than it is to-day, now.

The entrance of units of the Japanese Red Cross Association into Europe was so quietly and unobtrusively organized that for some time their presence among us was hardly known. This emphasizes the fact that many do not realize how much the Japanese are working for their allies, in other ways than by sending munitions to Russia; guarding our ships in far Asian waters; and protecting the Trans-Siberian Railway.

It was pleasant to watch the nurses of the Japanese Relief Corps in our British Red Cross Hospital at Netley, Southampton, England, ministering to the wants of the wounded. They were, indeed, a band of brave, lovable, womanly women. They always showed a happy and smiling countenance. Their touch was marvellous—so light, so true, so eminently gentle—a touch that can be compared to the flutter of some light material stirred by a summer breeze, or the hovering of a butterfly over the grass. Yet there is wonderful strength in their well-trained fingers—that curious, subtle tension that lies latent in the hand of the Oriental. Their digits are long and pliant, ever holding in restraint an almost metallic power. There was not one sad face among the unit except a little maiden, who, taking me into her confidence, said as she clasped my hand: "I like England, and I like you all, but I do not like your language. It is so different to our own, and oh! so difficult to learn."

The uniform of this community differs somewhat from that worn by our own nurses when on duty. It is principally white, with a curious crown-shaped headgear which is decidedly becoming to the wearer.

On one occasion, when we had the pleasure of entertaining a contingent at our home in the New Forest, they alighted from the motors like a bevy of birds, and fluttered over the sunny slopes of our hillside grounds like swallows, in their dark blue and white dress uniforms. Kodak in hand, each eagerly sought to secure a sun-shadow of an afternoon which evidently gave the guests much pleasure, for they were anxious to take back many records of that day to their far, far land. The brief friendship was productive of much happiness on either side, and has left a memory that will never fade.

The staff that composed the Japanese Red Cross Relief Corps, stationed at the British Red Cross Hospital, Netley, was drawn from various centres. Some of the nurses were from the main hospital at Tokio. Their names were Miss Yamamoto, Miss Hisayasu, Miss Miyahara, Miss Kotaki, Miss Amano, Miss Matsuda, Miss Oshikiri, and Miss Kamyō and others. The rest were recruited from different centres—namely, Miss Iwata, (Shizuoka), Miss Hosoya (Shanghai, China), Miss Katsuda (Takamatsu), Mrs Murata (Fukushima), Miss Nishiyama (Miye), Mrs Hirose (Miyazaki), Miss Kasai (Yamanashi), Miss Ono (Oida), Miss Kondo (Yehime), Miss Kasama (Fukushima), Miss Ogasawara (Aichi), and Miss Osaka from Akita. All of these graduated at the training school of the Japanese Red Cross Society. When recruited for active service for Europe, they were discharging their respective duties either at the main hospital or at those places where branch hospitals exist. Many are decorated with medals for services rendered since the outbreak of hostilities since 1894 between China and Japan, Russia and Japan (1905) and during the Boxer Rebellion. They were all highly qualified for the favour of selection bestowed upon them. Beyond the nurses mentioned, the unit was controlled by a matron and a head-nurse. The matron, Miss Yamamoto, had served through the three above-mentioned campaigns, and had received the seventh grade order of merit, also a medal from the French Government. Miss Kiyo ōki, the second head nurse, had also received the same order of merit.

Dr. Suzuki, under whose charge the unit was placed, had received many decorations—among others "The Order of the Rising Sun," "The Order of the Golden Kite," etc. These were for recognition of his former services as surgeon and surgeon-inspector, as well as for other valuable services to his Government. Surgeon D. Tsuneyoshi Oshima had graduated from the Imperial University, Kyoto, and had completed his curriculum in Germany.

The interpreter, Mr. Naotaro Otsuka, had received his education from private as well as public schools, not only in Japan, but in the United States of America, and especially in Chicago. He had studied in mission schools and had taught in the theological seminary of the Church of Christ

until his appointment as interpreter on November 28, 1914, to accompany the Japanese Red Cross Relief Corps to England. He could both speak and write English well.

Mr. M. Kuwabara, the secretary and treasurer, graduated at the School of Foreign Languages. He became a master in the High Schools, and finally received his appointment to the Relief Corps sent to this country.

We have lost our staff of happy nurses. On December 15, 1915, T.M.'s King George and Queen Mary were pleased to give them an audience. On January 22, 1916, much to the regret of those who made their acquaintance, and still more deeply missed by all with whom they were associated either as fellow-workers, patients, or inmates of the well-organized wards of the British Red Cross Hospital, the farewell to this bright band of Orientals was touching in the extreme.

Although the symbol of the Red Cross has not been universally adopted as a religious emblem—save for the innate reverence it inspires—it denotes that Christian virtues of mercy and love have been recognized and displayed instinctively by reason of its sign manual. Nevertheless Christians are numbered in this community. Dr. Suzuki, giving an address during his sojourn in England, wound up his remarks with these significant words: "We hitch on our waggon to the Star of Bethlehem, and we will follow you in the work of humanity in the name of the Prince of Peace!"

[I am indebted to some of the members of this Japanese Red Cross Relief Corps for the principal information contained in this monograph, especially to Dr. Suzuki and Mr. N. Otsuka, interpreter, who placed both printed rules and manuscripts at my service, with the kindly courtesy invariably afforded to me by the Japanese.—C. M. S.]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

A FORGOTTEN PAGE OF INDIAN HISTORY

BY SIR FREDERIC S. P. LELY, K.C.L.E., C.S.I.

It may be said that most of the papers read in these rooms contain criticism of the present or aspiration for the future. I wish to lay before you a reminiscence which, too, may have its lessons.

It concerns one of the many Native States of India, which under their own Chiefs, and with the supervision and support of the British Government, may be fairly described, most of them, as "happy families." In this case the Raja possessed powers of life and death over his own subjects, and was entitled to a salute of eleven guns. He passed away many years ago, together with all his generation, and therefore I may speak of him more freely than otherwise I could or would. As a man he was not without virtues, but as an absolute ruler he was open to much criticism. Some years before my story begins, his eldest son, whom he had left in charge of affairs during his prolonged absence on a pilgrimage, fell under the influence of an evil associate, who encouraged him in the habit of drinking to such excess as to bring about his death. The father on his return, in his anger and grief, without judge or jury, caused the nose and ears of the man who had thus ruined his son to be cut off, in consequence of which the wretched fellow threw himself out of the window and killed himself. Upon this the Government of India deprived the Raja of his powers of

life and death, and, what perhaps grieved him more, of his salute of guns. Both he and a number of sympathizers always maintained that he had shown much lenity in only ordering the man to be mutilated, and that the action of the paramount power was too severe. Anyhow, the indiscretion was never repeated, and he might have lived out his life in peace but for his overpowering desire, in his later years, to save money. He would pay neither the salaries of his officials nor the bills of his tradesmen. It is only fair to say that the former did not suffer much thereby, for the nominal pay of a policeman was only 2½ rupees per month, of a police officer only 5 rupees, and so on in like proportion. They had to look elsewhere—*i.e.*, to the pockets of the people—for their daily expenses, and for making up the money they had paid for their places.

Every year the political officer representing the British Government would come round and trouble the waters with new-fangled advice, as, for example, to provide roads and schools, or at least to establish some sort of municipal administration in the capital town, for cleaning and lighting the streets. On one of these occasions His Highness was moved to do something. He set up lamp-posts on the chief roads, and imposed a house-tax to pay for them. After the British officer's departure they were returned into store for use on his next visit. The only permanent "reform" was the house-tax, which was paid into the Raja's treasury. The next annual tour occurred after a season of short rainfall, and disclosed much distress and destitution among the peasantry. "Would not His Highness follow the lead of all humane Governments, and adopt measures of relief?" Again His Highness listened with all politeness. It was a visitation of God, this coming of the political officer, as well as the drought, which could not be evaded, and must be temporized with for another year, at the least possible expense. A famine policy the State should have, combining the methods of East and West, and orders were sent round to the local shopkeepers to feed needy

people as specified in appended lists, but nothing was said or done about payment of the bills. A Forest Department, to re-cover the denuded hills, had a similar genesis, but its one achievement was a schedule of charges for cutting every tree. At last came signs of overt trouble. A village in the south was sacked in August, 1885, and another within sight of the capital was sacked in March, 1886, the raiders in both cases getting clear with their booty, without any effective attempt to hunt them down. A local tribe who had their own differences with the Raja about the tenure of their land, and had for years refused to pay taxes, were on the brink of revolt, and, being good fighters, had everything at their mercy. The Muhammadans were getting restless over the refusal of the Raja to let them add minarets to their mosque. These and other elements of danger forced the paramount power, responsible in the last resort for the good government of India, to intervene, and in April, 1886, they temporarily deposed the Raja, and sent one of their own officers to establish a new order in the State. His instructions were to keep steadily in view the fact that the young heir of the Raja was to succeed him on his death ; to make no change unnecessarily ; and to preserve intact the just rights and powers of the ruling house.

I hope I have not created too grave a prejudice against the old gentleman by telling of his differences with his son's evil friend. His action was wrong, even brutal, but of what might any of us be capable after thirty years of absolute power over our fellows in a back garden of the Empire, unchecked by contact with the outer world ? Who can say ? He himself was not without friends, especially among those of his neighbours who were not his subjects. Was he not part of the system of things ? He was by destiny a Raja ; and though his ways were very inconvenient to some, they were not essentially more so than those of Providence in sending pestilence or famine. Individually there was much in him to attract. He had

always been a clean liver. There had been no domestic scandals in his time, of the kind only too frequent in some of the petty courts. Though he grudged the workman his hire, he never stinted in what the world he lived in regarded as the main duties of religion. No pilgrim on his way to a holy shrine ever passed his doors without a welcome and food. His accounts showed an average of 450 free meals per day to these people. Three thousand rupees per annum was spent by him on that most meritorious of actions : feeding ownerless dogs. Every morning at his usual hour he might be seen, dressed in simple white and the turban of the Grassias—surely the most graceful headgear in the world—wending his way on his pony to the family temple outside the walls. At home he was open to callers in his reception-room, unadorned and unfurnished except for a drugget and a chair for anyone whose position entitled him to the honour, and who was sufficiently modern to prefer one to a more natural seat on the floor. To this was added the courtesy of a seigneur, the capacity to make and enjoy a joke, and suffused over it all a genial tolerance. As he never blamed himself for his misfortunes, so he never blamed anyone else. We were all the puppets of Destiny, and why vex oneself to resist or even protest ? It was no credit to the British officer that from first to last the two were good friends.

It took longer to arrive at an understanding with the people. Notwithstanding their grievances, they did not welcome the new Administrator with open arms. They saw the régime to which they had been accustomed all their lives suddenly broken down. They saw the Raja, whom at any rate they knew, replaced by a stranger of whom they knew nothing. Their feeling was naturally not of relief, but rather of bewilderment. They wondered what was going to happen next. Fortunately, several incidents happened in those early days which greatly helped to create confidence. I will mention only two. The first

was held to be convincing proof of what carries great weight with the masses of India—that the Administrator was lucky. One of his first activities was digging wells—wells for plantations of cocoanut and other trees, wells on the roadsides for the use of travellers. From the earliest history this has been held in India to be the duty of a ruler, but it is not free from risk. Water may not be struck at a convenient depth, or it may be scanty, or the quality may be bad. It happened at this time that in every single well that was dug there was found a plentiful supply of sweet water within fifty feet of the surface. It was clear to the popular mind that so far, at any rate, the Administrator enjoyed the favour of the gods. In the second instance he scored a point which was still more undeserved. The chief means of reaching the metropolitan city of Bombay was a coasting steamer which called twice a week. One evening a number of passengers waited as usual on the quay ready to go on board, but to their disappointment she whistled and went on without stopping. The reason doubtless was that she was already overloaded. She was never seen again, being capsized in a storm that night, and carrying to the bottom 1,100 passengers, including many young men who were on their way to Bombay for University examination. The report went abroad that the Administrator, foreseeing the storm, had forbidden her to call, and so had saved the lives of the whole local contingent. How the story arose I do not know, for there was not a word of truth in it.

The Raja's passion for saving had one result which was very convenient. There was a large cash reserve in the Treasury cellars: bars of gold, ingots of silver, dollars of many countries, embedded in mounds of koris—i.e., the local coinage, minted under the eye of His Highness himself, and therefore, you may be sure, containing no more silver than was necessary to save appearances. Many of them had lain so long that the original bags had rotted, and the tiny lumps of metal lay

like heaps of wheat in a granary, to be shortly transmuted—after paying outstanding claims—into roads, bridges, public buildings, and a railway. Nor was the hoard only in cash. The land revenue was paid largely in kind, the State share of grain and cotton being sold directly from the threshing-floor to merchants, if prices were satisfactory. If not, the villagers were made to cart it (without pay) into the capital, where it was stored in any private house that happened to be empty, on the understanding that, when (if ever) it was sold, the buyer was to pay the rent for the period of occupation at the reduced rate of ten annas per rupee. No less than seventy-six buildings were found filled with grain in every stage of decomposition. Some of the lower strata had lain for so long as to become a solid conglomerate. The only course was to sell the small part that was wholesome, to burn the rest, and to restore the house to its owner, paying him the full arrears of rent. The rumour went through the country that the stuff had been thrown into the sea and had set up a disease among the fishes.

By its ancient custom the State took its share of the produce of the land by actually dividing it in the field, or on the threshing-floor, and carrying it away. This was done in one of two ways. According to one method (called "Dhal"), the standing crop was inspected and valued by a committee. The amount of the estimated outturn being thus settled, the cultivator was held responsible for delivering the quantity which was due to the State. For instance, if a crop of grain were assessed at 100 bushels, and the share of the State were one-fifth, he would have to pay twenty bushels to the official. Under the other system ("Mankhal"), the crops were cut, carried, and threshed, and then measured out. By "Dhal" the State was protected against loss by extensive pilfering of the crop while it was still in the field, but on the other hand were two grave objections. One was the vitiation of the committee's estimate by bias or bad judgment. The other was that the cultivator was

enabled to palm off in the State quota the refuse of the crop. The unjust steward was not only able to say, "Take thy bill, and instead of a hundred measures of wheat write down eighty," but also, "Put into your eighty measures your inferior and damaged grain, and I will pass it." So well was this understood that the price obtained from dealers in the auction of the State share in a "Dhal" village was much below the bids in a "Mankhal" village. For these reasons the "Mankhal" system was generally adopted, under which the whole is brought to the threshing-floor and divided.

Near every village is the threshing-floor—an enclosure surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, and here is a busy time at harvest. Cart after cart rolls in and unloads each cultivator's crop on the section of ground allotted to him. A little later patient bullocks are circling round and round, treading out the corn. Mounted on high three-legged stools men winnow out the chaff by shaking it in the wind from wicker trays. After all is done, we see the floor of beaten mud well swept and covered with conical heaps of grain and cotton, like a collection of magnified molehills, waiting till it be the pleasure of the State official to attend to make the division.

In every man's section stands the cot on which he sleeps, keeping watch and ward, by night and day, over the fruit of his year's toil, just as Boaz did 3,000 years ago. Perhaps the only important detail added in the lapse of time is the tall hookah standing by, ready for an occasional whiff. Early one morning, at last the great man arrives. He is accompanied by his own orderlies, by the village headman, who is supposed to look after the interests of the cultivators, and by a swarm of underlings, ready to give a hand to help, but chiefly intent on the "handfuls" or "lapfuls" which they are severally able to get. In no two villages is the practice precisely the same, but over all presides unwritten custom, a force which in this atmosphere is the subject's panacea. We will suppose the

crop to have been grown by natural rainfall (a "sky-crop"); if raised by irrigation, involving more capital and labour, the cultivator of course gets a larger share. First of all, the piety of the Raja may have secured to some favoured temple an assignment of, say, 2 per cent. of the whole outturn. Then a heap is set aside for miscellaneous charges, firstly for village expenses, such as the entertainment of State officials and other guests, the ministry of local gods, and so on. Secondly comes the turn of the village servants—the carpenter, the potter, the scavenger, the watchman, and others, each getting a "handful," the size of which is more or less according to the humour of the headman. Lastly follows a number of small perquisites—for the Raja's cook, his mace-bearer, his tom-tom players, his touring expenses, his son's pocket-money, his temple at Benares. They were never all taken in the same village, and depended in practice on the endurance of the cultivator. Sometimes a special "benevolence" would be exacted for, say, a marriage in the Raja's family or other expensive event. This was called in popular talk "a jump" or "a slap in the face." After all such minor claims had been disposed of, the remainder of the crop would be divided into three equal heaps, of which the State took one and the cultivator two. In addition, a money tax was taken, usually on every pair of oxen. The rate varied according to caste, the standard being reduced to half or three-quarters for a Brahmin and multiplied by two or three for the least favoured.

Under the British Government and in some of the more advanced Native States, the crop share is replaced by a fixed cash rental. Even in British territory, there are some writers who look back with regret on the "good old days," when the landlord and cultivator shared with each other the kindly fruits of the earth, when they suffered together if the harvest was bad, and rejoiced together if it was good, without the intervention of cash accounts and dates of payment. On the other hand, the levy of a

uniform share of the gross produce falls very unevenly on poor land as compared with good land. Five bushels out of a crop of twenty may be supportable, because it still leaves fifteen for the cultivator; but one and a quarter out of five leaves only three and three-quarters, which may be less than a bare living. Under the cash system the demand runs down to twopence an acre, and for land under reclamation to nothing at all. Again, it is argued, if the State share of grain is levied in kind and part of it stored in granaries, it will form a reserve against times of famine. The suggestion is plausible, but will not bear examination. Theoretically it is bad finance to hoard up the surplus revenue of the year as so much dead weight instead of investing it in reproductive and preventive works. Practically it is impossible for a State department to keep large quantities (and the quantities must be large to be of use in a famine) free from rats, weevil, and the damp of the rainy season. That can only be done by the personal care of private dealers holding moderate stocks. There is no doubt that the collection of a fixed cash rent with frigid punctuality and exactness jars with the easy-going nature of the people, and would partly account for the sense of aloofness and hardness of the British Government of which Indians are conscious. The wise policy of Lord Curzon has much eased the tension by providing for automatic suspension and remission in times of scarcity. For instance, I have recently heard from Gujerat that, the crop in some parts this year being only 50 per cent. of an average, the demand has been at once reduced in that proportion.

Practical inquiry into the crop-sharing system showed it to be intolerable under lax supervision to any but the most docile of people. It has already been seen how the palace servants swarmed out at harvest, and it was nothing unusual to see one of them returning to the capital with a cartload of plunder. It was in the power of the higher official to keep the crop lying on the

ground and spoiling until it suited his pleasure to attend. This was specially injurious to cotton, of which there were three separate pickings in the season, but never more than one division. Consequently it was often too late for export before the rains began, and always discoloured, and so depreciated in value. It may be mentioned, by the way, that in two villages where there had been a dispute over an extra cess the cultivation of cotton had been forbidden altogether for the past seven or eight years.

On the whole, the right conclusion seemed to be that the crop-sharing system is impossible in a large territory without an army of inspectors and incessant strain to prevent slackness and peculation, but that in a small State, which could easily be brought under personal supervision, there was no pressing need for changing the ancient custom. If the modern spirit should some day demand it, it would be better left to the Raja when he again came into his own. Meantime the old officials and the people, village by village, were called into council. The shares and all reasonable perquisites on the threshing-floor were defined and recorded, all other "handfuls" and "lapfuls" being made illegal. Carting into the capital, when required for the Raja, was to be paid for at fair rates. A simple form of accounts was introduced. All the produce not wanted for the Raja's use was to be sold by auction straight from the village. Above all, the officials superintending the division of the crops were strictly bound to make their tours promptly to time, and to report the dates to headquarters. Subject to these precautions, the collection of the land revenue was left in its old groove.

In some cases the old system was perforce abandoned. Sugar-cane was cut and brought in bundles to the mill, where it was crushed, and the juice boiled and drawn off into pots before it was ready for measurement. This involved long and vexatious supervision, besides frequent disputes about quality, and therefore it was arranged to

average the share and commute it into a permanent money demand. Even this had a distinct advantage in the eyes of the cultivator, for sugar-cane is a two-years crop, and therefore he only paid in the second year, when it was ready. Vegetables paid cash only per acre even under the Raja, and to them was now added tobacco, owing to the time and room required for curing. Millet was grown in these parts for the sake of its straw only, and a general grievance was that cutting was not allowed at its most valuable stage—*i.e.*, before earing. This would have left nothing to the State, whose rights were by custom confined to the grain. The Raja characteristically solved the difficulty by forbidding altogether the cultivation of millet, but it was now arranged to take only a cash rent upon it.

The Raja had many other sources of revenue, some of them patriarchal. Roving camel breeders had the run of the country, unenclosed as it was, in return for a tribute of one young animal a year from every herd. Roving graziers had the same liberty for 14½ koris (about 3 rupees) per flock. All inhabitants were liable to free service for the State, and they also paid a tax in cash according to their caste and occupation. As an example we may take the potters. In the villages they paid 2 to 3 koris per wheel, besides having to supply their wares to travelling officials without payment. In the capital they paid no money tax, but they had to supply 110,000 tiles per annum free for State use, and any additional number required at 3 koris per thousand, the market rate being 6 to 7 koris. They also had to supply gratis all vessels demanded for the Raja's household, State servants, and public departments generally. Oil-pressers, again, though edible oil was all-important to a vegetarian people, were under a special ban, as their work involved the impious destruction of animal life. They were forbidden to follow their calling altogether during the four months of the rainy season, when insects abounded and would be crushed in the mill. For the rest of the year, 6 koris per

month, about 25 per cent. of their average earnings, was levied.

Besides the money tax on industries, a sample of the produce was also taken. A faggot from every headload of firewood, an armful from every load of grass entering a town or village. A resident grazier paid $14\frac{1}{2}$ koris, and also, yearly, one sheep from each flock, a quarter-seer of wool per sheep, and half a kori per maund of wool sheared. In distant parts there was added a butter tax, in lieu of supplying the Raja's household with free butter. The weaver paid, besides his money tax, 9 cubits of cloth per annum. The tanner, a dressed hide, and with it a special sum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ koris, which represented the cost of purifying the hide with Ganges water before the Raja's high-caste servants could touch it. A villager, after he ceased to live in his house, retained no right either over the site or over the materials except the door, which he was allowed to carry away if he chose. Perhaps this curious usage was based on a fiction that the State allowed the building, but did not recognize the fixing of the door, as it completed adverse possession. It enabled the occupant to shut out all the world, including the Raja, and therefore was not sanctioned.

Sales and mortgages were only valid with the Raja's sanction, which was given on payment of 25 per cent. of the price and $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the sum lent. A curious rule was that, if a party sold land or houses, any outsider might come forward before sanction and claim the property at an enhanced price, the extra money being payable to the State. Evidently the Raja believed in his own right to "unearned increment."

For a marriage, $11\frac{3}{4}$ koris were paid by the bridegroom, $5\frac{1}{4}$ by the bride, and 22 on the wedding procession. Moreover, no one might use on such occasions other horses, carriages, or musicians, than the Raja's, which were lent on payment.

Raw cotton was regarded as a fair target. Half of the

whole crop was first of all taken as land rent, and the cultivator's half was seldom set free by the officials until the export season was nearly at an end. The village gin paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ koris per annum. The collector of land customs charged 3 koris per bale for home-grown staple, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ if grown elsewhere. Arrived at the port, it was taxed on being pressed, on being stamped, on being warehoused during the rains, and finally the export duty was 10 koris. In the villages of two divisions (Mahals), a payment of 2 koris per bale was levied in the name of a deceased wife or daughter—I forget which—of the Raja's. To perpetuate the name of a departed worthy by a tax was at any rate original. To most of us it would seem a less happy memorial than even a London statue.

Such a system chafed the people less than we should expect; for it was at least human and homely, and their standard of life was very low, their civic sense stagnant or non-existent. Many harpies, as we have seen, swarmed on the cultivator; but, on the other hand, he had the chance of protecting himself by thieving, or bribery, or courting official favour, or, if all else failed, by passive resistance. This was more congenial to their temperament than the rigid and punctual enforcement by the British Government of a lighter demand. The Raja's right to forced labour was not accompanied by the groans and hard taskmasters which the phrase suggests. If the roof of a State building needed repair, the Superintendent of Police requisitioned the head of the potter caste for tiles, and the head of the carpenters or the sailors, as the case might be, for a daily relay of workmen. In the evening they would all adjourn to the State granary, where a day's ration per man would be served out all round. That would go on day after day, sometimes for months at a time, since it was to no one's particular interest to finish the work or to see that it was done. Men would take their turn, according to the roster of their caste, to go on the job, and they were fed—what else mattered?

Thus there was an old-world atmosphere which the

British districts, even of India, have partly grown out of. There was no competition, no hustling, no aspiration to higher things, no desire even to handle money, only a dull acceptance of custom, which alone they were concerned to defend. The town scavengers were content to be treated as the refuse of humanity, and to live on garbage, and not too much of that. They took an allowance of reasonable pay under the new régime without response of any kind, but when a new inspector somewhat hastily introduced long-handled brooms instead of their short-handled brushes for sweeping up, they rose in general strike. Their forefathers had always done the work squatting on their haunches, and nothing should induce them to do it standing up! Many of the lowest classes, who on account of their poverty were now exempted from the occupation tax, were not quite easy in their minds about it, for such a thing had never been done before, and they feared it might injure their status as subjects. Yet the little State had been brought to the extreme point of economic exhaustion. Three years of insufficient rainfall had been superadded, and it is hard to see how the large importation of necessities of life would have been paid for without the money now distributed in public works, and the lightening of public burden. The occupation tax, which had hitherto ranged from a month's wages, in case of the poorest, to total exemption of the influential merchant, was now readjusted according to income. Levies in kind, except the crop share, were all abolished. So also were the inland customs on goods leaving every village. Cotton was freed except from the export duty. Sales and mortgages were subjected only to a moderate stamp. The tax on marriages was retained. The ancient right of the Raja to demand personal service was preserved intact, but always with the condition of payment at current rates.

The secular conflict between the nomad grazier and the settled cultivator was very acute. Any wandering herd was allowed to roam where it chose after payment of

the Raja's fee, and bitter were the complaints of the people, who were powerless to defend their unfenced fields from invasions of these horned cattle and their sturdy owners. In more than one village four-fifths of the land had not been cultivated for years, owing, it was said, chiefly to the fear of these chartered trespassers, who were now taken in hand. The denuded face of the hills was enclosed for forest. In the hilly ground behind, unsuited for the plough, ten pasture villages were demarcated, every one with a large area reserved for common hay and grazing. All licensed residents were allowed to cut the grass on a portion of the area and store for use in the hot weather, and after a certain date to turn in their cattle to graze over the whole. Access to the agricultural plain below for purpose of grazing was forbidden.

The police force was reorganized on the basis of regular and sufficient pay, proper equipment, discipline, and promotion by merit, most of the old men being retained under a new Superintendent of character. The posts of Chief Judge and of Magistrates were filled by Indians who had been trained under the British Government. In the gaol under the old régime the prisoners were given nothing to do, and on the other hand no food. For that they had to look to relatives outside or to public charity. They were now put to work in the State gardens and properly fed. Arrears of public accounts, some of them reaching back for thirty years, were cleared off. Private persons were encouraged by liberal terms to dig wells and plant fruit-trees. Schools were started wherever the people agreed to provide a room. The whole State was surveyed and mapped, as also the marine roadstead.

Public offices were built at central places. Existing buildings were patched up as far as possible for hospitals and schools until more money should be forthcoming. The state of the roads may be inferred from the fact that only three spring vehicles were owned by private people, and they were drawn by bullocks. Two trunk roads were put in

hand, and at the northern approach to the capital a dangerous ford was replaced by a handsome bridge, or rather two bridges. A railway sixty miles long was constructed to connect the State with the continental system. A few results in the third year may be briefly noted. All serious crime against property had disappeared. The prisoners in the gaol fell from 114 to 35. The price of building land in the capital rose ninefold. The revenue of the State, despite the greatly reduced taxation, rose threefold.

How did these changes affect the people? At first their equilibrium was rather upset. No longer compelled to supply the State officials with food for nothing, they demurred sometimes to doing so on payment. Men whose houses had formerly been commandeered combined to refuse them on a fair rent to a police officer on the ground that he was a Christian, and to a railway officer on the ground that he was a Parsi. Some shopkeepers refused to supply materials for public works unless they were paid in advance. Such actions had little real meaning; they were only the antics of a people who very suddenly found themselves free. Like the women in the Panch Mahals who wear metal rings up to their knees, which at the husband's funeral pyre have to be taken off. A litter has to be provided to carry the lady home, for her legs, relieved all at once of the weight, fly up wildly until they get used to the new condition. As time went on there was reason to hope that the new spirit was taking root among the people. In the third year the Muhammadans who traded in the Persian Gulf, and were the only moneyed community in the State, came to the Administrator, and in effect they said: "Sir, we see a quickening all around us, and we want to share in it. We recognize that our children are not being educated so as to take their part in the modern world. We offer 10,000 rupees towards the cost of building a school, and we wish it to be managed by the State." It was a welcome sign with many others of an impulse set going outside the official circle—a desire for something

higher than daily rations — without which roads and railways, and even honest officials imposed by a foreign hand, would be a mere excrescence.

A word about caste. It is an integral part of the old system of native government, and the relations with it of a native chief are interesting. The British Government for obvious reasons ignore it, and thereby add a foreign flavour to their rule. In pre-British days the occupation taxes were imposed by the State in a lump on the caste, and distributed upon every individual by the leaders. Sir A. Lyall notes that the powers of readmitting into caste are held and used by some Rajas as a source of revenue, and to this day the authority of the chief is generally sought and given to exact a fine for such and such a breach of caste rules. Here the lower castes considered that the State under the new régime was abdicating its functions by standing aloof. Generally speaking, the Raja's practice had been to nominate the headman, who paid him a fee and held office until another offer of money was made by someone else. A quarter of every fine levied by the caste, and the penalty on all divorces, were also payable to the State. It was decided, on consideration, in the main to continue all this.

In course of time the Raja passed away, and power was restored to his heir, his grandson. The Native States of India are in the art of government what "small holdings" are in agriculture. Most of them are in point of size estates rather than territories, in which the chief, with his immediate agents, can supervise all that is going on, and act on the basis of personal knowledge. The British Government have large dominions extending far beyond the eyesight of any single man, and consequently have to guard against injustice and mistakes by elaborate machinery which is always rigid, and sometimes appears unhuman. The Western jurisconsult hails the transition from personal rule to law as an advance, but it is not at all certain that the primitive Indian accepts this view. The government

which exempts the Brahmin from taxation, and excludes the out-caste from civil rights, and freely exercises the "dispensing power" in hard cases, and generally "goes easy," is more congenial to him than cold impersonal rule, however just. I refer to the uneducated and half-educated masses. His indignation is not so much aroused by privilege or monopoly or arbitrary power, as by breach of custom, the chief political crime of which, to his mind, a ruler can be guilty. The placid contentment of the Native State is based upon personal loyalty to the chief, who is generally, though not always, of a long line, and who at least understands his people. Though despotic in name, he is sensitive to public opinion, or, rather, to any section of it influential enough to exercise pressure. I remember one of the most powerful of them taking precautions to conceal the killing of sheep for his own table, as it was forbidden during the annual holy season of the Jains. He was not a follower of the Jain creed himself, but he wished not to offend an important section of his subjects. The Englishman is neither more nor less determined to get his mutton, but acts openly, and so turns every Jain against him. The Raja, of course, failed to keep his secret; but the attempt was held to show respect for popular feeling, while the other shows disregard for it. It is open to argument which is the wiser, but there can be no question of the differing effect on the public mind, which sees nothing undignified in the conduct of the Raja. When all is said and done, the position of an Indian chief, secured as he is from enemies without and within, surrounded by a docile people upon whom he is free to impress his will, is to a humane and thoughtful man, as many of them are, as enviable as any in the world.

I may in closing mention one more episode, for it seems necessary to round off the story. After three years the time came for the Administrator to leave for other work. The hour of his departure became known, and the roads and fields were covered as far as the eyes

could reach. The whole countryside had come out to wish God-speed to the stranger who for three years had gone in and out among them, and, without any pretence to special ability, had done his best to give them a new life. Recognizing this, they forgot his mistakes, as is ever the way with the kindly and generous men and women of India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, February 21, 1916, at which a paper entitled "A Forgotten Page in Indian History," by Sir F. S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., was read. In the absence of the Chairman (Sir John Jardine, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.P.), the chair was taken by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Muir-Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Lady Lely, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Stormont Murphy, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. Gandell, Miss Gearon, Mr. and Mrs. Coghlan, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Bhola Nath, Mrs. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Mr. and Mrs. James Macdonald, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Irvine, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. C. E. Maurice, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. and Mrs. Milson, the Rev. D. G. Clarke, Miss Wade, Mrs. Jardine, Mr. C. R. Dubash, Mrs. Lely, Mr. K. Bhandari, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Mrs. Simpson, Mr. M. W. Hassanally, Miss Burton, Dr. and Mrs. Davidson, Mr. and Mrs. Harriott, Mr. and Miss Hallward, Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Sponagle, Miss Rosanna Powell, Mr. and Mrs. Frank de Monte, Miss Every, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Slater, Mrs. Grierson, Mrs. McCorkell, Mrs. and Miss Candy, Mrs. Drury, Miss Swainson, Mrs. Cowburn, Miss Rising, Mrs. White, Mrs. Clark-Kennedy, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. T. P. Guiry, Colonel Woolf, Mr. G. B. Reid, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. D. Nicholson, Mr. H. Wyatt, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. R. Jardine, Mrs. Davis, Mr. Robert Stephenson, Mrs. Sorabji, Mrs. H. B. Grigg, Mrs. Brecks, Mr. Sampuram Singh, Mrs. Collis, Dr. Berry, Mrs. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. C. Bunbury, Mr. G. Mansukhani, Mr. Eric Hope, Mr. W. Hawkins, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Miss Phillips, Mr. H. M. Bux, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Edmund Russell, Mr. Davidson Keith, Mrs. Jacob, Mrs. Prior, Colonel and Mrs. Burnside, Mr. H. Phipson, Mr. Lutas, Mr. W. Frank, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The HON. SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, I regret to say that I have just received this letter from our Chairman, Sir John Jardine, in which he writes: "I am sorry to say that a cold I had has become so bad to-day

that I am advised I must keep within doors and avoid trains. So I have to ask you to get a substitute for me as Chairman at the meeting of to-morrow. It is a great disappointment to me not to be there. A paper by a man of Sir S. P. Lely's great experience and knowledge of the people of India is sure to be followed by a good discussion and I was anxious to take some part, as I have had a good deal to do with Native States in Kathiawad and elsewhere. I hope my forced absence may not put you or the Association to any serious inconvenience.—(Signed) JOHN JARDINE."

Under these circumstances we shall not have the pleasure of seeing Sir John here this evening, but Sir Arundel T. Arundel has kindly consented to take the chair in his place.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I regret the necessity of having to take the chair owing to the absence of our hoped-for Chairman, Sir John Jardine, through ill-health. I have, however, the pleasant duty of introducing to the meeting my old friend Sir Frederick Lely, whom I first of all met in the Viceroy's Legislative Council a good many years ago. Sir Frederick rendered very notable and valuable services in Bombay, especially in the famine, and he closed his career while holding the high office of Chief Commissioner in the Central Provinces. I will now ask him to read the paper he has been so good as to give to this Association.

The SECRETARY: Before the lecturer begins I should like to read to the meeting a letter I have received from Sir George Birdwood, who hoped to be with us this afternoon. This is what he says: "Lely's paper—evidently autobiographical—is a gem—'of purest ray serene'—perfect to my heart's delight: and I am strongly moved to come up to hear it read: if only to bow to him and be refreshed by seeing Jardine and you again in mine own mortal body! There is only little of it left—on Thursday it was blown before wind here like a withered leaf—and I was only saved from a grievous fall by two dear old ladies rushing out of a shop and dragging me back into it! But to go back to Lely—if I don't appear by 4.30, at once post three copies of the paper to me for me to send to three very great and influential men—to all of whom I hope it will prove a valuable vade-mecum. It enforces my golden rule in regard to all proposals to revolutionize the traditional institutions of India. Why in the name of God can't you let them alone? Will the moral of the Edenic Tree of Knowledge never be learned in Europe? See what Western civilization has brought us to! Science is simply Satan's self.—(Signed) GEORGE BIRDWOOD."

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I almost wish that the Secretary had not read that letter from Sir George Birdwood, as I am afraid my paper will not come up to his expectations. However, I must do my best.

The paper was then read, being received with much applause at its conclusion.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are all very much indebted to the lecturer for his most interesting paper; it was, if I may say so, like a series of cinema films in which we have been introduced to all the details of village life in a Native State a generation ago. We could

almost see the daily life of these villagers as depicted in such close and sympathetic detail. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the old Raja himself, we can hardly restrain a lurking liking for him in spite of his misdeeds. I think that his idea of entirely concurring with the Political Officer that something must be done in the way of putting up lamp-posts for the benefit of the inhabitants, using them during an official visitation and then putting them away to be kept safely till the arrival of the next official visitor, showed a quiet sense of humour. The only permanent thing that remained for the inhabitants was the new house tax which the Raja imposed to pay for the lamp-post and similar amenities! Then, again, with reference to the famine, he was at once ready to do his best for his people, and the only defect in his administration was that he sent starving people to be fed, but did not himself meet the expense! He was punctilious in his religious observances, he acted according to his belief in feeding the poor pilgrims to the extent of an average of four hundred odd meals per day, and, in sympathy with the Jain tenets, provided for the feeding of ownerless dogs. We too have homes for ownerless dogs here in London! Now may I say a few words on the larger aspects of this "Forgotten Page of History." Last night I took up that very valuable book by the late Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghav-ay-ngar, entitled "Forty Years of British Rule in Madras," and he begins by giving a series of quotations from letters which were written home by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century describing the condition of things existing in South India at that time, and it was astonishing to read of the oppression which was suffered by the unfortunate people. There are some people who might object to going back into such details as the lecturer had given in his paper. Perhaps they would rather draw a veil over the past. It seems to me that this is a mistake; we cannot get on unless we can compare the present with the past in order to see what progress, if any, has been made. It is rather rash to quote poetry, but there is a little poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes which occurs to me, which is to be found, I think, in "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." It begins with a reference to a little insignificant shell, which gradually year by year grows into beauty as each last year's shell is rejected and thrown off, until the magnificent pearly nautilus is developed. It is equally applicable to States and Kingdoms as to individuals:

"Build thee more noble mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll.
Leave thy low-vaulted past.
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven by a dome more vast,
Till thou thyself art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea."

All good government should endeavour to help the State and the people to "leave their low-vaulted past," and to build the more "noble mansions" of justice, truth and benevolence, as the years roll by.

That is exactly what was done in the Raja's Kingdom by the work of the British Administrator, as described by Sir Frederick Lely this evening.

After all, what we want to do in India as in England by the progress of

administration, is to try and elevate the people in every possible way, and to endeavour to make the people themselves adopt a similar aim. It may be some people may object to this unveiling of the past, but we require all these details of history, or comparison fails. Where should we be if we were to leave out the whole of our past?

May I say once more, ladies and gentlemen, that we are extremely indebted to the lecturer for his admirable paper. I personally feel as though I had been taken right away from the present into the midst of the village life of that distant past.

MIRZA ABBAS ALI BAIG said that he had heard the lecture with great interest, and he thought he could guess the name of the State to which reference had been made, and also the name of the Administrator, although a very discreet veil had been drawn over both. At all events, we know the Administrator is here in this room. He, (the speaker), had been connected with a State adjoining this particular one alluded to in the paper. The Raja traced his descent from a monkey, although the family were not aware of the theory of Darwin, and had never heard the great scientist's name. In that respect they were, perhaps, wiser than the majority of us, but so far as the simple conditions of life which the lecturer had so humorously described were concerned, they resembled in some respects the primitive man untouched by the march of civilization. When British methods of administration were applied to those primitive conditions the improvement was quick and visible in a very short time. The administration in this case only lasted three years and yet the results achieved were astonishing. He had visited that State a long time afterwards, and was much struck by the clean and broad streets, the picturesque buildings, the excellent water supply, and the shady avenues of trees, the port improvements, and the general material prosperity of the people, of which evidences were everywhere visible. A practical lesson might be drawn from the paper. It was often said, that it was a great mistake to apply European methods of rule to Oriental conditions, especially to such conditions as prevailed in India. There was, he thought, still a large number of people who deprecated the application of Western methods to Indian administration, but the lecture supplied a very effective answer to them. Though that eminent stranger who went amongst an alien people had no ties of sympathy with them, and was looked upon at first with cold indifference, yet when he left that State they were ready to strew the streets with flowers for him, and to this day they blessed his name. He could not conclude his few remarks without also expressing his great appreciation of the extremely interesting speech the Chairman had made. (Hear, hear.)

SIR JOHN MUIR-MACKENZIE said that he had enjoyed the lecture very much indeed, and he thought it should appeal very greatly to everyone who was in any way connected with India. It had also been very gratifying to him to hear Mr. Abbas Ali Baig expressing his appreciation of the value of British administration of Native States. He had always thought that even more wonderful than the establishment of British rule in India had been the establishment of that wonderful understanding with the

Native States; at the same time as they had to back up the Native States the Government undertook a certain responsibility for the administration. In some cases—such as the case referred to in the paper—it was impossible to allow the Raja to continue, without interference, his rule, and some method had to be devised for carrying on that rule for the time being. As he understood the matter, the British Government at first thought there was no way out of the difficulty but to abolish the Native State and take it over completely. That, if not one of the causes of the Mutiny, was at any rate regarded as one of the reasons for some considerable misunderstanding throughout India. The Government then went to the other extreme by promising to sanction adoptions, but that came to be accompanied with a system of interference in cases of gross maladministration. The only thing, however, that made the possibility of such interference tolerable to the Chiefs in India were those instances of splendid good faith such as had been given in those cases of the restoration of a Native State to its Native Ruler after an administration by the British Government, in some cases of as long as fifty and sixty years, as, for instance, that of Mysore. Could they imagine the German Government, for instance, doing such a thing? They could not imagine another Government on the face of the earth doing that. As a matter of fact it was really a question of whether our own Government ought to have done it. It was done solely for the sake of the benefit of the ruling house, and the people had not generally been consulted. In one recent case, where the rectification of frontiers involved the handing over of certain villages to the Nizam, Lord Curzon's Government refused to rectify the frontier, because the people of the British villages disliked being handed over.

Mr. SYUD HOSSAIN said that he almost wished he had remembered another engagement, as some of those who had been called upon to speak before had done. Still, he was glad of the opportunity of adding a few words to the appreciation which had already been expressed of Sir Frederick Lely's very interesting lecture. As he sat listening to the paper, quite apart from the actual narrative that had been presented, he found his thoughts running to other matters arising out of it. For one thing he thought the lecture afforded a very conclusive proof of the extraordinary power for good which the British administrator in India possessed. He did not think that any serious student of Indian administration could possibly miss knowing, no matter which part of the country might be taken into consideration, instances of that kind of really beneficent administration on the part of British officers in the interests of the people committed to their charge, and he knew from his own experience and knowledge, as in the case of this particular administrator—and they would all like to keep up the anonymity, more especially as it was so unnecessary!—that in every other part of India there were names and memories of British officers which were cherished to this day. It must be borne in mind that just as that maximum power for good lies in that kind of absolute, and uncontrolled and almost autocratic power, the inevitable corollary was, he supposed, that it was occasionally possible that

the same power might lend itself to results which were not nearly as wholesome as those which had been described to-day. Unfortunately, in the history of British administration, such instances had figured. None the less, however much one might deplore that, the fact remained that important reforms had been for the most part made possible by the devoted life-work of a band of men, who, in spite of the occasional eccentricities and wrong-headedness of some of them, had brought a single-minded devotion to the work with which they had been entrusted; and if some day India found herself in a position to properly appraise their services he thought she would not be found wanting in gratitude to those men.

A very interesting point had been raised by the Chairman in regard to the alleged views of some people that details of past conditions of the kind described to-day would be better left alone. He could hardly understand what kind of individuals those might be who were anxious, as had been suggested, that books of history should remain closed, and that historical particulars should not be cited at all. Personally, so far from having any wish for any chapter of Indian history to be kept unopened, he had always complained that they did not know enough of the past history of India at the present day, and it almost looked as if there had been a kind of systematic principle followed to preclude any knowledge of the history of India from the educational system of this country. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge prescribed any compulsory course for the study of Indian history, and the record of the other universities was, he believed, no better. The result was shown in the colossal ignorance of all things Indian which one found on every hand. That was not all, because side by side with the general ignoring of Indian history one found a peculiar school of historians growing up which claimed to lay before a European audience the facts of Indian history. It was too late to go into details, but as a general statement he would like to say—making the fullest acknowledgment to certain well-known exceptions—that the majority of so-called histories of India produced under British auspices lacked a correct and unbiassed grasp of the facts and tendencies underlying the whole movement of things in India. They lacked perspective no less than principle. He was, however, glad to say that there was a gradual recognition of that on all sides, and he believed there was a new school of historians growing up who were trying to make amends.

One or two things should clearly be borne in mind; it was, of course, an axiom that one of the essentials in history was perspective. Sweeping generalizations should not be evolved on the basis of important and interesting papers like the one they had listened to. Such chapters did not make up the history of India; they were only fragments. The history of India—even British India—represented a very much larger volume than could possibly be made up by such fragments. Then again some measure of precaution was necessary in judging of old conditions of things by new, up-to-date and foreign standards. In order to arrive at a correct appraisal contemporary standards had to be constantly kept in view. The past of India, as in the case of other countries, could only be faithfully mirrored in the environment of the past.

The kind of work, however, described in the paper was work for which no educated Indian had anything but the deepest appreciation, and he did not think there would be two opinions as to the desirability of its continuation in India. They could not have too much of the spirit of sympathy, the integrity and the administrative competence so finely embodied in the administrator of Sir Frederick Lely's narrative (Hear, hear)

Mr COLDSTREAM, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman, said that it needed no words of his to emphasize for the meeting their appreciation of the lecture. With regard to the question of the possibility of keeping grain stored in large quantities against famine years, he had himself seen enormous stacks of grain which had been kept for years as security against years of famine, and, so far as he knew it kept very well. Then with regard to the remark of the lecturer that the lot of an Indian ruler was often one as enviable as any in the world, he would like to say that the lot of the British Political Officer, or temporary administrator, was also one of the most enviable offices in the world. One could not help feeling sorry, in a way, that all those old-time conditions were disappearing, and he thought it would be hardly possible in India to day to find such a picture as the lecturer had given them in his paper.

Mr KEITH (of Edinburgh), in seconding the vote of thanks, said that even the agriculturists in *this* country were not more ready to change their old-time methods than they had been in India, and the people also found that taxes put on here were not more readily taken off than they were in India! He understood that it was proposed to call a conference of very important people in this country and from the Dominions, to try and formulate a scheme for dealing with Imperial concerns, apart altogether from National concerns, and he wished to ask the Association to consider how India could come into this forthcoming conference, and what voice India should have in that Imperial legislation, because it was quite certain there would be many changes after the war was over.

The vote on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously, the Chairman expressing his thanks for their appreciation of himself and the lecturer.

The proceedings then terminated

Sir John Jardine writes to say that had he been able to preside he would have spoken as follows: "I would introduce the reader of this paper, Sir Frederick Lely, to those who have not served in India, and are not acquainted with his career and work, as one of those Civil Servants who, after much experience in earlier years of rural life in British India and the Native States, was picked out by the Viceroy to administer one of our Indian Provinces. I have read the paper. You will recognize amid its picturesque and humorous points the trained sagacity of the statesman, the genial statesman too, who sees much that is good in the old ways, who follows Francis Bacon in his dislike to meddle with law-abiding sub-

jects in regard to religion or their customs or means of life. I may add, before the discussion begins, that I agree with Sir Frederick in what he says about levy of land assessments, the waste that occurs where the crops have to be brought to the village grain-yards, as happened in my time in some of the Kathiawad States, and the advantage of following custom in the villages. Lawyers here will remember that custom was the life of copyhold and of nearly all the law our manorial Court-Leets, and Court-Barons used to dispense. The impression left on my mind after thinking over the paper is that the manager of this State attained better results in preserving the village rights in such things as commons and in keeping up the village community, than were attained in this country under the policy of enclosing all the intermixed arable fields and waste commons, which in the last century has obliterated the system which prevailed from before the Norman Conquest."

THE STUDY OF SEMITIC ORIENTALISM DURING THE WAR (1914—1915) AND FRENCH ISLAM*

BY PROFESSOR EDOUARD MONTET
(Geneva University)

THE War, as will easily be understood, has caused a cessation of publications dealing with Orientalism. The cause of this suspension of a highly specialized class of work lies partly in the fact that a very large number of students who deal with this side of study have gone to the front, or are doing some sort of work connected with the army of their country. But if the subject is looked at generally, it is clear that the war has cast into the background everything which is not in direct contact with it, or at any rate closely bound up with it. Oriental studies were bound to be the particular sufferers, because, as Renan was so fond of repeating, they are the most disinterested, or in other words, the least utilitarian.

In 1914, before the outbreak of war, a certain number of publications dealing with Oriental matters appeared. These will be reserved for consideration on another occasion. In this article those only will be mentioned which have appeared during the war period, that is to say between August, 1914, and December, 1915. These publications are very few in number, and emanate with few exceptions from neutral countries—a fact which is hardly surprising. But, on the other hand, as will become clear later on, the

* Translated by Lieutenant P. S. Cannon, the Lancashire Fusiliers.

war has developed in the belligerent countries a special type of literature, closely concerned with the belligerents themselves and with the operations of the war, and at the same time highly interesting to all those who have any enthusiasm for the East and for Oriental life.

Various articles on the Old Testament, the Semitic languages, etc., have appeared in various periodicals, but for the most part without great interest attaching to them. We ourselves, no less than others, are under the power of the same influence, which leads all minds in the belligerent countries towards subjects connected with the war. How could it be otherwise with a man such as the author of these lines, whose son has ever since the outbreak of the war been at the front, defending the sacred cause of the Allies?

Among works of a scientific nature in the field of Hebrew studies, two only are worthy of notice. They are sketches only, but are the foreword of more important publications, which should be studied with care when they appear, as they probably will, after the war.

The first of these studies to which we would draw attention is that of E. Naville: "The Unity of Genesis," being the annual address delivered before the Victoria Institute (June 21, 1915). Since that date the author has delivered three lectures in London on the same subject; they will, in all probability, soon be repeated in French at the University of Geneva, and published in English later. Naville, as readers of this review will doubtless know, defends the traditional theory of the Old Testament; we have already spoken in this review of several works in defence of this theory—a defence founded on arguments drawn from the study of Egyptology, which is his special subject, and which he teaches at the University of Geneva.

The second work we would wish to cite here is that of Charles Tschernowitz, on "The Formation of Schulcan Aruch." We have several times had occasion to mention Schulcan. Tschernowitz is a Talmudist of the very highest

repute among Jew circles in Russia. This little work, which he has just published, is only a fragment of a far more important work on the "Codification of Halacha," which will be published after the war. The Halacha is of course the judicial part of the Talmud. As regards the Schulcan Aruch, it is, after the Talmud, the most popular book in Jewish circles. The Russian author demonstrates with great acumen that it owes its existence to a historical necessity, and that it has passed through an inevitable course of development. We will await with the greatest interest the important work he here announces to us.

We have received from Spain, since the declaration of war, two important publications in Arab and Islamic studies. Both owe their origin to the enterprise of a society known under the name of the "Junta para ampliacion de estudios e investigaciones cientificas" (Society for the development of scientific study and investigation). The first (by date of publication) is "The History of the Judges of Cordova," by the Arab writer Abdullah Mohamed ben Harith El-Khochani, a native of Kairouan, but settled in Andalusia, who lived under the reign of El-Hakem II. (976-1006). It is to the protection of this Caliph that the historian of Kairouan owed the power to carry out the project he had conceived of writing this Chronicle, which is a most interesting account of the social life of Mussulman Spain under the Caliphate of the Omiades. In compiling his Chronicle the author has only employed exclusively Spanish documents, and he has in collaboration a great number of persons of Cordova and Andalusia, from the monarch down to the representative of the humblest classes. The volume published by the "Junta" contains the Arab text taken from the only manuscript (which is at the Bodleian Library at Oxford), and an excellent translation into Spanish by Julian Ribera.

The second of these Spanish publications is a "Miscellany of Arab Studies and Texts." This volume is composed of five treatises :

1. An article by a Danish Orientalist, R. Besthorn, on the "Anonymous Document of Copenhagen and Madrid," an Arab manuscript, and the most precious of the Arab MSS. in the Royal Library at Copenhagen; it is of exceptional value for the history of Spain from 1170-1213.

2. A careful and interesting study by Pioto Vives, on "The Numismatic Reforms of the Almohades," describing the synthesizing of the monetary system of the Hispano-African Mussulman States from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Numerous woodcuts reproduce in phototype the coins of this long epoch.

3. A Catalogue, compiled by Angel Gonzales Palencia, of certain "Manuscripts, Arab and Aljamiados (in Spanish-Arab dialect and written in Arab characters), from Madrid and Toledo." All are either previously unpublished or only incompletely published. The Aljamiados MSS. described and analyzed in this thesis are all written in Aragonese dialect.

4. "An addition to the edition of the Tecmila of Ibn El Abbar, published by Codera." This extremely lengthy (264 pp.) Arab text, followed by the various readings of the Cairo text, with Codera's edition (195 pp.) and a copious index (77 pp.), has been published by M. Alarcon and C. A. Gonzales Palencia. A woodcut gives, in facsimile, a page of the Cairo manuscript (Library of Soliman Pacha Abaza).

5. "Letter of Abenaboo (Ibn Abu)," in vulgar Arabic of Granada, with a facsimile in phototype of the original letter, is the subject of a study in the Arab dialect of Granada, by M. Alarcon. It is a document of the time of Philip II.—that is to say, about the second half of the sixteenth century. It is dated July, 964 (A.D. 1557). Ibn Abu was one of the chiefs of the rebellious Moors in the Alpujarras (Sierra Nevada). The letter is addressed to Don Hernando de Barradas,

a native of Cadiz, an important person, who offered his services to Don Juan of Austria, to act as intermediary in the negotiations entered into with a view to gaining the surrender of the rebels.

We now pass on to the war as depicted in the periodicals of a scientific character, which deal with Islam and Mussalman countries.

"L'Afrique Française," monthly organ of the "Comité de l'Afrique Française" and of the "Comité du Maroc," has published in its latest number (October-December, 1915) an extremely interesting article on the subject of Morocco. This article, entitled: "Le Maroc en paix," is by R. Thierry. It is a picture of the situation in Morocco at the end of 1915. The author gives us much information on the subject of the Franco-Moroccan Exhibition held at Casablanca, which closed on November 5. This exhibition, at which had been collected the products of Morocco, and also those which France can import into that country, was the work of an eminent man, General Lyautey, Resident-General of France in Morocco, to whom is due this bold conception. It is indeed admirable that in time of war an exhibition of this kind could have been arranged and opened; its accomplishment demanded not only that profound knowledge of the population of Morocco which General Lyautey possesses, but also his robust faith in the destiny of his country. The exhibition was a complete success, and more than one native, on leaving Casablanca, was heard to ask: "When will it be our turn to have a Big Fair?" (The Souk-el-Aam, literally the Year's Fair, in contradistinction to the weekly market-days.) This exhibition will leave not only the remembrance of the economic manifestation of which it was the scene, but also a collection of reports and notices, some of which have already been published, but which will be all collected later on into several volumes, in which we shall be able to discover a complete account of the state of Morocco from every point of view

during 1915. Among these documents there is one which cannot be said to lack originality—a lecture in Arabic by Si Bou Chaib Doukkali on “L'Exposition d'après le Coran.” This is, so far as one can judge, a study, purely Mussalman in spirit—a justification found in the Holy Book for an institution so peculiar to Europe and America, so characteristic of Christian countries, as an Exhibition.

The “*Revue de Monde Musalman*” (Paris, E. Leroux) has devoted one of its latest numbers, that dated December, 1914, but which did not appear until some time in 1915, to the question of “French Mussalmans and the War.” This enormous volume (389 pages in 8vo.) consists of numerous testimonies of Mussalman loyalty towards France, coming from all the Mussalman countries administered by France. It includes no less than sixty-one documents, of which several are very long, and all drawn up in Arabic, with facsimile phototypes of the Arabic text, and accurate translation into French.

In a brief introduction it is explained that the French Mussalmans have not been content with answering on the field of battle the appeal to a “Holy War made in Germany,” as it is termed by the Dutch Orientalist, Snouck-Hurgronje. They have gone further, and affirmed in writing at the same time their religious convictions and their political fidelity to France. These written statements come from persons of varied standing—heads of States, such as the Bey of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco; chieftains, such as the Emirs of Adrar, and the Sheikhs of West Africa; Cadis and Presidents of Mussalman tribunals in Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, Senegal, Mauretania, and Guinea; religious chiefs, Ulemas, Sheikhs of Brotherhoods, notabilities, saints, and men of letters; fraternities of inhabitants of Mussulman cities such as Timbuctu, Oualata, and Dakar. Among the signatories of these documents there are some of high religious standing among African Moslems, such as the Sheikh Sidia of Boutilimit in Trarza; Sheikh Saad Bouh in Lower Mauretania,

Senegal and Guinea—the brother of the late Ma El Ainin, the notorious agitator ; Bou Chaib Doukkali, recognized representative of the family of one of the most venerated saints in Morocco—Moulay Bou Chaib, patron of Azemmour.

The most striking point in these declarations, which come from such diverse parts of Africa, is on the one hand the fidelity shown to France, and the eulogies offered of her methods of governing Mussalman countries ; and on the other hand, the condemnation expressed of the orientation of Turkish policy towards Germany, a country of barbarians who have violated the laws of nations. It is interesting to quote some typical declarations taken out of these documents :

“ Germany is universally detested for her brutality and her barbarity ” (Sheikh of the Brotherhood of Rahmaniya, in the celebrated Zaouiya of Tolga, in Algeria).

“ The Turks will lose by their alliance with Germany their power and their reputation ” (Sheikh of the Zaouiya of Kenadsa, Algeria).

“ As for Turkey, the men who govern her have been blindfolded ” (Sherif Ahmed ben El-Hasani of Wezzan to the brothers of the Brotherhood of Tassyibiya, Morocco).

“ The Turks pretend to belong to the Mussalman religion ; but the only part they have in Islam is in name ” (Mokaddem of the Brotherhood of the Derkaoua at Mechriya, Algeria).

“ The Turkish Khalifate is illegal ” (Ahmed ben El-Mouay notable of Fez, late Ambassador of the Moroccan Government at Madrid).

“ No one can ignore the fact that the Turks have never defended Islam, and that they have never had the condition of the Mussalman world at heart. They have swerved aside from the line of conduct laid down by the four orthodox Caliphs ; they have left the strait and narrow path of truth and equity. It is to them that the present state of the Mussalman world is due ; they have dragged

it with them into the abyss of ignorance" (Abd-El-Kader ben Mohamed Ech-Cherkaoui, of the celebrated Zaouia of Bou-Djad, of Morocco).

In face of these statements, so many in number, so categorical in tone, so convincing, and emanating from such eminent sources, the leaflets which German propaganda disseminates over neutral countries in order to discredit in particular the relations of France and her Mussalman subjects, cannot but appear to be wholly valueless. We had recently in our hands a German leaflet, written in French, and giving Constantinople as the place where it is printed, but bearing the name of no editor or printer. In point of fact we obtained it from Zurich, where there is a well-known distributing centre for German propagandist literature. It is entitled, "Islam in the French Army during the War of 1914-1915," by Lieutenant El-Hadj Abdallah, Constantinople, 1915. Its aim is to prove that in the French army the tirailleurs of Mussalman religion (Algerian, Tunisian, Moroccan, and Senegalese) are ill-treated, ill-clad, badly fed, uselessly sacrificed—in fact mere "butcher's meat," and treated with the utmost contempt by their officers. Having had the opportunity, during my travels in Morocco, of living for several months in various tirailleur camps in the four regions above-mentioned, particularly at the camp of Dar Debibagh near Fez, during July and August, 1914, that is to say at the time of the outbreak of the war, I am in a position to state that the relations between the Mussalman soldiers and their French officers were marked on the one hand by a discipline necessarily severe among this class of troops, and on the other hand of a kindly care to which the men responded by absolute loyalty and a touching devotion to their officers. The men were well-fed and well-clothed, and their religious customs were scrupulously respected. The proof of this is shown in the fact that France continues to obtain Mussalmans to volunteer for service at the front, and that the sum total of such Mussal-

man regiments forms a very considerable portion of the French army. The pamphlet to which we were referring ends by a grotesquely idyllic picture of the lot of English or Russian Mussalman prisoners in Germany. The author would in all seriousness have us to believe that "in a district of luxuriant vegetation, recalling the climate of Africa," the German authorities have established near Berlin a special concentration camp, where Mussalman soldiers are interned. The German Government has constructed there a Mosque, and Moorish baths and cafés, such as can be seen in North Africa; and the prisoners are the objects of constant solicitude to the German Government, and realize that the latter are the Mussalman's best friends. The German author has here gone beyond the remotest pretence of reality. Not content with lies about the ill-treatment inflicted upon tirailleurs in France, he has gone on to depict an entirely imaginary state of affairs, and one truly ridiculous. All those who have lived, as I have, at Berlin, know that the environs of that city do not in the least call to mind either the climate of Africa nor its vegetation in the very remotest degree. Evidently the author considers his neutral readers to be mental imbeciles.

How different from these stupid and lying figments of the brain is the reality—I mean the way in which the French Government is treating its Mussalman soldiers and subjects. This thought brings us back to the "*Afrique Française*," of which we were speaking a page or so back. In the same number, to which reference has already been made, can be read one of the most instructive articles on the subject under discussion, entitled, "*L'Islam Français*." We read in it of a Bill laid before the Chamber of Deputies, the contents of which throws a flood of light on the Mussalman policy of the French Government. The Bill proposes to introduce Mussalman Legal Counsellors into the International Commission on Mussalman Affairs, which is composed of representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War, the Interior, and the Colonies. Let us look

at the principal provisions of the project. Four seats in the International Commission on Mussalman Affairs are assigned to Legal Counsellors representing respectively Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and West Africa. The Commission will be bound to consult the Mussalman representatives on every scheme, every bill, every proposed regulation laid before it. A salary of 20,000 francs a year will be allowed to each Counsellor to cover the expenses incurred in travel and residence in Paris. The Counsellors must be learned in Mussalman law, forty years of age, and must for at least ten years have been doing judicial work; they must possess considerable scientific knowledge and undisputed moral authority; they will be nominated by the French Government for a period of five years.

Another Bill proposes the opening of a credit of 500,000 francs by the Foreign Minister, to be devoted to the establishment of a foundation at Mecca and Medina, by the purchase or construction of two hostelries which will be placed gratuitously at the disposition of pilgrims from Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and the French African Colonies. These measures will produce an immense impression in the French North African, West African, Equatorial and Somali Colonies, and they are an earnest of the interest shown by France in her Mussalman subjects; they are the justification of the Mussalman policy of the French Government.

To the efforts of the French Government to treat its Mussalman dependents in the manner demanded by considerations of right and justice should be added those of a recently founded (1915) French Society at Paris, which is under the patronage of the President of the Republic and the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber, bearing the name of "Les Amitiés musulmanes." Its object is to increase the reciprocal good feeling between France and her friends and Islam, and further to establish relief centres for Mussalmans within and beyond the borders of France. It has established at Paris, under the name of the "Foyer

Musulman," a club for Mussalman soldiers in Paris—on leave, or wounded, or convalescent. In the club-house, situated in a superb mansion in the Boulevard des Italiens, a little mosque has been installed.

The readers of this REVIEW, bearing in mind the interesting facts that have been laid before them, will doubtless now realize how excellent are the relations between the Mussalman soldiers in the French service and the Frenchmen who are fighting side by side with them; and they will understand that Mussalman loyalty towards France is not a meaningless expression. That is what the war has taught us on this particular point.

The connection of these highly practical questions with Oriental studies is self-evident. All scientific work accomplished by students of Arabic has as its necessary result a deeper knowledge of the Islamic world; and this knowledge is very closely concerned with the solution of political, religious, social, and economic difficulties which may arise between the Mussalman subjects of a European State and the Government of that State. I hope to deal more than once in the future with this important subject in the pages of this REVIEW.

THE AVESTIC H(A)OMA AND THE VEDIC SOMA¹

BY PROFESSOR MILLS

THE extraordinary "position" of the Vedic Soma calls for an emphatic word in estimating the attributes of the Avestic H(a)oma. In the Veda, religious imagination seems to us at first sight to have gone quite wild upon the theme—that is to say, unless we make due allowance for the somewhat curious fact that the purified or sanctified Soma was positively exalted to a very high fixed position as a Deity, or unless we account for the expressions used upon the score of metaphor—and priestly shrewdness—otherwise they seem to us to be at times exaggerated to the last degree. Starting from the natural stimulus produced by the decoction, they soon claimed its effects to be an inherent and primeval force in *the very movements of the universe (sic)*. We are at once reminded of the "idea" of the "idealists," or of "the sovereign force of heat" with the physicists, and even of "electricity." Not only does the stimulus pervade the mental action of the very highest of the Gods, but it actually "generates" them, stirring up the generative instinct of their originals (*sic*) to that degree. He or it was "their Father" (*sic*). (A high claim for "spirit.") All this is explained by the commentators as a sort of hyperbole of riddle. Regarded as a high God, Soma's name was linked with that of Indra, the leading Deity in a large por-

¹ See the "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxi., Yajna IX., X., XI.

tion of the Veda, and so with that of Agni. Yet we moderns must not yield too freely to the associations of our own alcoholic stimulus, which seem to us to be unchangeably grotesque. Nothing humorous, let us remember, attached to the idea of stimulus at first in those early days. The sun, as we can understand, was almost necessarily worshipped as a God ; so the other heavenly bodies, so the fire in general, the winds, the oceans, etc. ; but when the stimulating effects of alcoholic extracts upon the brain were first discovered they were taken as a miracle in downright earnest, altogether unique, unlike all other things. The sun, wind, fire, etc., acted upon inanimate as well as animate objects, but here was what instantly affected the human intellect. It was the result of the act of some particular God. What else could they think ? They saw the lightning and heard the thunder, with their effects ; and they were at once certain that they were the results of the power of some particular God,—how could they doubt that this mysterious effect of a decoction upon the human brain itself was equally due to the direct act of an exalted personal Deity ? This high appreciation of the effect of Soma was doubtless encouraged, if it was not originated, by the priests. Its sanctified influence increased their power over the people, for they alone were entitled to execute the indispensable function of purifying it or of "consecrating" it. The Soma seems to have derived its full supernatural efficacy only from this, according to the hymns, and not so much at all from its natural effect as a distilled product without the priestly intervention ; it is *Soma pavamāna* everywhere, a whole book of the Veda, the ninth, being devoted to it, while it is elsewhere frequently prominent. Whether its effect upon Indra, who became intoxicated by drinking it excessively (see below), was owing to the priestly act or not seems uncertain. (That hymn is the first known attempt in history to make a joke upon the subject.)

The traces of all this are more dimly seen in the Avesta, yet they are there. Neither the H(a)oma nor the Soma was

the original source, either one of the other. The similarities of the various points about each of the two do not at all argue any immediate or original dependence of either one of them upon the other, as if either were the direct original of the other; on the contrary, the differences between the depicments of the two, the H(a)oma and the Soma, may furnish one more proof, if any more were needed, to show that the Avestic H(a)oma had no immediate early historical connection with the Indian Soma, either as the cause of the features of the Soma or as their effect. These two were twin-sisters, like the nations and their languages—growths from the same primæval original, with only a much later effect of the one upon the other.

I have translated our Avestic H(a)oma Hymn in S.B.E., xxxi., endeavouring to imitate the flow of the original rhythm, and frequently using auxiliary words for this, as also to point the sense more closely. A bare literal word-for-word would have been as easy as it would have been inadequate. The melody of the rhythm is an essential part of the reproduction of ideas.

I hold that it is impossible to approach even the exterior precincts of such a subject as "Avesta and Veda" without a thorough and exhaustive study of both sides of it. I therefore give here my translation of some very prominent Vedic Hymns to illustrate and fortify my version of the H(a)oma Hymn in S.B.E., xxxi., 1887, which see.

RIG VEDA IX.,¹ 113

SOMA PAVAMĀNA

I.

By holy sieve¹ let Indra drink,
Indra, foe-killer, storing strength,²

¹By Śaryapāvān. Śaryapāvān is "a lake in the Kutukabatra district"; but a heavenly Soma jar, or sieve, is here intended. This is the usual sincere but inflated style recurring at almost every strophe.

²So the later Zarathushtra in the Haoma (Hom) Yasht, "I make my claim on thee (Haoma) for strength and vigour of the entire frame."

Strength in his soul he stores for work,
Great hero-deeds about to do.
For Indra Soma-drops flow¹ (fast)
(For Indra's martial power).

2.

Be purified,² Thou Lord of Lands,³
Shedding thy blessings from the jar⁴
With holy song, true-hearted belief,
With hottest ardour, O thou pressed.⁵
For Indra Soma-drops flow (fast)
(For Indra's inspiration).

3.

Parjanya-reared,⁶ the steer of might⁷
Whom Sūrya's daughter⁸ hither brought
Gandharvas⁹ seized, in Soma set
The sacred juice.
For Indra Soma-drops flow (fast)
(For Indra's matchless power).

¹ So the H(a)oma Yasht, "Forth let thy healing liquors flow" (x., 12). This refrain is a later addition, but it should not be omitted.

² Here the H(a)oma Yasht curiously fits in, "Be purified"—so here; and then, "As with a man's full force I press thee down" (in the mortar).

³ So in the H(a)oma, "Thou tribe-lord and chieftain of the lands" (ix., 17).

⁴ Ārjika, one of the four quarters of heaven, but here, as usual, an exaltation of the Consecrated Utensil—jar or vat. Recall the H(a)oma, "From the silver cup I pour thee to the golden chalice over" (Hom Yasht, x., 17).

⁵ *Tapasā*.

⁶ *Parjanya*, the God of the rain-cloud. So in the H(a)oma, "I praise the cloud that waters thee and the rain that makes thee grow."

⁷ Another, "the wild (?) steer." The steer seems to be the juice, hardly the plant, just here.

⁸ Sūrya's daughter Sraddhā = "faith." "Faith brought the plant" (*śik*).

⁹ Gandharvas, guardians of the heavenly Soma.

4.

Law-speaker, bright¹ through holy rite,
 Truth-speaker,² true in deed as well,
 Creed-speaker, Soma, thou art King,
 Creator³ made thee fit to this.

For Indra Soma-drops flow on
 (For Indra's holy faith).

5.

The truly mighty one, sublime,
 His streams flow on⁴ together poured,
 His juices of the juicy mix
 By prayer made pure.⁵
 O yellow one, the consecrate.⁶

For Indra Soma-drops flow on
 (With Brahma's help).

6.

Where Brahma-priest, O purified,
 Intones the metric lines to thee
 By pressure-stone in Soma great⁷
 Through Soma gendering the joy.⁸

For Indra Soma-drops flow on
 (For Indra's sacred rapture).

¹ Bright through clearing out the particles. So in the H(a)oma, "Bright and sparkling let them hold on their steadfast way" (x., 19).

² So the Hom, "Thou art versed in many sayings, and true and holy words." "Thou dost ask no wily questions—thou questionest direct" (x., 25).

³ So the Hom, "Swift and wise hath the well-skilled Creator made thee" (x., 10). Here the *dhātār* is again an exalted term for the officiating functionary. The entire ceremony, with all its utensils and service, is, as it were, lifted to heaven in imagination.

⁴ So in the H(a)oma, "Forth let thy healing liquors flow for the inspiring of the saints" (x., 12).

⁵ Another, "Drip golden (?) to prayer", but here is voc.

⁶ Pressure by the priest was "consecration."

⁷ "As he swings the stones." His office is exalted, "magnified," by the consecrating pressure with the stones.

⁸ The joy of the sacred intoxication

7.

Where everlasting Light¹ abides,
In world where glory¹ ever sits,
There bring me, Soma purified,
In world immortal, undestroyed.
For Indra Soma-drops flow on
(For Indra's immortality).

8.

Where reigns the King, Vivasvān's² son
(Yama the first to live on high),
Where is the inmost cleft³ of heaven,
Where those life-waters⁴ fresh shall flow,
Make me immortal, Soma, there.
For Indra Soma-drops flow on
(For Indra's immortality).

9.

Where at full-will⁵ each walks and acts
In the third sky of third-high heaven,⁶
Where worlds are full of shining light,⁷
There make me deathless, purified.
For Indra Soma-drops flow on
(For Indra's life on high).

¹ Jyōtir ājasram, "unexhausted light." The light of the star-crowded heaven; but, like similar expressions with us, it has spiritual meaning. So the H(a)oma Yasht, "I pray to thee for heaven, the best world of the saints shining all-glorious."

² So in the Hom, Vivasvān's son is prominent. Yima = Yama, "the royal," or "the brilliant."

³ *Avardhanam* = "the shut-in(-down) place."

⁴ Lit. "The young waters." Recall the non-stagnant perennial springs, "the waters of life."

⁵ *Anukāman caranam*. So the later Z. in the H(a)oma, "I make my claim on thee, that I may have free course among the settlements"; and, again, "Like fifteen yearlings walked the two forth, son and father."

⁶ Lit. "In the third sky." "In the third heaven of heaven."

⁷ Evidently "the orbs of the midnight," but with spiritual allusion, as in the Christian eschatology.

10.

Where wish and longings are full-met,
 Where spreads the reach of golden-red,¹
 Where taste² gives satisfaction,
 There make me immortal, Soma pure.
 For Indra Soma-drops flow on
 (For Indra's satisfaction).

11.

Where joy's rejoicings ever sit,
 And raptures are out-raptured,³
 Where wish of wishes is full-reached,
 There make me deathless, Soma-God.
 For Indra Soma-drops flow on
 (For Indra's immortality).

¹ The sunset. Others, "sky"; another, "the highest point of the sun's course"; each meant as the central seat of the heavenly home; *vishṭapam* = "the spread-out platform"; others, merely "the place."

² Lit. *svadhā*, elsewhere = "the offering drink"; but here recall ambrosia, which, however, rather refers to "food." Nectar would be more immediate.

³ . . . *mudāḥ pramuda āsate*. So also in the H(a)oma, "for manifold delight" (ix., 27). Well did the distinguished Roth say that no expressions with regard to the beatified future could be stronger; yet where is the Avestic subjectivity?

No Zoroastrian should fail to get a general knowledge of the chief Vedic Hymns which bear upon Avesta. They are now exceedingly accessible, having been translated by so many able scholars, minor disagreements being, as everywhere, unavoidable.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TURK

BY SIR EDWIN PEARCE

I AM asked by you to give my opinion on the present-day Turk, and also on a few persons who seem unable to estimate him justly. On many occasions I have pointed out that a distinction should be made between the Turkish peasant and those who hold authority under the Government. The former is a kindly, sober, clean, and, generally speaking, not unlikeable man. He is usually very poor, but is ready to share his poverty with a stranger. He is less intelligent and less instructed than his Christian neighbours. Under ordinary circumstances, he often sees them more prosperous than himself, but he is consoled by his belief in *kismet*, and is far from being a bad fellow. When, however, his rulers tell him that Christians ought not to be better off than he is, and especially when he is told that his rulers would be well pleased to see the Christians receive a lesson, and that he would be rendering a service to his faith if he were to join in plundering them, his cupidity joins hands with religious and mob fanaticism, and the simple-minded Turk becomes something like a wild beast. Let it always be remembered that it is not the *ulema* who have been behind the cruelties perpetrated by the lower-class Moslems, but the creatures who were influenced by Abdul Hamid and his gang.

Englishmen, even in the worst times, have never defended

these outrages. They, and Frenchmen too, have constantly protected, as far as possible, the victims of similar cruelty. They did so as far back as 1825, during the massacre of Chios. They did so in 1876, and especially during the orgies under the late Sultan in 1892-97. The Turk rather admires us for thus defending the victims of his cruelty.

I judge from the papers you send me that among those who remain defenders of Turkish action with reference to the Christians, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall continues to hold a somewhat conspicuous position. Now, I have an admiration for that gentleman as a novelist, but none for him as an historian. He should confine his imagination for use in his novels, some of which are really excellent. Some three years ago he startled the foreign communities in Constantinople by suggesting that the period of massacres by the Turks of Christians was limited to last century, and by making a number of other statements which, unintentionally of course, gave an utterly false notion of the dealing of the Turks with subject races. I replied in the *Nineteenth Century* to his article by one controverting his statements, and showing that he was entirely mistaken; that instead of government by massacre being a new invention, it was the only one which the Turks had ever practised in reference to their treatment of such races. It is too late to reopen the general question. I may, however, quote the following from my article in the *Nineteenth Century*, published in February, 1913:

"In his desire to find further explanation of the unhappy feeling existing between Moslems and Christians, the writer seizes upon usury; 'for usury, beloved of Eastern Christians, is to enlightened Moslems an abomination.' I add that it is also forbidden by the Sheri, or Moslem Sacred Law, just as it was forbidden to the Jews; but I also know that, by a legal fiction, usury is tolerated even by the Sacred Courts. The writer is wrong when he asserts that a Christian could not, until three years since, acquire land legally. I have seen a score of title-

deeds, or *kodjets*, in the names of Christians, some of them dated earlier than 1800. The Armenian money-lender, with his usury, 'has been the cause of horrid murders.' This was news to me. I have, therefore, made inquiries of men who know Armenia, and their testimony is: (1) That there is very little money-lending in that country, and still less by Christians to Moslems on the security of land, because, as already stated, the word of the lender would not be taken against that of the Moslem in the Land Courts; (2) that the chief money-lenders in Armenia are Circassians, in which case there would be the word of one Moslem against another."

The verdict of every student of Turkish history would be against him. All the evidence which has come to hand regarding the massacre of Armenians during last year goes to show that the Turks have not forgotten their own traditions, but in addition have learnt new lessons in frightfulness from their German masters. Assuming the evidence which has come forward to be true—and I see no reason to doubt it—the only manner in which the last massacre differs from those of 1892-97 is that the later one was done with more organization and completeness than under Abdul Hamid. The deposed Sultan did, indeed, direct the massacres with a considerable amount of skill, but the Turks, under the Germans, have shown greater ability than did their predecessors in their attempt to exterminate the Armenian race.

I have only, in conclusion, to express my regret that a man of Mr. Pickthall's talent should be so blind as not to see the faults of a Government which assassinated Shevket Pasha and other opponents, and has finished by the murder of the Crown Prince, Yussef Izzedin.

March 4, 1916.

GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA*

BY BARON HEYKING

PUBLIC opinion in Great Britain has in the last decade changed considerably in favour of Russia ; and now that the wheel of history seems to revolve with an accelerated speed, this change is more and more accentuated. We have out-lived the time when Bismarck managed to keep us apart from each other, and we now stand united against the common foe. . . . But it is not only on the ground of unity of interests that Russo-British friendship must rest. It must rest also on mutual appreciation, and to that effect knowledge of each other is absolutely necessary.

Englishmen are, I am glad to say, nowadays very much inclined to find in Russia national features which appeal to their own ideals. There is, for instance, the religious nature of the Russian people, the strong belief in God and in Christianity which appeals to them. Again, the broad-mindedness, the *широкая натура*, the humanity and spirituality of Russians, are features which call for sympathy in the heart of Englishmen. The rich national literature of Russia represented by a series of great dramatists and novel-writers, such as Alexis Tolstoy, Ostrovsky, Turgenieff, Poushkin, Lermontoff, Gogol, Leo Tolstoy, Tchekoff, Andreieff, and many others well known in England, evokes a natural interest and admiration of Englishmen, who

* Speech delivered by the Russian Consul-General at the City Livery Club on March 7.

themselves can boast of such a splendid array of literary men and poets. Further, I may quote Russian music, dramatic art, and dancing, as having found in England general applause and much appreciation. Russian science and learning have been recognized in England as being of a high standard. Such eminent men as the chemist Mendeleeff, the biologist Metchnikoff, the surgeon Pavloff, the crystallographer Feodoroff, the Oxford Professor of Jurisprudence Vinogradoff, and many others, are well known in England.

Englishmen take an interest in Russia also with a view to developing their trade relations with that country. The prospects of developing Anglo-Russian trade relations seem at present very bright. Both nations aim at mutual close economic relations. It is easy to do business with Russians provided that people do not approach them in a superior sort of way, but with a sincere desire to have their wants supplied, and with a readiness to consider their habits.

We in Russia are sincerely pleased to do business with Englishmen, to work with them for the development of our national economic resources, to emulate their industry, energy and enterprise, to benefit by their methods of organization, and to assist them with all the power which is at our command in the present terrific struggle for the world's peace, for freedom and for right. That is the spirit which animates Russians towards Englishmen.

The Russian nation is very glad to find themselves by the side of Great Britain. Russia has in the past made several efforts to come to an understanding with the United Kingdom—for instance, under the reign of Peter the Great and Nikolas I. ; that she did not succeed then was not her fault, but rather the result of prejudice and political tendencies in England which made Englishmen believe that Sweden, Prussia, Turkey, and other countries should be backed up rather than Russia. Then came the awakening and the realization that "England had put her money

on the wrong horse," and the Russo-Japanese War, and now the European war, have finally disposed of all the ancient English prejudices against Russia, and have brought England to a full realization of the necessity of closer economic and politic relations between the two empires. The alliance between England and Russia is no longer considered inopportune, but rather as a natural event, inasmuch as these two countries form complements to each other, the one being essentially an agricultural country, and the other an essentially industrial country. There are, indeed, endless possibilities of economic and intellectual exchange between the two countries. Therefore, all the natural conditions, the political requirements and the ethnographical personality of the two nations point, to the great advantages, and to no disadvantages, of permanent close relations between the two nations.

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA

(THE REVIVAL OF THE PARISH)

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF (NÉE KIRÉEFF)

"Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?" (1 Cor. vi. 5).

OUR new Metropolitan of Petrograd, Pitirim, fortunately considers the Parish question to be of enormous importance. He ascribes to it even the power for future victory over our enemies. The Metropolitan, of course, is a great authority, and the Duma seems to be sharing his views. The proposal in Orthodox Church circles is to bring back life to the parish, which at present seems to be greatly neglected and to be losing its legitimate ground. The resurrection of parish life has indeed long been hoped for. The plan for its revival is complete, and is only waiting to be made public. The Holy Synod, as is well known, has presented lately to the Duma a project that was due to the initiative of M. Sabler (now called Desyatovski). For some reason or other this project had been abandoned and withdrawn by its author, to the great dismay of many who are fervently Greek Orthodox. The Metropolitan, Pitirim, is now making every effort to introduce into the Duma also other projects of great importance. In any case, however incomplete or imperfect these projects may be, it is imperative to apply them with as little delay as possible, practical experience being itself

the best leveller of defects. How satisfactorily the reorganization of parishes will revive church life, we shall see. History, with which all who are interested in this question should acquaint themselves, gives ample evidence of how gradually this ecclesiastical arrangement has died out.

The ancient Russian parish was something very different from what is implied by the present meaning of the term. As everybody knows, a modern parish is simply a certain amount of property within the boundaries of a limited distance from a given church. Social life within the parish has of late been diminishing, and the activities of parishioners in parish matters scarcely go beyond the election of a churchwarden, and the payment of his wages. The part allotted to them, in all other matters, is purely passive, and consists principally of paying subscriptions to various brotherhoods and charitable institutions. In other words, if the priest happens to enjoy some authority or popularity among his flock, such institutions flourish by aid of voluntary contributions. In other cases, they exist only on paper, this deception being used because their upkeep is desired by the higher powers, disobedience to whom might have occasionally disagreeable consequences to the parish control.

How different is all this to old-time conditions! In bygone days, parishioners, in almost all cases, built their own church, and therefore naturally regarded it as their personal property, dependent on their care for its needs and its welfare. Never was there an absentee at elections of churchwardens or other officials. Everyone was personally interested, the whole parish being like a large family, whilst all social and other activities revolved round the church. Close to the church was always a sort of market-place with booths and other such erections, where all the affairs of the neighbourhood were transacted, and where the people collected in gay crowds on festival

days. Here also was a sort of social club, where the parishioners discussed the news of the day, and rested after their labours. The people were thus closely linked together, under the protecting shadows of their church. They had their organizations and their enterprises. For instance, they would club together to build homes for beggars and pilgrims, to be received therein and fed and helped on their way. Sometimes also the churchwardens acted as bankers, and advanced money on prescribed conditions, to needy parishioners. In fact, to quote the words of Professor Titlinoff, the parish authorities considered it their duty to look after both the moral and material welfare of their flock. Family quarrels were regarded as a disgrace. Public opinion strictly required of all parishioners regular attendance at confession and communion, with cessation of work on Sundays and church festivals. The parish sometimes also made itself responsible for the education of its children, providing schoolmasters out of the church funds.

On festival days, great feasts were organized, to which all participants subscribed in money and kind. These feasts were enlivened by public games and useful amusements. All this drew the people very closely together into a real, living Church and social organization. Such were our parishes, as long as the system of an elected clergy lasted. But as the electoral system died out, social and independent parish life declined, the parishioners losing all personal interest in their church and its clergy. The church gradually ceased to be the centre of local life, the social club disappeared, the schools ceased to exist. The authority of the church weakened, and all general parish organization was a thing of the past.

Now that attention has been drawn to these facts, real and serious efforts are needed to awaken general interest in the matter. This question of the revival of parish life is very serious and important. In the foundation of parishes lies the seed of future economic victory—for, without a

parish, there can be neither solidarity nor union of interests, nor any means of utilizing to the utmost all the resources of the nation for the benefit of our Church and State.

The Russian Slavophiles were all supporters of the parish and its prerogatives. These always appealed to our ancient history and our traditions, and to see them appreciated at their real value by a man of such high moral and intellectual standing as the Metropolitan, Pitirim, is certainly an event of great importance in the life of our Church, and especially welcome in our times, where there is decidedly a great religious revival throughout the whole of Russia.

Slavophiles always maintained that religion ought to have the upper hand in questions where the temporal power was attempting to interfere. The following is a case in point.

As is well known, the Emperor Nicholas I. was a very energetic man, who liked to have his own way. On one occasion he was strongly in favour of a step of which the Church disapproved. At that time we had as Metropolitan of Petrograd a very superior man, by name Plato. I must add that our Metropolitans have no difficulties in obtaining interviews with the Emperor. The Metropolitan, therefore, after putting on all his decorations, went without hesitation to the Palace, where he arrived in great state in his carriage drawn by four or six horses. "Majesty," he said, in laying all his decorations before the Emperor on the table, "here are all the gifts I have received from you. I will leave my carriage at your gates and return on foot as a poor monk. But I will never sanction the reform you demand."

The projected reform was abandoned. So do we, old-fashioned Slavophiles, always supporting the independence of the Church, now welcome with joy the intention of the Holy Synod and the Metropolitan, Pitirim, to return to the parish system with all its former privileges which have of late years been neglected—indeed, almost forgotten.

In our times, in spite of the difficulties, certain efforts have been made to revive the parish question of ancient days. Thus, for instance, in Kieff, and in the diocese of Kieff, various brotherhoods have been organized which began with starting preaching and organizing schools. And they soon discovered that in the same province there existed already about one hundred associations of the same kind, though in more limited forms. These were exclusively organized by the clergy. Thus, for instance, in the Vassily district alone, there were already over thirty consumer's stores, started by the initiative of one single clergyman. The brilliant result of this initiative in the year 1913 represented already a balance of 200,000 roubles, which helped to open a second-class school, classes where trades were learned and stalls of agricultural instruments. The Brotherhood's Council then organized its own special committee, calling it the Agricultural Committee, whose task it was to "bring help to all ripening agricultural questions and to discuss them in council." Libraries, reading-rooms, moving pictures, choral singing, and sermons on education and other important requirements were thus established. Naturally those grew the most prominent which were already united by faith and prayer.

Naturally brotherhoods of this kind admitted of no division in classes, corporations, or party factions, all being equals in the eyes of the Church. For general parish work there is room for every one; for the cultured land owner, the doctor, the teacher, and for every intelligent man, and also for every intelligent peasant. When an association of this kind bears the character of clericalism, being under the guidance of the Church, it is rooted deeper, and has higher objects, than when it is in private hands, where the interests are often purely egotistical or trivial.

Similar parish reforms ought to be introduced everywhere in Russia, and it is a real blessing that the Metropolitan of Petrograd supports this movement. Had this

been done already, the importance of it would have been realized not only in home policy, but also in questions of international significance. In former days members of such brotherhoods jealously pursued the severe dictates of the ordinances of the Church. It is evident that the chief enlightenment and prosperity of every Christian country lies in the moral conscience of her people in respect to the Church, as the arbiter of Power and Light.

SALONIKA

BY A MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

IF one could look back to the times of the Peninsular campaign, and ascertain the state of public feeling in this country in the early stages of that protracted struggle—as can be done by turning up the files of any newspaper of that period—it would be found that the genius of Wellington went unrecognized until the advance from Torres Vedras began. The general feeling, among those who knew of the formation and use of the Torres Vedras lines, was that Wellington had indulged in a sullen retirement, and by his inactivity behind the lines practically admitted his inability to advance, and thereby confessed a defeat. Such was the general opinion then, and it finds a parallel in the present position of the Allies at Salonika. No man, in this month of March, mentions Salonika, except as a sort of half-failure on the part of the Allied Powers; it is an unconsidered item in the campaign, viewing the campaign as a whole; it is a waste of men, an entrenched camp that admits of nothing but holding on and holding on, with the possibility of a great Austro-German-Bulgarian attack in the near future, and then possibly the thrusting forth of the Allies from their defences, and the final defeat of the enterprise that began with the tardy attempt to relieve Serbia.

That attempt, by the way, failed by a fraction of time—it was not so ill-judged and so ill-timed as the pessimists would

have us believe. The folly of delay was not military, but political ; it was the political trust in Bulgaria, the political inability to realize that Bulgaria was Ferdinand and nothing else, that damned the Serbian enterprise. Once politicians had retired and military men had come to their work, there was no appreciable delay. The trouble was that, while the Allied politicians were vacillating and hoping for Bulgarian faith in place of treachery, Bulgarian preparations were being pushed forward in the interests of the Central Powers. Thus, when the military came to the chance of action, it was all they could do to neutralize the Bulgarian threat against the Greek frontier, let alone reach through to the Serbian forces and to Nish, which is the key to the railway from Berlin to Constantinople. They did their best ; the Allied forces were within an ace of gaining and holding Uskub—but the politicians had played too long, and the military element had come in too late for this desired end to the Balkan adventure.

Yet, just as in the Peninsular campaign the ports were not altogether abandoned, so the Balkan adventure was not altogether abandoned, but a base was retained which should form a threat against the enemy. If, in the first days of the retention of Salonika, the enemy had struck swiftly and hard, if he had followed up the successes farther north in true German fashion, then Salonika would have been no more than Cape Helles, the grave of an unfortunate enterprise. But difficulties of communication, and lack of the men who might have turned tactical victory into strategic success, hampered the Central Powers, and shifty Ferdinand would not where his allies could not. So, gradually, the port of Salonika was ringed round with defences ; men and guns were put ashore to languish in this flea-bitten town—to what end ?

That is what men are asking when they remember the occupation of Salonika in these days of March. By the time these lines appear in print and April grows old, the answer may be forthcoming, though this is an improbability.

But the general impression is that a large—or comparatively large—Allied force is immobilized at Salonika to no useful purpose, and thus it would be well to examine the value of Salonika to the Allied cause in the present stage of the war.

We cannot do better than keep in mind the parallel of Torres Vedras, although the latter place was a far more useful base than is this of Salonika. In the first place, Torres Vedras bore directly on a phase of the Napoleonic wars which might at any time have become the decisive phase of the whole campaign; it provided a devious, but not less vital, port of entry for an attack on France and on Paris itself, while Salonika can by no means be said to be a means of approach to Berlin. In the second place, railways have become vital to the success of armies in the field, and Salonika provides access to no railways which can supply adequately such forces as shall be of decisive value in the whole campaign. Thus, on the whole, the retention of this port is but a secondary business, *so far as the present combatants are concerned.*

These are the drawbacks to the continuance of such a campaign. But we know, from various sources, that one of the great hopes of Germany, the moving spirit in the war, is that of inducing nations at present neutral to enter into the campaign and provide the Central Powers with accessions of strength in men. There is plenty of mechanical reserve; all that is needed is men to use the guns and rifles that Germany can turn out without end, and this need of men is becoming acute. If by any means Germany could induce the Roumanian half-million to come in to the aid of the Central Powers, the problem of the Eastern campaign would be solved. If permanent Roumanian neutrality could be assured, much would have been done to assist the Austro-German cause. Roumania is the only neutral in the Balkans that counts at the present time, and thus the Central Powers are very anxious to impress Roumania with their power, and with the danger of running counter to their wishes.

But the Allied occupation of Salonika stands as a gibe at the supposed strength of the Central Powers. If it were possible to shift out the Allies, Austro-German statesmen could point to the feat as a final proof of their invulnerability, and their ability to work their will in the Balkans and elsewhere ; as it is, to all their assurances there is the retort—Salonika ! And the retort is unanswerable. An undefended port has been turned into a stronghold, and, more, has been made a menace to the Austro-German domination of Bulgaria and Turkey ; and no Roumanian can foresee the result of that menace, when the weather shall admit of free action in the passes of Southern Serbia and along the valley of the Vardar.

Here in England, untouched by the possibility of invasion, and immune for centuries, we cannot realize to the full the effect of such a threat as is the occupation of this port. It is of little use to tell an Englishman that the occupation of Salonika is a threat against Uskub, against Nish, against Sofia, and against Belgrade, until the threat becomes translated into action. To the average man the occupation of Salonika is a waste of men ; but we may be certain that it is not seen in this light by the directors of the war at Berlin and at Constantinople.

Throughout the winter the single line of rail along the valley of the Vardar—the only way up from Salonika, or, at least, the only practicable way for any important body of troops—is of little use to either group of combatants, but when the weather opens out, and roads as well as railways are available for transport, Salonika will become nearly—never quite—as useful a base as Torres Vedras. It provides the only means of attack on Bulgaria, save the ways open to Russia ; it provides the only means of cutting off Berlin from Constantinople. Whether the attack on Bulgaria is undertaken or no, whether the Berlin-Constantinople line is cut or no, Salonika provides a lasting threat against these two points, and one which must be provided against by Germany as long as the war lasts, or until the

Allies can be driven out from this base. It provides a cancer in the side of the Central Powers, and renders necessary that they should always retain a force to deal with any advance, any threat against Bulgaria or against the line that links them with Turkey. If it immobilizes a certain number of Allied troops, it immobilizes an equal number of enemy troops, and proves to Roumania that German stories of German omnipotence and the danger of favouring Germany's enemies are untrue.

Apart from these considerations, there remains another excellent reason for the retention of Salonika by the Allies. It is more than probable that, when the great reckoning with Germany comes, the embers of the fire that Germany lighted will still smoulder in the Balkans, for the rehabilitation of Serbia, and the portioning out of the territory that has been acquired by Austro-Hungary without regard to racial boundaries, are not likely to be accomplished without trouble. Should that trouble come about, it would be hard to find a more effective threat against possible Balkan malcontents than a strong force at this point. With Russia shepherding Roumania, the occupation of Salonika will keep quiet what is left, if any, of Bulgaria; it will protect Serbia during the process of reconstruction, and ensure Greek quiescence, if that is necessary.

Such forecasts of the settlement that will follow on the war may savour of optimism, in a way, and yet they are fully justified by actual happenings. The very presence of the Allies at Salonika at this time is assurance of the impotence of the enemy in this region, and, whatever may be the tactical result of the Verdun struggle (still in progress at the time of writing), the strategic failure of the enemy in that ghastly combat, and his haste, at any cost of effectives, to force a decision there, is as significant as was the battle of the Marne, and as decisive a factor in the course of the war. This Verdun fight is intended to do what the stroke against Serbia failed to accomplish, but the retention of Salonika—the very presence of the Allies

at that point, apart from any action they may take—is in the nature of a gibe at the enemy attempt to impress neutral Roumania with his power. Salonika and the occupation thereof react on the Verdun combat, just as they react on the main eastern front and on the Caucasus campaign ; the retention of the Greek port is a denial to all Teuton assertions of power, and the threat that it embodies, though it cannot be called decisive, stands as one of the leading factors in the downfall of the enemy.

The enemy threat to the safety of Egypt may be considered practically nullified by the recent events of the Caucasus campaign, but such possibility of enemy attack on Egypt as remains is vitally affected by the occupation of Salonika. The enemy has but the one line of rail from Constantinople through Asia Minor for the transport of troops and supplies to the vicinity of the Suez Canal, and the possession of Salonika and Alexandria give to the Allies the advantage of acting on interior lines against this railway, which for a large part of its course is vulnerable from the sea. By a blow struck, with naval co-operation, from Salonika, any force sent against Egypt by means of this railway could be cut off and starved of munitions and food, if the sending of such a force were still possible for the enemy, which is doubtful now.

Thus it may be said that the Allied occupation of Salonika is no ill-considered gamble, no waste of men, but is a wedge jammed into the mechanism of the enemy's military machine, rendering inutile certain parts of that machine, and thus affecting the working of the whole.

REDUCTION IN THE BASIC DATES FOR INDIAN VEDIC AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

BY L. A. WADDELL

ALTHOUGH the dictum of Elphinstone in 1839 still holds good, that for India "*no date of a public event can be fixed before the time of Alexander*"—and that date (326 B.C.) was obtained solely from European sources, as no reference to Alexander or his invasion is to be found anywhere in indigenous Indian history—writers on Vedic and Buddhist history confidently assert that the greater part of the Rig Veda was already composed in its present diction before 1200-1500 B.C., some, such as Jacobi, even extending the date back to 3000-4000 B.C., and that it was finally closed "about 600 B.C." And this opinion, although resting, as we shall find, upon mere conjecture, has by insistent reiteration by all the authoritative Sanskrit scholars for generations come at last to be accepted by Europeans generally as if it were an established fact.

A fresh examination of the evidence on which this fashionable theory rests has shown me that the Vedas are not nearly so old compositions, in their present form, as they are alleged to be, and that Sanskrit is a relatively late Indian language.

The admitted basis for all the various estimates of the age of the Rig Veda, the earliest of all the Vedas, and of the Sanskrit language in which that text is composed, is the date for its "closure," which is universally accepted as about 600 B.C., or "several centuries before 500 B.C." On

this date all are agreed; and the different estimates for the extent of the Vedic Period backwards beyond 600 B.C. are due to individual differences of opinion amongst different writers as to the length of the period necessary for a nomadic people from "the pastoral steppes north of the Hindu Kush" to become the settled agricultural people found in the Ganges Valley, where the latest hymns of the Rig Veda were certainly composed. A few of the estimates for that interval, such as that of Jacobi and others, are framed on astronomical calculations resting upon some supposed reference to a seasonal change in the months, which, however, is not generally admitted to be a fact.

Now let us see how this basic date of "about 600 B.C." (or, according to others, "several centuries before 500 B.C.") on which these estimates are built, was arrived at. In the words of Professor Macdonell, the leading Sanskrit and Vedic authority in this country, it rests on the assumption that "The lower limit of the second (or post-Rig Veda stratum of literature—the early commentaries) cannot be placed below 500 B.C.—but several centuries before 500 B.C.—since its latest doctrines are presupposed by Buddhism, and the year of Buddha's death has been calculated, with a high degree of probability, from the recorded dates of the various Buddhist Councils, to be about 480 B.C."* "For Buddhism presupposes the existence not only of the Vedas themselves, but of the intervening theological and theosophical literature of the Brahmanas and Upanisads. Since that literature is extensive and betrays a considerable development of ideas within its limits, it cannot be assumed to have begun later than about 800 B.C. . . . Hence the age of the Vedic hymns cannot be assumed to begin later than about the thirteenth century B.C.—500 years are amply sufficient to account for the gradual changes, linguistic, religious, social, and political, that this hymn literature reveals."†

* "Sanskrit Literature," in *Imperial Gazetteer India*, 1908, p. 2207.

† *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, 1914, p. 750.

But all this elaborate and ingenious building up of chronological hypotheses, one upon the other like a house of cards, on which Sanskritists have relied for their estimate of the age of the Sanskrit language and the Rig Veda, falls to the ground with the demolishing of their fallacious foundation. I have conclusively proved in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1914 (pp. 661-680, 1037-38) that the basis on which all this chronology of the Sanskritists and Buddhists rests is illusory. I have therein proved, *pace* Professor Rhys Davids and the rest, that *the very earliest book of the Pāli Buddhist Canon, which is held to presuppose the existence of the Vedas, and is anterior to the accounts of the councils, and the one book which offered the best criterion of all for historical verification, could not possibly have been composed till after 200 B.C.!* For Buddha is throughout that book already fully deified on a model which, on the infallible testimony of the earliest inscribed monuments of India at Bharat of 250-200 B.C., was *not developed till after 200 B.C.*

This important book bears the title of "The Great Foremost Being" (*Mahā-Padhāna*—not *Padma* or "The Sublime Story" as Professor Rhys Davids has rendered it in defiance of his texts), and it is the very first book in "The Great Class" (*Mahā-vagga*) of the First Collection (*Nikāya*) of Buddha's reputed "Doctrinal Discourses" or "Word" (*Sutta Pitaka*). It contains a complete epitome of the central tenets of Buddha's doctrine, including the "Causal Nexus" (or what I have called "The Wheel of Life or of Becoming") and the "Buddhist Creed," and several archaisms, all of which lead to the belief that *it was the very first of all the doctrinal books of the Pāli Buddhist Canon to be composed. Yet I found on unassailable evidence that it could not have been composed before 200 B.C.* And this is fully confirmed by an overwhelming amount of other cumulative evidence,* which corroborates and

* Compare also my article in this *Review* for January, 1912, on "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult," p. 158.

extends the observations made by the Pāli scholar Minayeff that the Buddhism of the Bharaut Stupa is older than, and in many important doctrinal respects different from, that of the Pāli scriptures, which latter are manifestly of later date than that monument—namely, 250-200 B.C.*

Thus the fundamental date relied upon by Indianists in their speculative estimate for the date of the Rig Veda is but the figment of a false theory.

So also as regards the extravagant antiquity claimed for the Sanskrit language, the idiom in which the Rig Veda is couched. It is claimed that the Rig Veda was originally composed in Sanskrit, which is thus of at least equal age—that is, it also dates back to 1200-4000 B.C. or more. But *there is absolutely no evidence whatever to show that the Sanskrit language even in its "Vedic" form was in existence before 200 B.C. at the very earliest. Not a single Sanskrit inscription has been found before A.D. 150, either on monuments or coins or anywhere else; all inscriptions in India before this date are couched in the vernaculars known as Prakrit. Nor is there a single ancient manuscript of the Rig Veda known; all manuscripts are without exception modern documents, the work of modern copyists, and the very earliest portion of one extract is a fragment dated A.D. 1434.*

Further evidence for this late date for the Sanskrit is found in one of the earliest extant Brahmanist Indian inscriptions, which dates to *circa* 175-135 B.C. In this inscription, which is interesting as being a votive one in favour of a Heliodorus, presumably a Greek Ambassador at the Central Indian Court, the language is still only semi-Sanskrit, and has *not yet reached* even the stage of the "Vedic" type. In its alphabet I have recorded (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, p. 1031 f.) the first detected instance of the characteristic Sanskrit vowel, *mi*, the free

* See my note on "The Date of the Bharaut Stupa" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, p. 138 f.

insertion of which into the ancient Pāli and other vernacular forms of the Indian words is one of the leading structural features of Sanskrit, and yet no instance of it is recorded before 175-135 B.C.

Such a late date for the Sanskrit—namely, *not earlier than about 200 B.C.*—is also in agreement with Professor Sayce's declaration ("Introduction to Science of Language," p. 172) that, judged by the standard of archaic structure, even Greek is entitled to priority over Sanskrit

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE DUTCH COLONIES

JAVA, PAST AND PRESENT. By Donald MacLaine Campbell. Two Volumes, large 8vo., pp. xx, 1230. Extensively illustrated with plates and a geological map. (London: *Heinemann*). 36s. net.

The author, who died in 1913, spent twenty-five years in Java, and had the utmost opportunities to become familiar with the history and the life of that island, opportunities of which he was the more able to avail himself fully as he had the liveliest admiration for the Dutch and for the natives. Indeed, since Raffles, few Englishmen, if any, have taken such trouble to study the country. The book, if published by the author himself, would doubtless have been the last word on Java; as it is, a third volume, dealing with the commercial aspects of Java, is still unborn, and its publication later is not certain. Further, although the MS. has been somewhat edited, the work bears signs of incomplete treatment in various sections. At any rate, such is the impression produced when one compares the exhaustive historical section with later chapters. The first volume is devoted almost entirely to the history of Java from prehistoric times up to the present day (450 pages). It also includes a long chapter of 200 pages dealing in detail with the history of the towns in Java and neighbouring islands. Thus far the book, undertaken as a labour of love "mainly with the special object of supplying a long felt want amongst my countrymen in Java, etc.," shows a thoroughness, a completeness which only years of painstaking work could insure, but a few misprints occur: *Prambanan* (p. 4); *aus* for *aur* (p. 9); and several interpretations of Kämpfer's name as *Kærupfer* (p. 14), *Raempfer* (p. 87), etc.; *ibw* for *ibw* (p. 94) etc.; a curious mistake, repeated twice (pp. 8 and 379), mentioning the views of "German anthropologists" about *Pithecanthropus erectus*, but not even the name of the Dutch army surgeon, Dubois, who discovered it; another mistake makes of Koxinga a Chinese pirate—

he was, in fact, a Japanese; *soya* is not a sort of pickle, but a sauce; *sacké* (p. 211) should be *saké*.

One hundred and fifty odd pages of Volume II. (chapter xii.) consist of transcripts of accounts of Java by travellers from 1519 to 1832, fifty pages give a sketch of the antiquities, and as the author disclaimed any intention to do more than whet his readers' appetite for more, it would, perhaps, be amiss to complain, but we think that the publishers might with advantage have given fewer portraits of Sultans' sons and brothers, and fewer photographs of modern buildings, but a larger selection of reproductions of archaeological or artistic interest, of the majestic ruins of Boro Budor and of Prambanan, amongst others. The views reproduced are hackneyed, and less well-known illustrations could surely have been obtained by application to the Dutch Government, or to Dr. Groneman; particularly does this wish apply to the older portion of the lower wall now hidden in the ground. The books in which a fuller treatment of the subject can be found are mentioned in a footnote, but are not readily obtainable. The same may be said of the flora, of which a few striking illustrations—e.g., *Rafflesia*—would have been welcome and fit companions for the fine photographs of volcanoes, of the *Victoria Regia*, of bamboo which grace the book. The editor and the proof-reader are to blame, we presume, for the ludicrous position of the word "fishes," on p. 882, as heading to paragraph on the grampus whale and the dugong, both mammalians . . . and we would ask what is meant by iodine of copper (p. 908), and *springs* of iodine? The melting-point of iodine happens to be 113° Centigrade!! Is there no iron in Java? And what of the Solo aeroliths? But these are small blemishes. There are, unfortunately, others which invite comment. The definition of Buddhism as an idolatrous worship of gods (p. 1007) is on a par with the absurd derivation of the word Joss (p. 1097). Indeed, one must regret that such errors should have been passed by the editor; they can only have been jottings open to revision, and should have been excised or revised. Whatever have the tenets of the Christian Bible got to do with the Javanese respect for rank, parents, and old age (p. 1027), we fail to see; we might go so far as to say that there has always been more respect of parents and elder folks in China [and in other countries in which the Bible has been hawked only during the last 300 years] than in so-called Christian countries. But if we indulge in some criticism, it is merely through a feeling of annoyance at seeing glaring errors in a work so monumental and so valuable; indeed, after reading it from cover to cover—with the exception of "tombstones" and statistics—we are amazed at the industry of the author. Though we would have welcomed some chapters of an ethnographical character, they can be found in specialized publications, and we can but admire the spirit in which the book has been written. As a man interested in commercial pursuits, the author had doubtless little time to spend on research; as a consular officer, much of his spare time must have been devoted to the promotion of British trade with Java, and how important those duties are now can be best stated in his own words: "There is no doubt that the time has arrived when Great Britain should be represented by a Consul *de carrière* whose standing is not under that of Germany's

representative, and whose whole time can be devoted to the furtherance of British interests, which during the last few years have become more important and considerable in that part of the world, and can no longer be adequately attended to by a trading Consul. . . . Not a single Consul or Vice-Consul has ever received any recognition whatever from the British Crown for his labours, and this during a period of almost a century" (p 1193) This was written long before the war The warning comes from the grave. Will it be heeded by the mandarins who should uphold the greatness of their country? Shall we wait and see until the war is over, and the Boche creeps and crawls again within the houses of his rivals? Were the few lines quoted above the sum total of any book they would be valuable, coming as the final and earnest warning of such a gifted and thorough worker as the late author, they should carry immense weight. We trust this work will meet with a large demand, and that it may be found practicable, when (and if) the third volume is published, to facilitate its use as a work of reference by the addition of a *real* index.

H L J

THE FOUNDATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE A History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I. (1300 1403) By Herbert Adams Gibbons, Ph D (*Oxford Clarendon Press*) 105 net

The learned author of this interesting book tells us in his preface that four years of residence in Constantinople during the most disastrous period of its decline have led him to investigate its origin afresh In the task he has set before him he hesitates, he says, to tread in the footsteps of acknowledged authorities

Who were the people, we may well ask ourselves, who assumed the name of Osman, their chief? Did they have any past? And was there any other cause for their amazing growth and success than the mere fact that they had a most fortunate position on the confines of a decaying empire? The author starts with the narrative that Estrogul, the father of Osman, and one of the four sons of Soleiman Shah, settled, with his horsemen, at Sugut, a village given to him by Sultan Alaeddin of Konia in recognition of the fact that he had put to flight a horde of Tartars attacking him. This chivalrous act is believed to have laid the foundation of the Ottoman Empire

After Estrogul's death, his son Osman, who succeeded him, began to extend the boundaries of Sugut, which had become too narrow for his fast-increasing tribe And here the author quotes often recounted legends, which give us in a nutshell the history of the great events that were to follow. They run as follows Osman once passed the night in the house of a pious Moslem Before he went to sleep, the host entered his room and placed on the shelf a book, of which Osman asked the title "It is the Koran," he replied. "What is its object?" again asked Osman. "The Koran," his host explained, "is the word of God given to the world through his son Muhammad" Thereupon he left the room Osman took the book and began to read. He remained standing, and read all night. Towards morning he fell asleep, exhausted. An angel appeared to him,

and said: "Since thou hast read my eternal word with so great respect, thy children and the children of thy children shall be honoured from generation to generation." Now, in Itburnu, a village not far from Sugut, there lived a Moslem sheik who dispensed justice and legal advice to those of his faith in the neighbourhood. He had a beautiful daughter, Malkatun, whose hand was demanded in marriage by Osman. But the sheik, Edebaldi, for a period of two years persisted in refusing his consent to this union. Finally, when sleeping one night in the home of the sheik, Osman had a dream. He saw himself lying besides the sheik. A moon arose out of the breast of Edebaldi, and when it became full descended and hid in his breast. Then from his own loins there began to arise a tree, which, as it grew, became greener and more beautiful, and covered with the shadow of its branches the whole world. Beneath the tree he saw four mountain ranges, the Caucasus, the Atlas, the Taurus, and the Balkans. From the root of the tree issued forth the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Danube, covered with vessels, like the sea. In the valleys everywhere were cities, the golden domes of which were invariably surmounted by a crescent, while the countless minarets sounded forth the call to prayer, that mingled itself with the chattering of the birds upon the branches of the trees. The leaves of the trees began to lengthen out into sword blades. Then came a wind that pointed the leaves towards the city of Constantinople, which, situated at the junction of two seas and of two continents, seemed like a diamond mounted between two sapphires and two emeralds, and appeared thus to form the precious stone of the ring of a vast dominion which embraced the entire world. When this dream was told to the sheik Edebaldi, he interpreted it as a sign from God that he should give his daughter to Osman, in order to make this dream come true. And here we must mention that through this marriage of Osman to the fair Malkatun the Ottoman Sultans, according to more than one historian, became descendants of the Prophet.

The avowed purpose of Mr. Gibbons' highly meritorious book is to prove that the Ottoman Empire was really founded upon the ruins of the Byzantine Empire as it existed at the time of Osman (1300), and that it first gained its power in the Balkan Peninsula long before it extended its confines into Asia Minor. This is certainly a new standpoint, as until now all the historians seem to have been under the impression, and have asserted accordingly, that it first arose on the ruins of the Seldjuk Dynasty. In a scholarly appendix covering over fifty pages the author tries to prove, and gives facts, that Osman and Orkan carved their State out of the remnants of the Byzantine possessions, such as Brussa, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and other towns along the upper end of the Sea of Marmara. Indeed, Murad I. conquered the Balkan Peninsula whilst he was only one of several rulers in Asia Minor, and not the most powerful one. Until 1386 Karamania, for instance, was, with its capital Konia, a far more powerful emirate under the famous Alaeddin in Asia Minor than that of the Osmanlis. And their independence, after being somewhat broken by Bayezid, Murad's son, was re-established under Timur. Up to the first half of the fifteenth century the Emirs of Karamania residing at Konia

received Ambassadors of other Courts, and kept their independence in the face of both Constantinople and Cairo. Mr. Gibbons draws this information with reference to the *status quo* of Asia Minor during the fourteenth century chiefly from two Moslem travellers; since reliable European sources are lacking, they fill the lacuna by their travel records—*i.e.* Sheabbedin, the Arabic writer from Damascus, and Ibn-Batutah, whose long-lost manuscript was one of the important finds made by the French at the occupation of Algeria. Their records form the basis of Mr. Gibbons' statements about the emirates of Asia Minor and their duration in the fourteenth century. This interesting history of the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire comes to a rather abrupt end with the reign of Sultan Bayezid, who succeeded Murad on the battlefield of Kossova. He was rightly called Yilderim (the Thunderbolt); for one of his first deeds was to summon his brother Yakub, who had distinguished himself during that battle, and was acclaimed by his soldiers, to have him strangled with a bowstring. Thus the abominable practice of removing possible rival claimants by assassination was first initiated on the bloody field of Kossova, subsequently to be elevated to the dignity of a law by Muhammad II., and destined to survive until the most recent times as a blot on the House of Osman. After the blood-thirst of Kossova had been satisfied, and his father's death avenged, Bayezid did his best to enter into friendly relations with the heir of Lazar, Stephen Bulcowitz. He treated the surviving Serbians with great kindness, and asked for Despina, the daughter of Lazar, in marriage. She was granted to him by Stephen, and he went through a formal marriage with her in the mosque of Alladja-Hissar, some twenty miles from Nish. It is said to have been the last marriage ever contracted by a Sovereign of the House of Osman. With the aid of the Serbians, Bayezid now intended to attack the various emirates of Asia Minor, an expedition which finally led to his downfall; for it was in Asia Minor that subsequently the victorious course of the Ottoman army, then already on the eve of capturing Constantinople, was suddenly interrupted by Timur, the great Mongol chief. In glowing colours the author narrates in his last chapter how the hitherto invincible Bayezid was totally defeated at Angora in 1402. He was made a prisoner, and exposed with his wife to the most abject treatment. He died in captivity after eight months. Thus ended the great Bayezid, son of Murad, the conqueror of Thrace and the Balkan Peninsula. The crowning event of his career was the famous battle of Nicopolis, where he defeated King Sigismund of Hungary, who led the Crusaders. This expedition was one of the greatest events of the close of the Middle Ages, the last great international enterprise of feudal chivalry. The author emphasizes the fact that Bayezid won his battle, not with Saracens, Persians, or Egyptians, as the Crusaders, according to Froissart, thought, but with his Serbian and Thracian warriors, who felt more friendly to the Osmanlis than to the Crusaders who had come to help them. With the meteoric rise of the Osmanlis in Europe, and their sudden downfall in Asia Minor at the Battle of Angora against Timur, this interesting volume ends. But we are given to understand that Mr. Gibbons is contemplating a second volume to follow the present, which

will no doubt equal in its merit and interest his first. It will bring before us the extraordinary revival of the Osmanli race under their great warrior Sultans, the descendants of Bayezid, and the final conquest of Constantinople, that greatest jewel in the Ottoman crown, so eagerly desired by Osman.

L. M. R.

MEMOIRS OF A PUBLISHER By George Haven Putnam, Litt D.
(Putnam) Price \$2 00 net

No one who reads this work, which is a great addition to the literature of the world, can fail to cherish a kind of acute personal affection for the author and the goodly number of his friends who are made known to them. Whence this almost inexplicable charm? Well, the book is a model of veracity, and that counts for much. As you read, you are impressed with absolute conviction, and you say "Yes, this is the truth, that event happened thus, and not otherwise." Then, again, his limpid, clear-flowing style forms delightful reading, the criticisms adding piquancy here and there.

With all his love for his fellow-men and all his deep sympathy with modern progress, Mr Putnam does not lack that literary robustness which only comes to a man made fully conscious that literature is not life itself, but only Life's humble handmaid.

There is something more than ordinary about Mr Putnam—something that raises him quite out of and above the crowd of human agents, and something that makes him peculiar even among American men of letters. He defies any convenient theory of averages.

Mr Putnam lives in the world, and knows it as few practical men do, and not only its outer but its inner life, its æsthetic as well as its material side. He lives outside the restricted little world of self, and is interested in the larger, wider life of thought and humanity.

Men like Mr Putnam do more to knit the divisions of the Anglo-Saxon race into unity than all the treaties that were ever concocted.

There is much of the deepest interest in the stories of his illustrious friends. His first impressions of Lord Kitchener, with whom he crossed the Atlantic in the spring of 1910, 'was not entirely favourable.' The figure was tall and the bearing erect and soldierly. The head was sturdy and rather bullet-shaped, and the forehead was low. There was a slight divergence in the eyes, resulting in a sinister expression which doubtless did injustice to the nature of the man. The general impression given by the face was, however, not only autocratic, but suggestive of a capacity for bad temper. One felt that the General would be a bad man to 'come up against' in a matter of discipline or even of opinion.

"The General gave me one evening the benefit of a talk all to myself on the essential importance and value of war for the development and maintenance of character and manliness in the individual and in the community. He could conceive of no power or factor that could replace war as an influence to preserve man from degeneracy. He did not lose sight of the miseries and the suffering resulting from war, but he believed that

the loss to mankind would be far greater from the 'rotteness' of a long peace."

"Memories of a Publisher" should obtain a very wide circulation and popularity
OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, Vol XII. (*Cambridge University Press*)

"Few scholars are critics, William Savage Landor once complained, but I think he would have allowed 'The Cambridge History of English Literature' to be a notable exception in this respect, though one may doubt if he would have extended to Professor Saintsbury—his critic in the volume under review—the well known invitation "I shall dine late, but the room will be well lighted and the guests few but select." Professor Saintsbury would be the last man, I am sure, to let this doubt affect his criticism, indeed, he is a critic to whom no one, however fastidious, would say, as he reports a certain writer saying "You and I ought not to review one another." Incompatibility does not hinder him. He has a genius for appreciation, and, what is more remarkable, the extent of its range is not gained at the cost of loss of critical quality. His voracity and enjoyment remind one of Emerson's picture of the man who has an appetite that could eat the solar system like a cake, and his discernment is as alert and independent in the case of the smallest literary twinkle as in dealing with the bigger stars. His chapter on "Lesser Poets, 1790-1837," is a brilliant survey of a generation of writers subsidiary to Rogers, Moore, and Campbell, the uncertain, almost unconscious groping quality of whose work marks them as belonging to the transition period between Keats and Tennyson. This group, to which belong Beddoes, the author of "Death's Jest Book", Darley, of whom few people know much beyond his very lovely "Nepenthe", Sir Henry Taylor, of whose "Philip Van Artevelde" Professor Saintsbury remarks "It failed on the stage, though if the apparently growing taste for psychological plays were some day to unite itself with a taste for literature, the case might be altered", Hood, and the sonneteer Thomas Wade.

"All felt strongly the literary influences which helped to determine the work of the greater group before them—the recovery of older (especially Elizabethan) English literature, the discovery of foreign, the subtle revival of imagination that is not confined to 'ideas furnished by the senses', the extension of interest in natural objects and the like. . . . But there is still about them a great deal that is undigested and incomplete, and no one of them has a genius or even a temperament strong enough to wrest and wrench him out of the transition stage. . . ."

"Their struggle does not avail much, but it avails something," Professor Saintsbury says later on, and that something, sifted from much voluminous rubbish and appraised with remarkable critical insight, he has given us in this chapter.

Professor Herford's two chapters on Shelley and Keats are a great addition to critical scholarship—especially the chapter on Shelley. The war—as the editors tell us in their preface—has delayed the appearance

of the volume, but it has not affected Professor Herford's very fine appreciation of the relation between these two poets and their time, nor has it tempted him—as it has too often recently tempted other men of letters—to see that time of struggle with Napoleon in any other than its true light of reaction and disillusionment. The same admirable detachment from the present is kept in Professor Moorman's review of Byron. Of the other chapters in this volume, Professor Howe is quite successful in conveying Hazlitt's "sufficient idiosyncrasy" (to borrow an expression from Professor Saintsbury), and Mr Harold Child is good on Jane Austen and the lesser novelists. Mr Elliott's account of the genesis of the four important early reviews of the nineteenth century—*The Edinburgh*, *The Quarterly*, *Blackwood's*, and *The London*—is most interesting. There are, further, chapters on "The Oxford Movement," by the Ven W H Hutton, "The Growth of Liberal Theology," by the Rev F S Hutchinson, "Historians," by Sir A W Ward, and "Scholars, Antiquaries, and Bibliographers," by Sir J. L. Sandys. The volume has, too, an excellent bibliography and table of dates, so that it cannot justly be said that its editors have neglected the strict historical side of its work. And as regards the other aspect of history, the sublime art of investigating material in addition to accumulating it, we have every reason to be extremely grateful for the twelfth volume. I C W

G K CHESTERTON A Critical Study By Julius West (*Martin Secker*) Price 7s 6d

The tide of Mr Martin Secker's modern monographs advances relentlessly, and now it is Mr G K Chesterton who rules the waves (or ought we to say is ruled by them?), and is deposited, an intact specimen, at our feet, a pleasant addition to our bookshelf. The worst of these series of critical studies is that they oblige one, willy nilly, to a complete survey of some writers whom, under ordinary circumstances, one would never dream of taking *entire*, or at least without frequent breaks for outside antidote or relish. I feel like that as regards the subject of Mr Julius West's brilliant study—G K Chesterton.

It is contrary to my appreciation of "G K C." to have to take him continuously and seriously, to have to consider him as a whole, and to be forced to compare his tinsel with his real glitter. And when Mr West comes to the conclusion that Mr Chesterton is not all he thinks he is, I feel rather annoyed, and inclined, like Patricia in "Magic," to say "You've taken away, not quite perhaps a fairy tale, but something nearly as amusing."

However, for those to whom not merely the obiter dicta but all the doxies of Mr Chesterton are not a fairy tale, but a gospel, and doubtless there are people who regard him in this infallible light—Mr West's study is an excellent tonic. It is understanding, witty, and not over chastising, and if the author is, perhaps, just a little bit too much inclined now and again to "show off" on his own account, we must remember that, after all, he has had to read a lot of Mr Chesterton! I C W

RUSSIAN LITERATURE

DOSTOIEVSKY HIS LIFE AND LITERARY ACTIVITY. By Eugenn Solovics, translated by C J Hogarth. (*George Allen and Unwin*) 5s.

This is an interesting sketch of the life of Dostoevsky, showing the bearing of his character and career upon his literary work. Few writers of genius have, as the author points out, struggled so finely in the face of abject poverty, penal servitude, and failing health as this great Russian novelist. Nearly all his work was the outcome of want and the necessity of coping with want, and was written when, plunged to the ears in debt, he was travelling in Siberia or abroad. And yet his talent was so pre-eminently nervous and capricious that even to write an ordinary letter he required inspiration, and he could not survey life and the characters he drew without investing them with the passionate qualities of his own tormented and morbidly introspective nature.

Unlike Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Goncharov, with whom the name of Theodor Mikhailovitch Dostoevsky is usually coupled, who were of the aristocratic class, Dostoevsky belonged to the urban proletariat. His own life and the life of his novels was the sphere of lesser officialdom, of the *intelligentsia*. He was born in Moscow in 1821, in a hospital to which his father was a surgeon, and came of the class of the *raznouchinski*, or plebeians. There was a numerous family, and their childhood was spent in humble, monotonous circumstances, and under a parental discipline and teaching which "took the form of an invincible conviction that life was so serious, so arduous a matter that it must be approached with arms in one's hands, and that even from childhood mortals must prepare against every possible calamity and privation, while fashioning for themselves a clear idea of duties and obligations." To this teaching much of Dostoevsky's diffident, suspicious distrust of life may be traced. There was in his childhood none of that happy optimism which sees the world as a place of kindly good fortune. At school he led a life isolated from his fellows, and his standing lack of money, and his unconquerable habit of spending it, when he had any, upon trivialities, presented greater and greater difficulties to his impatient nature.

The first novel that brought Dostoevsky the fame and the *notion* amid a literary circle that his soul desired was "Poor Folk", it brought him such fame and attention, however, that his sense of triumph overbalanced his painfully sensitive temperament. Ever on the lookout for insults, in a constant mood of resentment lest his work should be belittled, ever anxious to hold the complete attention of those present, he quarrelled with most of his friends and flung all his strength into manifold literary endeavours to achieve greatness at a stroke. But the haste with which he worked rendered any such result impossible, and meanwhile his frame of mind became worse and worse. "I am everything," "I am nothing"—he swung backwards and forwards between the two poles. Mentally and physically wretched, he became seized with a burning rage against con-temporary existence, and his own despair, more than any keen political desires, drew him into the revolutionary movement, which resulted in his

imprisonment and sentence of exile, recorded in the well-known "Letters from a Dead House." It is from this period that a stronger yet more submissive spirit issued. Dostoevsky was forced to concentrate his whole attention upon his inner life and upon a revision of his past.

The force of life represented by the prison walls and the impossibility of surmounting them chastened a spirit which had hitherto recognized no obstacle to his personal ambition. The motives of his creed now became repression of self and service for others. Yet when the term of imprisonment was over, Dostoevsky remained as impatient, as rancorous, as hysterical, as self-diffident a mortal as before his exile, and once again entered upon the struggle of writing under the lash of publishers and of necessity and against time. Then followed "Crime and Punishment," "The Idiot," "The Permanent Husband," and "Demons," and finally the most stupendous of his works, "the most marvellous epic of human vileness, aberration, and psychopathy," his present biographer calls it, "The Brothers Karamazov." Dostoevsky's fame was now established, and that torturing distrust of himself relaxed its clutch. During the last years of his life the general recognition of his genius brought him tranquillity of soul and an almost unrivalled position of trust among the Russian *intelligentsia*.

I. C. W.

PERFUMES OF ARABY. By H. F. Jacob. (*Martin Secker*.)

The title and general "get-up" of this book suggest something exotic, or at least impressions of that rare and intangible quality for which there is no conveyance but the verb "waft." But this is by no means the case. "Perfumes of Araby" is merely a loose collection of jottings of Arabian manners and customs such as stock the reminiscences of the average European resident in the East who has got over his first huge amusement at finding that "they do things differently abroad," but yet continues to the end viewing these differences more or less in the light of a mild joke, worth investigating *pour passer le temps* and for subsequent "racontege." Colonel H. F. Jacob has picked up just about as much entertaining information concerning native habits, beliefs, and sayings, in the Aden Hinterland, as would provide an excellent running commentary to a good series of picture postcards. He has the requisite amount of instruction, sentiment, and jocularly, which vastly entertains an after-dinner audience, and makes them all long to go and see that perfectly fascinating Arabia, unless, perchance, its real, live counterpart should be nearer at hand in an Earl's Court Exhibition.

C. I. W.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

INDIA

THE FAREWELL PARTY TO LORD AND LADY CHELMSFORD

THE Viceroy-Designate and Lady Chelmsford, accompanied by three of their daughters, attended a reception arranged by the National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on March 9, and a large company gathered to meet them. The only formal part of the afternoon was the presentation of the guests to Lord and Lady Chelmsford; after tea there was opportunity for many to have a talk with them. Both took special interest in the Indian students present, and chatted with them on various subjects, including cricket. It was the first time that a Viceroy-Designate paid a visit to the Indian Centre in South Kensington, and the occasion will be remembered with pleasure by all. The large hall was charmingly decorated with oriental draperies, and living India represented practically every part of the country. Among those present were the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., and Lady Cecilia Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Syed Ameer Ali and Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mrs. Gupta, Mr. and Mrs. Dubé, Mr. and Mrs. Dhar, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Mr. A. Ezra, Dr. John Pollen, Sir William and Lady Duke, Sir Swinton Jacob, Sir James Dunlop Smith, Sir John and Lady Stanley, Sir Murray and Lady Hammick, Sir Charles and Lady Bayley, Sir John and Lady Muir-Mackenzie, Sir Charles and Lady Lyall, Sir F. and Lady Robertson, Lady Scott, Sir M. M. Bhowmaggree, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Colonel and Mrs. Muir, Colonel and Mrs. Hendley, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Emanuel, Bishop and Mrs. Copleston, Sir Henry and Lady Primrose, Sir Horatio and Lady Shephard, Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Buckland, Miss Ashworth, Mr. and Mrs. Bevan, Sir J. and Lady Lambert, the Hon. Miss Kinnaird, Mr. S. L. Agarwala, Mr. Ramayya, and many other students and residents from north, south, east, and west of India.

Through the hospitality of Mrs. N. C. Sen, Lady Carmichael, wife of the Governor of Bengal, was entertained at 21, Cromwell Road, last month, and many friends were glad of the opportunity to greet her before her return to India. Lady Carmichael takes a keen and practical interest

in the work of the Calcutta Branch of the National Indian Association, and expressed her gratification in seeing the headquarters in London and in meeting the many British and Indian members, who accepted Mrs. Sen's invitation.

The administration of the Gokhale Memorial Fund is now placed in the hands of the Indian Women's Education Association, of which Lady Muir Mackenzie is President, Sir William Wedderburn hon. treasurer, Sir Krishna Gupta chairman of committee, and the hon. secretaries are Miss Bonnerjee and Mrs. Haigh. The fund will be used for scholarships for qualified Indian girls, who will come to this country for a teachers' training course. The large and important meetings of Indian women, held in various parts of India, have helped the movement for the extension of educational facilities to women and demonstrated that the impetus comes from India, which, according to his reply to the deputation that waited upon him recently, was what the Secretary of State wished to see.

By request of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal was presented to Professor A. A. Macdonnell, of Oxford, at the rooms of the Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, on March 14. Lord Reay, the President, was to have made the presentation, but was detained in Scotland through illness. Lord Sandhurst took his place. The medal in appreciation of scholarship was founded in memory of Sir James Campbell, whose work for the *Bombay Gazetteer* for twenty eight years, 1873 to 1901, is known and honoured throughout the Presidency—and beyond. He also wrote on folklore and the early history of India, in addition to rendering valuable public service in many ways, including work in connection with plague measures. Lord Sandhurst acclaimed Professor Macdonnell as the third and a most worthy recipient of the medal, of world wide repute as a Sanskrit scholar and a foremost authority on the Rig Veda and Vedic literature. In acknowledging the honour conferred upon him the Professor told how, when a student at the University of Göttingen, a copy of Max Müller's lectures on the science of language came into his possession and inspired him with enthusiasm for the study of comparative philology. Under Professor Theodor Benfay, a leading Vedic scholar, his interest in Sanskrit was further stimulated. Since 1899 he has been Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and has carried out his ideas of the duties of a professor—not simply to lecture but to do research work and bring out books that will be of use to students. A long list stands to his credit, the latest, "A Vedic Grammar," has just been published. Professor Macdonnell wishes now to devote himself to an English translation of the Rig Veda, the two German translations are more than forty years old. Lord Reay, in a special message, expressed deep sympathy with Professor Macdonnell in the loss of his son in the war. Lord Reay also advocated the interchange of professors and students of Indian and British Universities to increase the efficiency of all.

THE NEAR EAST

"The Balkan Peninsula is essentially the meeting place of East with West," said Mr H Charles Woods in his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society on "Communication in the Balkans." It is a land of contrasts—great mountain ranges from which the rivers flow in unexpected directions, bare country reminding the traveller of the South African veldt, well cultivated fields and roads in good repair, in Bulgaria, in Turkey, careless mismanagement, with cattle tramping down the standing corn or crossing the newly ploughed fallows, and the magnificent land locked Bocche de Cattaro, "a gem of beauty, the like of which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to surpass in Europe." Mr Woods emphasized the fact that climatic conditions have a great effect upon communications, routes that are good in the summer become impossible in time of heavy rain and melting snow. Hence the alternative roads used at different seasons of the year, and often leading to mistaken information as to lines of communication for military purposes. The Danube, the second largest river of Europe, is of enormous importance, not only as a thoroughfare for traffic, but as an obstacle to through communication between north and south. No bridges span it for the six hundred miles between Petervárad, a Hungarian town, forty miles north west of Belgrade, and Cerna Voda, in Rumania. The Rumanians are justly proud of the bridge—a series of viaducts—which they built at Cerna Voda at a cost of £1,400,000. It was opened in 1895, and, with the port of Constanta on the Black Sea, was one of the reasons why Rumania desired to secure a properly defensible frontier south of Dobrogea by the acquisition of the areas she obtained as the result of the two Balkan Wars. Communications between the various Rumanian railways which reach the north bank of the river and Bulgarian railways which reach the opposite bank, near five different towns, is maintained solely by ferry boats, which do not carry trains. The Danube Commission controls the navigation of the river, which is free to all, and has the right to carry out public works. All members and employes are neutral, and in case of war are to be equally respected by belligerents. As to communications in Turkey, Mr Woods said that neither Sultan Abdul Hamid nor the Young Turks favoured the building of roads and railways, partly owing to internal political reasons, partly to the demands of rival concession hunters. In times of peace a traveller may reach Constantinople in the luxurious Orient Express, but once off the international route, and still within a few days from London, he might be in the heart of an unexplored continent. The result of this inadequate provision for communication has been that the Near East is little known and understood. Mr. Woods gave a detailed account of the main and secondary lines of railway, the most important of which is that which connects Belgrade with Constantinople, and forms the Balkan section of the great trunk route from West to East. He dealt also with the roads from the Adriatic to the interior, from the Aegean, Greece, and Serbia, into Bulgaria, and discussed various plans that have been put forward for extending rail and road communication throughout the Peninsula.

Speeches after the lecture were in the nature of comment upon the geographical features of the Balkans. Lord Bryce waxed enthusiastic over the grand scenery of the Bocche di Cattaro, and gave interesting and amusing personal experiences of his travels in and beyond that region. Sir Edwin Pears pointed out that the present lines of communications follow practically the same as those of ancient times, and the President of the Society, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, suggested that the best way—after the war—to bring about a settlement of the Balkans would be to ask Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons to build hotels and organize tours, the Peninsula would not then remain an unknown land, and intercommunication between the peoples and visitors would make for better knowledge and understanding.

Mr. Freshfield, before the lecture, paid high tribute to the late Sir Clements Markham, whose name has long been associated with the Royal Geographical Society as Secretary and President, and made special reference to his work in and for India—the introduction of the chinchona plant, his history of the Indian Survey, and interest in the Indian navy.

MIDDLE EAST

The art and literature of Armenia so little known in this country, have an able exponent in Miss Zabelle Boyajian, herself an artist of repute, a writer, and a devoted lover of her country. In a lecture given recently to the Women's Freedom League, over which the Hon. Mrs. Forbes presided, Miss Boyajian spoke of the high degree of chivalry and poetic imagination shown in the ancient Armenian legends and fragments of poems which have survived from far distant ages, from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance of Armenian literature at the beginning of the last century, the poetic flame was kept alive by Church dignitaries and wandering minstrels. Very interesting examples were given, and, dealing with modern writers, Miss Boyajian quoted from the works of Raffi, idealist, novelist, and patriot. She spoke also of the writings of women who have dealt with the Woman's Movement, which now touches practically all countries, and the experiences of industrial workers, especially in the mines and factories. A book of English translations from Armenian literature, admirably illustrated with characteristic paintings which, influenced by Persian and by Byzantine art, are of noteworthy interest, will be published in the near future by Messrs. Dent, London.

Mr. Edgar T. A. Wigram, in his lecture to the Central Asian Society on March 15, describing the "Ashureti Highlands of Hakkari" in Mesopotamia, supported the tradition which places the Garden of Eden on the Armenian plateau about the regions now occupied by the vilayets of Van, Erzeroum, and Bitlis. The Zab is the river of Eden, identified with the Pison. "The theory," he observed, "has the merit of giving a satisfactory answer to the vexed question why no Eden exists now.

All the original face of the ground now lies buried hundreds of feet deep beneath the ashes and lava flowing from five huge quiescent volcanoes ; when these were in full activity they must have been very fitting representatives of Cherubim with flaming swords." The Zab gorge, he added, in spite of its narrowness, is one of the main avenues of traffic in these regions, and if ever a railway is constructed to link Mesopotamia with Armenia, it will have to be along the line of the river. He considered that the Russians at Bitlis would "not find it easy to get into touch with the British on the Tigris above Mosul."

RUSSIA

"The Intercourse between Russia and China after the time of Peter the Great" was the subject of Mr. J. Dyer Ball's lecture to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society at the March meeting. This period, it was pointed out, was one of the most important in the whole cycle of intercommunication between the two great Empires. The memorable embassy of Sava Vladislavitch, sent to Peking in the reign of Catherine the Great, was described at length, with details of its equipment, its expenses, and its presents to the Chinese Court. China feared the Russian advance in Asia, commercial as well as political ; Russia declared that her desire was to improve the administration of her new territories. There were long negotiations, and the dissension and jealousy among the Chinese appointed for the delimitation of the frontier greatly assisted the Russians. An amusing incident was told of the smuggling across the frontier of a Bishop as an archimandrite, as it was reported that the Chinese were frightened by the imposing title of Bishop. The most important results of the Treaty of Kiatchka were the dispatch of a trading expedition from Russia to China every three years, and the establishment at Peking of an ecclesiastical mission which, among other activities, produced valuable works on Chinese subjects. The Russian Ambassador, said the lecturer, was instructed at that time to make enquiries as to the military resources of the Chinese Empire, and the result was a carefully prepared report on the possibilities of a Russian conquest of China. Such a conquest was declared feasible owing to the unmilitary spirit of the Chinese and their dislike of their Manchu rulers.

- - - -

A Russian exhibition, small, and organized under serious difficulty in the matter of transport, attracted considerable attention in London last month. Realistic pictorial scenes of life in Russia in peace and war were among the principal attractions, also lace and embroidery made by peasants, wood carving, toys, and fancy articles. The Russian trenches and dug-outs, fitted with periscopes and other military apparatus, and a giant Russian aeroplane brought the reality of war before the eyes of visitors. Mr. Walter Winans, who gave great practical help, opened the exhibition.

The Speaker of the House of Commons presided at the meeting of the Russia Society on March 17, and M. de Wessilitsky, London correspondent of the *Novoe Vremya*, lectured on "The German Peril and the Grand Alliance." He outlined certain conditions of peace with regard to territory. Territory east of the Elbe, with the Prussian provinces, Saxony and Mecklenburg, which have small Slav populations, he said, should be placed at the disposal of the Allies in exchange for the German provinces of Austria which might wish to join Germany, an International Commission to administer them, further suggestions were the suppression of serfdom, religious services in the Slavonian and Lithuanian languages, freedom to open Slav, Polish, and Lithuanian schools, self-government, universal suffrage, and land for peasants who needed it

A. A. S

THE KING-EMPEROR AND THE CONVALESCENT INDIAN SOLDIERS

THE departure of the convalescent Indian soldiers from this country was marked by a pleasing and significant incident. A loyal address was presented to His Majesty the King-Emperor at Buckingham Palace by twenty-six Indian officers from the Convalescent Home at Barton, Hampshire. His Majesty was accompanied by the Queen-Empress; the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Household in Waiting were in attendance. The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, General Sir Charles Egerton, General Sir Edmund Barrow, Colonel Sir Walter Lawrence, and Colonel Sir James Dunlop Smith, were also present. The Indian officers were presented to their Majesties by Colonel J. Chaytor White, I.M.S., Commandant of the Convalescent Home at Barton.

Subadar Sher Singh, 34th Sikh Pioneers, on behalf of the Indian officers, read the address, to which His Majesty was graciously pleased to read a reply.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been graciously pleased to make the following appointment to the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India: To be G.C.S.I.—General Sir Edmund George Barrow, G.C.B., Secretary in the Military Department, India Office.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Babington Bennett Newbould, Indian Civil Service, to be a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in succession to Mr. Justice Holmwood, who is about to retire from the Bench.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Ewart Greaves to be a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in succession to Mr. Justice Hassan Imam, who has resigned his seat on the Bench.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Mr. William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service to be a Member of the Council of India, in succession to Sir Steyning Edgerley, whose term of office will shortly expire.

The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, entertained on February 24 at dinner, at

Claridge's Hotel, the Viceroy Designate of India, Lord Chelmsford. There were present : The Prime Minister and Members of the Cabinet, the Vice-President and Members of the Council of India and representatives of the India Office, and the High Commissioners for the Oversea Dominions.

The following were also present : His Highness the Raja of Ratlam, His Highness the Aga Khan, Lord Inchcape, Lord Stamfordham, Sir George Barnes, General Sir John Nixon, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir K. G. Gupta, Sir Ali Imam, the Raj Kumar Sirdar Singh of Shapura, and Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P.

The Secretary of State for India has recently had under consideration proposals made to him by the Government of India for accelerating the promotion of officers of the Indian Army by the grant of temporary rank, with the object of preventing their wholesale supersession by regimental officers of the British Army owing to the exceptional circumstances of the present time.

With the concurrence of the Army Council, he now sanctions the following measures :

1. Temporary Promotion with Pay of Rank.

In Indian Army units serving in the Expeditionary Forces overseas, one temporary step of rank with pay of such higher rank in addition to any available Staff Pay is granted to any officer below the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel who has acted for a complete thirty days or more in a regimental vacancy for Commandant, when the vacancy is the result of active service; similarly, one step of rank with pay to any officer below the rank of Major who has acted as Second in Command, and one step of rank with pay to any officer below the rank of Captain who has similarly acted as Squadron or Double Company Commander.

2. Temporary Promotion without Pay of Rank.

All officers of the Indian Army recommended as fit for promotion will be granted the temporary rank of Captain and Major respectively after six and sixteen years' service, with retrospective effect from September 1, 1915. This rank is to be held till absorbed by subsequent promotion; it will not carry any increase of pay, but will qualify during the war for the rate of wound, injury, or family pension and gratuity appropriate to the higher rank, if the claim to such pension arises out of the war.

Note.—Under the ordinary system established in the Indian Army promotion depends, subject to fitness in each case, on the length of commissioned service in accordance with the following scale :

Captain after nine years' service ;

Major after eighteen years' service ;

Lieutenant-Colonel after twenty-six years' service, unless previously promoted on appointment to regimental command or other appointment of equivalent status.

These promotions are irrespective of the occurrence of vacancies in the next higher rank. This system, by securing regular promotion, is greatly to the advantage of officers of the Indian Army in normal times.

In the British Army, on the other hand, promotion depends on the occurrence of vacancies in the regimental cadres.

It follows that in times of peace the Indian Army officers enjoy, as regards promotion from rank to rank, the advantage of freedom from blocks in promotion, whilst in a great war like the present the advantage as regards promotion in rank is favoured by the regimental system of the British Army. The difference of system does not, however, in war time place officers of the Indian Army at any great disadvantage, generally speaking, in respect of pay, when compared with the British Army, because the emoluments

of the former do not depend only on their rank, as regulated by the time-scale, but also on their regimental or staff appointments, which with the pay of their rank makes their total emoluments generally higher than that of corresponding ranks in the British Army. But the rapidity of promotion in the British Army caused by the war is detrimental to the officers of the Indian Army, as it involves supersession by their juniors to an undesirable extent. The concessions of temporary rank described above are in the direction of adjusting this disproportion.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. George Seymour Curtis, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, in succession to Mr. W. D. Sheppard, on the latter's appointment to be a member of the Council of India.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, and Mr. George Carmichael, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, in succession to Mr. C. H. A. Hill, appointed a Member of the Governor-General's Council, and Sir Richard A. Lamb, who will shortly vacate his seat on the expiration of his term of office.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Sir Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E., to be a Member of the Council of India, in succession to Sir Felix Schuster, whose term of office will shortly expire.

LONDON THEATRES

New Theatre — "Caroline," by W Somerset Maugham

The author of "Lady Frederick" has presented us with a new "Light Comedy" of the form and composition we have grown accustomed to expect and enjoy from him. Caroline Ashley, the wife of one in distant Nairobi, addicted to adenoids and brandy, unloving and unloved, finds consolation in the ideal companionship of Robert Oldham, a successful barrister—a companionship, by the way, which is known and approved of by everybody, because it is entirely above board. For ten years, this unwedded bliss continues, only to be rudely shaken by the news of the death of the husband.

The sudden removal of this bar was awkward enough, but matters were made worse by her two match-making friends (?) Isabella Trench and Maude Fultor, who, unsnubbed because unsnubbable, adorn her parlour with their unfailing presence in their eagerness to be on the spot when, as they thought, the companionship was to be consummated with an engagement. This solution is quite put out of court by Robert's half-hearted and unconvincing proposal, and a similar fate awaits her other admirer, Rex—for he, too, prefers to prolong his agony. Her two lady friends give her no peace. Something must be done, so she hits on Dr Cornish, her physician, who informs her that her malady is middle age, and on whom she turns the tables by insisting on his marrying her. What is more, this dramatic turn is to be announced *sur le champ* to all parties. And sure enough they all assemble to hear the great news. "Contigere omnes, intencique ora tenebant." Dr Cornish, diplomat, announces "Caroline's husband is not dead, on the contrary, he has walked out of this room five minutes ago!"

All dumbfounded, not least Caroline herself. But she sees at once that the medico's solution is even better.

All accept this gorgeous explanation—and her two lovers sink back to bask luxuriously in the lap of unrequited passion, from which stern reality had dragged them.

And thus fare they who drift irresolutely on life's stream. All the characters were admirably interpreted. Miss Irene Vanbrugh was Caroline, Mesdames Lillah McCarthy and Nina Sevensing her two lady friends; Messrs. Leonard Boyne and Martin Lewis her male admirers. Mr Dion Boucicault as the doctor was particularly effective.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

MAY 15, 1916

WHAT A GERMAN VICTORY WOULD MEAN TO BURMA AND CHINA*

BY DAVID ALEC WILSON

THE Germans are less hated in China at present than elsewhere, because the Chinese mostly stay at home in thought and feeling, and are now preoccupied with quarrels of their own. Then there is a certain jealousy of the Japanese, and like every other people in history the Chinese are sure to be more than impartial, if not well disposed, to enemies of their neighbours. Not a single Burman, not one in a hundred thousand of the Chinese, knows any other Germans than the traders, always agreeable and serviceable. So they say that this is a "war of clans" which does not interest them, and they and others suppose the Germans to be like the rest of the "foreign devils."

The Orientals never made a bigger mistake, and it is well worth while to explain for their benefit some things familiar to Europeans and taken for granted among them, but sometimes unsuspected by others, because seldom mentioned.

America and Europe have something to teach China in surgery and mechanics, but in moral philosophy they have more to learn than to teach. The Chinese have such excellent reasons for satisfaction with Confucius and their other sages that

* This may be translated into any language.

they do not need to go abroad to learn the rules of righteousness. But though it is not needed, it will surely be a great pleasure to them to discover that the maxims of Confucius and Mencius are confirmed by the approval of the West. England and France, Russia and Serbia, Belgium and Italy, Japan, and the English Colonies which have joined in this war, were living and letting others live in a civilized way ; but Germany was dominated by the "Kaiser" and a killer-caste of gentry, who lived like parasites upon their own people and, like vermin, were hungry for more. They planned to conquer and "Germanize" the world—that is to say, to reduce the rest of the world into their service in the same way as Chingiz Khan and his Tartars did. The Chinese and the Americans, looking idly on the awful war between the Germans and their nearest victims, are like men who are vacantly gaping at their neighbours fighting a tiger. It may be best to leave the Powers at grips with the enemies of mankind to finish the fight ; but let the onlookers be ready to help if needful, and feel and know that if the tiger conquers, it is their turn next.

The similarity between American and Confucian political ideals is familiar in the East. Both trust administration to experts in preference to committees or assemblies. The Emperor Yao appointed no son of his own to succeed him, but the fittest man, Shun ; and Shun did likewise, appointing Yu. As Mencius intimates, it was the fault of the people themselves that the son of Yu succeeded his father and began a dynasty ; and nobody of consequence in China needs to be told, what is hardly suspected in the rest of the world, that the Republic now set up is not a clumsy imitation of America, but a deliberate attempt to practise principles which have been the orthodox politics of "the flowery land" for two and a half millenniums. Government by consent is, like printing, a discovery which the Chinese had made before we thought about it. The benevolent neutrality of America and England is likely to leave the Chinese free to work out their own evolution in their own way. But

suppose the Germans had won this war as they expected. What would have happened then? If England, France and Russia had not rushed to help the Belgians and Serbians, the Germans would have won quite easily. And then?

What could either China or America have done if the Kaiser and his cut-throats had taken them by surprise? Surely the nations should be like men and ready to help each other against a common enemy. The world has no longer room for either men or nations whose hands are against all others, so that all others have to be against them. We cannot afford the savage the solitude he wants, and so we keep lunatic asylums for his accommodation. And when a nation runs amuck because it is domineered by a Kaiser of such temper, the world should unite to resist it.

Electricity and steamers, railways and other machines, are knitting the world together, making the nations all members one of another. But the very inventions which enabled us all to work together provided for the Kaiser and his comrades an opportunity to emulate Chingiz Khan and Co., whom they admired. They were like boys who had failed to grow up, and had inherited high posts which few of them even tried to deserve. Like boys who had been fooled to the top of their bent, they had never learned to feel or think, but were cruel, greedy, and mischievous; and the absent-minded common Germans, like packs of wolves, unthinking, did whatever was bidden.

With millions of obedient German soldiers as their tools, the enterprise of conquering the world was made easy by modern inventions; and like ancient Rome and Babylon, the German gentry meant to fight their enemies one at a time. But Heaven apparently intended otherwise. When men are doomed they are stupefied, and pride goes before destruction. The Germans proudly revealed their plans, imagining they could hypnotize the world into submission; and the nations the Kaiser intended to cut up separately decided to fight him together.

In 1914 the peace might have been kept if the Kaiser had been allowed to take and keep Belgium and Serbia and Turkey. The hungriest tiger needs to pause for digestion, and loot to that extent would have sufficed awhile. And then? To exploit China was the avowed intention of Kiao-Chau, and the German fleet in the Chinese seas could have dealt with the Japanese fleet as the Japanese had dealt with the Russian.

The Russians and the Chinese have more in common and more cause to sympathize with each other than any other two; for both have suffered for generations the tyranny of the Tartars. The Russians are chafing still at the sight of their ugly neighbours the Turks, the last surviving Tartars in the world, who live by exploiting and delight in massacring the kinsmen of the Russians and other Christians. From centuries of suffering the Russians have learned to stand shoulder to shoulder against the Tartars; and so they are uniting against the Germans, like civilized men against the savages. For the German Kaiser and his gentry are savages, as cruel as any in the world. The German commoners are like other people, but as yet the good men among them, who understand what is happening, are too few. The crowds are befooled or frightened, and cringe to the Kaiser and obey him as dogs obey a master.

Orientalists may recall how the Kaiser incited the men he sent to fight the Boxers to practise cruelty and plunder in order to make the Chinese afraid of them. But few in Asia know that he and his killers reviled the English for standing behind the Japanese when there was war between Russia and Japan. The Russian common people held back on that occasion, and their Government was defeated; but the German Government anxiously helped the Russian, hoping to keep China for its share; and was only induced to keep out by the threat that England would intervene. Then the Germans cried that the English were betraying Europe.

The Kaiser saw a chance of infinite loot in America too, and spoke cheerily about wringing Uncle Sam's neck ; and had everything ready for action, but desisted on finding it meant war with England too.

It was not religious self-sacrifice for others that made the English stand between the Kaiser and the intended Chinese or American victims. It was the instinct of self-preservation. The English people have always meant to support themselves and live by honest working, neither exploiting others nor being exploited ; and just as formerly they helped the Dutch against the Spaniards and then the French, so now they help the Belgians against the Germans, and join in war against the latest would-be bully of the world as they joined before against others like him. Many a time Orientals have done likewise, and Burmese and Chinese in particular have been almost as successful as the English in preserving freedom. The Allies and they are like one family, and differ only as men of one province differ from another.

What may make them suspicious is that they are apt to see the worst side of the Europeans in Asia, as the Europeans see the worst side of Asiatics in Europe. But there are recent events which should be convincing. The opium imposition on China was as bad as could be ; but honest men in England denounced it as against the measuring square, which is called in England the "golden rule," to do to others as we would wish the others to do to us. The best thing about England is that people there control the politicians and feel to blame if the Government does wrong, because the men who govern are the agents of the people. So those who disapproved of the opium iniquity held meetings and printed papers, and for two generations agitated with the same disinterested public spirit that might be manifested by faithful followers of the teaching of Confucius and Mencius, and at last succeeded in enlightening their heedless fellow-countrymen, and blocking the ugly business. It is not by means of a war,

but by the justice of the Chinese cause becoming plain to the public conscience, that the Chinese have been delivered from the oppression of the opium-farmers. Orientals do not need to be told that this is the best way for men to learn to have patience with the failings of others and improve themselves, and live and work together.

But is not the English Empire one of conquest, such as the Prussian Germans are seeking to set up? No, for the German bosses are more Tartar than the Tartars, believing in force and nothing else, despising other men; whereas the English believe in governing by consent. Thus in India, where the confusion of races and creeds would seem to leave them at liberty to do whatever they liked, the English have never intentionally, only inadvertently, "imposed themselves." Their law and custom is to respect the laws and customs of others. There are rascals and would-be bullies everywhere, but in political business they are so well kept down in England that nine men out of ten there think of the American War of Independence as the Americans themselves do, and Canada and New Zealand, Australia and Cape Colony, are as free as America.

The Chinese are proud of their behaviour to Ceylon. A hundred years before the Europeans discovered the way round Africa to the East, the King of Ceylon maltreated Chinese merchants. The Chinese Government sent an expedition which was refused redress, and then defeated the foolish King and brought him a captive to China. But in a very few years the Chinese restored complete independence to Ceylon, assisting the natives to select a better King. This proves the justice of the Chinese boast that theirs is not an Empire of force, but a Free Confederation to which it is an honour to belong; and surely they can recognize that the English Empire is becoming similar when they notice that the Transvaal has been treated by the English as Ceylon was treated by the Chinese.

Why do the English in Egypt not confine themselves to the canal, which alone may be considered their business? Because Egypt is not ready to stand alone, and would now be under the heel of the Turks and German gentry if English colonials had not rushed to defend it. These men did not come to spoil the Egyptians, but to keep the canal safe.

Assuredly the Egyptians and the Burmese, the Sikhs and the Bengalis and all other kinds of Indians—there are over two thousand different castes—will soon be living their own lives in their own ways, more comfortably than ever before, if the Germans are defeated. Can any of them hope to do so if the Germans win? The difference between the Allies and the Germans as now controlled for their Kaiser's glory is that the Germans seek to domineer the world and make all other nations their slaves or imitators, whereas the Allies wish each to be as Nature made it—Italians Italians, Japanese Japanese, and so on.

Perhaps the most impudent of the German lies is their statement that they are fighting for the freedom of the seas. The American sage, Norman Angell, who teaches the same right principles as Confucius in foreign affairs, has shown in his latest book on the "Great Highway," meaning the sea, that "England's unquestioned naval supremacy . . . does not encroach upon social and political freedom . . . and has given England's commerce no privilege which the commerce of all other nations has not possessed." Thus he points out that the great period of expansion in German overseas trade was a period in which German naval power was negligible. In short, as this most competent of all the neutrals testifies, the English navy has injured none but wrong-doers. The Germans to-day are sinking whatever they can, sending big ships with hundreds of passengers to the bottom without a warning; neutral ships as readily as any others. Confucius said, "I listen to men's words and watch their deeds." That is the way to take the measure

of the German Kaiser. What Germans mean by freedom of the seas is freedom for their Kaiser to blackmail the world, and whenever it suits him murder unrestricted.

In Asia Minor they are teaching refinements in cruelty to the unspeakable Turks, exterminating communities of Armenians. In Serbia and Poland they make a wilderness and call it peace; but it is in Belgium, where they started the war, that the intentions of the Kaiser and his gentry are plainest, for there they had their soldiers under the same control as if upon parade, and drove them, poor men often weeping with pity and risking their lives to save the victims, to pillage, murder, rape, and burn. They meant to make the world afraid of them, and squirted oil to make the houses burn the quicker, and often shut people inside to be roasted alive. They tied fainting girls on tables in a public square, and made an officer and a dozen men rape each. They cut off children's hands and women's breasts, and butchered old and young in cold blood, sometimes making the victims dig their own graves in advance. When killing an English nurse in Brussels (Miss Cavell), they made a pretence of trying her. This was more loathsome than anything imagined of Hell by Buddhist or Christian, for, of course, the trial was a mockery of justice. The woman's real offence was that she did not worship the Germans. At the place of execution, where she was to be shot, the newspapers reported that the soldiers refused to fire, and as the woman lay fainting on the ground, a gallant officer shot her through the head with his pistol.

In as much of France as they could enter, the unhappy German soldiers had to behave as they did in Belgium; but at sea the Germans could not fight the English fleet, and so they could not send an army across; and when they sent aeroplanes by day, they had to return in a hurry. So all they could do has been to send airships by night to drop bombs wherever they could; and in this way they have killed and maimed hardly any soldiers but a few hundreds of men, women, and children, and destroyed many houses.

The Kaiser does this for an excuse to tell lies about immense slaughter done in England, and so to hide from the deluded Germans the fact that the German armies have been stopped.

The Tartars debated whether to make China a desert for grazing cattle or let the millions of people there pay tribute and live. The Kaiser and his killers by trade are imitation Tartars, but would not imitate them in learning a little justice from the civilized people they wish to exploit. They are too proud, and proclaim they are the sons of Heaven, and come to Germanize the world. There will be none of the Tartar mercy shown by them, for they need more than tribute. They want submission, service, worship. The Hindu god Shiva, and his wife Kali, wear necklaces of skulls; but at their nightmare worst they are as harmless as monkeys compared to the Kaiser and his caste of killers. Like other false gods, he is most terrible to his dupes. Let Asia think of this. Men cannot escape the horror he inspires by bowing down before him. If his throne were set upon a pyramid of the corpses of the men who obeyed him and were killed in this war in the last two years, he would be lifted out of sight; and the wounded of his hosts might be littered over miles around—already they are counted in millions.

For more than twenty years he has been making all the young men serve in the army, and take oath to obey him whatever he commands; and then they are taught thus: "You cannot understand the oath you have taken. You cannot tell right from wrong, but if the Kaiser so commands, kill your own kindred, even your own fathers and mothers."

No Oriental needs to be told the absurdity of this. An oath cannot be binding on a man of sense except as a promise, and a promise not understood is not a promise, and one extorted by force is an injury and not an obligation. And how can any man be doing right in murdering his own relatives, father and mother? And what are we

to call the man who says he has the right to command that? As Confucius or Mencius would have said: "He is neither a God nor a Devil, but only a common scoundrel who ought to be killed."

The earth would soon be worse than ever hell was dreamed to be if men had patience to obey and adore the like of him. Heaven makes no mistakes. Europe is afflicted because it tolerated such idols. When humanity is weak and dark enough to worship and obey bad men, it has to suffer the penalties which Nature lays on folly, what saints and sages of every kind would call the wrath of Heaven.

THE BATTLE OF BUXAR

BY COLONEL SIR EDWARD THACKERAY, V.C., K.C.B.

THE following account by Mr. A. F. C. De Cosson of the Battle of Buxar, fought on October 23, 1764, is taken from the *Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society* for July-September, 1910.

Buxar lies at the western extremity of Bengal on the Ganges, and not far from the Kamnasa. The cemetery contains many inscriptions of interest, among others being one of Lieutenant-General Sir Gabriel Martindell, K.C.B., who died universally regretted on January 2, 1831, at the age of seventy-six years. Sir Gabriel entered the Honourable East India Company's service in 1772, and during fifty-eight years he never quitted India; and in all the service in which he was engaged he obtained the approbation and thanks of the Government, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Honourable the Court of Directors. He served in the Mahratta War of 1804-05; and commanded the troops in Bundelcund, 1809-12; captured the fort of Kalinjar, 1812; commanded a division in the Nepal War, 1814-15; held a command in the Pindaree War and in Kuttack, 1818; and was Lieutenant-General commanding a division at Cawnpore, 1820.

Leaving the cemetery, and after crossing the Buxar Canal, which connects with the Sone near Dehri, one arrives at the fort. This is a square brick structure with circular

bastions at each corner. It is close to the river bank, and no doubt the guns in the embrasures were capable of commanding the Ganges and its traffic. The fort itself is small, but appears to have been protected once by outworks.

Its history seems to be unknown, but it must have been in existence prior to 1764, and was practically rebuilt by the British. It must have had a garrison of British and native troops for many years, besides being the Government Stud Dépôt till about the middle of the last century.

Buxar, according to "Hunter's Gazetteer," "is a place of great sanctity, and is said to have been originally called Vedagarbha, the womb of the Vedas, as many of the inspired writers of the Vedic hymns lived here."

After the Patna massacre — September, 1763 — Mir Kasim retired into Oudh to implore the assistance of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Shūjah-oo-daulah. He eventually obtained this assistance, and with his own troops commanded by Sombre and Madec he was joined by Shūjah with his strong and numerous army.

René Madec was an adventurer in the French service. Born at Quimper, in Brittany, of poor parents, he began life as a sailor, and went out to India in 1748 as a recruit in the service of the French East India Company; but soon wearying of this, deserted and joined the French troops at Pondicherry, was taken prisoner by the English at Jinji on the Coromandel coast, and consented with many of his companions to serve in the English army in Bengal. After several years a mutiny among the troops afforded them a chance of escape: Madec was chosen Captain by his comrades; gradually collected a body of troops, both Frenchmen and sepoys, and from 1765 to 1777 pursued a brilliant career as a guerilla leader and adventurer; served thus under various native Princes, but always under the French flag, and never losing sight of his country in India; was in the service of Shūjah-oo-

daulah, Nawab of Oudh, till his defeat by the English at Buxar, when he passed over to the Jats; took service in 1772 under the Mogul Emperors; performed many brave deeds, and was granted many honours; made a Nawāb of the first class. After the siege of Delhi by the united forces of the Mahrattas and the Jats, and the defeat of the Emperor, Madec rejoined his countrymen at Pondicherry, and took part in its defence against the English: after its capitulation he left India in 1778, returned to France, where he died, worn out by all his many hardships, in 1784.

The above account of the career of René Madec is taken from the "Dictionary of Indian Biography," by Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E.

Mir Kasim was afterwards cast out by Shūjah, and was not himself present at Buxar. Some time previously Shah Alam, subsequently Emperor of Delhi, had also come with a few followers into Oudh on a similar errand for assistance; and he was kept more or less a prisoner in Shūjah's camp throughout the campaign. The English, on hearing of this confederacy and of its advance on Bengal, went on from Patna to meet them at the River Kamnasa.

The English were in the neighbourhood of the Kamnasa south of Buxar from January, 1764, except when they fell back on Patna in April under Carnac. This backward movement resulted in the sharp action under the walls of Patna on May 3, whither Carnac had been followed.

One cannot but also mention here the numerous mutinies which took place during this campaign, firstly in the camp near the Kamnasa among the mixed* European and the native battalions. This mutiny was partly due to the reward given to the troops by Mir Jafar being withheld by

* Besides English, there were four French companies—one under Claud Martin, who himself remained loyal—and some Dutch from Biddera, and Germans.

the Calcutta Council. Eventually, after much trouble and a number of desertions, the money came, but it was unfairly distributed. The Europeans received six times the amount the sepoy were allowed, and this led to a second mutiny among the native regiments, which, however, was quelled with fresh concessions.

The third mutiny took place when Sir Hector (then Major) Munro—the victor of Buxar—was ordered to take over the command from Carnac. This third mutiny happened at Manjhi, where there was a sepoy battalion under Captain Galliez, but before much harm was done another native battalion—the 6th—from Chapra, under Captain Trevanion, surprised the Manjhi sepoys, who surrendered to their native comrades. This was extraordinary, as Trevanion had no European troops to back him up. On August 13 Munro arrived at Chapra, and at once took decisive action to stop mutinies; he blew twenty-four of the ringleaders from the guns.

From then onwards, under Munro, the arrangements to bring the Nawāb Wazir to bay were rapidly carried out. During his advance there were two minor engagements, one at the crossing of the Sone, and the other on the Banas, near Arrah. He arrived at Buxar with the enemy on his front on October 22, and he there desired to rest his troops on the 23rd before attacking, but the enemy's advance on the morning of that day somewhat surprised the British.

In the order for battle, Major Munro's army was arranged as follows: The right centre, under Captain Wemyss, consisted of the Marines, 84th, 89th, and 90th Regiments. The left centre, under Captain Macpherson, consisted of two Bombay and two Bengal regiments, and the Honourable East India Company's Europeans; while on the right and left flanks were two battalions of sepoys. The second line consisted of 200 of the Bengal European battalion, and two battalions of sepoys on either flank; there were besides twenty-eight light guns and about 1,000 cavalry, in all, ex-

clusive of officers and sergeants, 7,072* men, of whom 857 were Europeans. The right and left wing commanders were Majors Champion and Hibbert respectively, while Major Pemble commanded the second line. The enemy's numbers were superior, and besides they held a strong pre-chosen position ; in the battle they lost about 2,000 killed, besides wounded, together with 133 cannon and twelve lakhs' worth of booty !

In the grey dawn of that October morning, 1764, the enemy were discovered advancing, covered for the most part by the groves of trees and the low-lying mists. They opened fire before Munro's guns were within range, and he had to move forward in the face of this cannonade. Before the English had barely time to form, their baggage was temporarily captured, and the enemy's strong cavalry then attacked the second line ; in the meantime, Munro had advanced his infantry on the right wing with success ; however, as more of the enemy's cavalry was seen coming up, he had to reinforce the infantry before they could drive back the enemy on the right permanently. Meanwhile, in the other parts of the field the battle was being hardly fought, for the enemy, besides being superior in numbers, were exceptionally brave, and it was only the steadiness of Munro's troops that won the day ; then, again, a panic was caused owing to the Nawab Wazir's men in the fort being surprised, and to their retreating in disorder. A general retreat followed, and as soon as the Nawab Vizir was safe with his regular troops and treasure across the Thora Naddec, he broke the bridge of boats and abandoned the rest of his army to Munro. This act caused a most panic-stricken rush into the flooded waters of the Nadi, where, pressed by the English, the enemy were killed and drowned in great numbers.

There was no doubt that Shūjah-oo-daulah was a most able commander, which was proved perhaps more at Patna

* Of these, the British lost 847 killed and wounded, of whom nine were European officers.

than at Buxar. The army under him, too, were brave—the Shekzadi and Durani cavalry and the European-officered infantry and artillery alone were most respectable troops. But this hard-fought battle was a trial for pluck and steady discipline, which was irresistible in the British and British-trained battalions. In the words of Malleeson: “Had the English been badly beaten—and defeat would have meant annihilation—Shūjah-oo-daulah would not have stopped short of Calcutta. What were the consequences of this defeat? Buxar was fought on October 23, 1764. By the following February the English had subdued the country as far as Allahabad, including Chunar; in March they had overrun Awadh (Oudh), occupied Fyzabad, Benares, and Lakhnao, beaten the enemy at Karrah, again at Kalpi, on the Jumna, and finally forced the Nawab Wazir—‘a houseless wanderer’—to throw himself upon their generosity. The extent of the territory conquered alone prevented the English from, at the time, taking the fullest advantage of their victory.”

THE INEXCUSABLE SIN IN TIME OF WAR

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF (NÉE KIRÉEFF)

Is Christianity given up, or at all events, considering what is going on in many parts of the world, is the Divine Christian Doctrine quite given up?

Terrible accounts reach us every day of children dying from want of necessary food, of hundreds of people unable to get indispensable fuel, food, and warm clothing in bitterest cold, as the present year has been exceptionally hard to bear.

On the other hand, one hears great fortunes are made, precisely thanks to these deplorable conditions of life. "Surely something is rotten in the State of Denmark." Not only generous and kind people are wanted at this moment to help and save, but what is also indispensable—intelligent, cultivated, determined characters are required; and as a Russian Greek Orthodox, I may be pardoned if I add: people permeated with devotion to Christian duty. But what do we hear instead? I hear, for instance, that in our lifetime an American *millionnaire* invited his *millionnaires* friends to a meeting, when it was declared that the best members of a Cabinet, as heads of the Administration, ought to be *millionnaires* like themselves; in other words, the only power at the head of a country should be, according to their idea, only money, only thirst for money, and disregard and contempt of the ethical

means. In fact these are now declared almost silly and scoffed at. These cynical doctrines, though discussed privately, almost in secret, became however known, and national indignation was felt in the circles, poor in money, though rich in better qualities, such as real patriotism, real compassion and love, real justice and fair play. The *milliardaires* dared not press the scheme, and it fell through rapidly. In this case the minority was wrong and the majority was right. *Vox populi* has actually become *Vox Dei*. But, strangely enough, this awful doctrine captivated the mind of the present ruler of Germany, and the Kaiser, on receiving the *millionnaire* Rhodes, enthusiastically exclaimed in embracing the King of Gold: "How I deplore not to have Ministers like you!" There can be no doubt as to the sincerity of His Majesty in that case. But when traces in that direction of despotic greed manifest themselves, I think it the duty of everyone to study earnestly the ways and means of those who suddenly become tremendously wealthy, whilst others in consequence and nearly in the same proportion are deprived of the most urgent necessities for maintaining an honourable and honest life. Naturally you hear all sorts of arguments calculated to minimize that opposition. The question is insisted upon, what are the real necessities of life? This of course is a difficult question depending on private cases, which cannot be solved theoretically in a general way, and in which the interference of a wise and well-informed Government can be of great use and help and should despotically step in at once.

Of course every country has her own peculiar features, habits, and traditions, which ought to be considered. I, for one, think it almost a duty to repeat openly and frankly what I hear in Russia about the monstrous rise in prices. My personal ignorance for solution of these vital problems must not prevent my faithful reproduction of opinions expressed by people less ignorant than myself. At any rate this[^] what is said about the tremendous rise in

prices for all the unquestionably urgent daily necessities of life.

As all the countries are fighting this same evil of dearth of living, it may be interesting to record what measures are recommended in Russia.

A very good Petrograd paper called *Kolokol* (The Bell), introduces to its readers the views of an engineer, Mr. Emilianoff, on the above "question brûlante" of the moment.

In view of the diminution in the export trade on account of the war, enormous stores of corn and wheat and kindred products have remained in Russia, and should consequently have fallen in price. An astonishing contradiction, however, stares us in the face, in the shape of a positive riot of high prices. Obviously, this abnormal state of affairs is simply the outcome of unbridled speculation.

THOSE BANEFUL SYNDICATES

Almost all Russian trade is in the hands of syndicates that regulate prices and the extent of production. The most baneful of these syndicates are those connected with raw produce, since by artificially raising the prices of goods that are indispensable for purposes of manufacture their influence reacts severely upon the entire trade of the country.

WHERE THERE ARE NO SYNDICATES

In the few cases where there are no syndicates, the principal part is played by speculating Trade Banks, and "agreements" or contracts with local wholesale merchants. Actually, by law, banks have no right to occupy themselves with trading operations, yet by granting loans to the extent of 99 per cent. the banks become the proprietors of the goods. Such speculations can be indulged in by banks on a colossal scale: they can buy any product they please, keep it in its warehouses, and only allow limited quantities at a time to reach the market. To compete with banks is impossible. The Government bank pays us no interest at

all on current accounts, and for this reason the general public puts its money into private banks that do pay interest. Consequently these private banks have the command of enormous resources, which they can put to any use they please. The present sugar famine, for instance, is the result of the concentration in the hands of private bankers of the shares of the largest number of the most important sugar factories. They have gradually obtained possession of the shares, and taking advantage of their influence they raise the price of sugar and even go so far as to limit its supply on the market. Why could the Government not compete with private undertakings and pay interest? Would that not paralyze the monopoly of private banks?

THE RÔLE OF THE BANKS

Even before the war the banks had become the masters of Russian trade, and had forced various trading undertakings to form themselves into syndicates. Their aims and objects can always be easily attained by a simple threat to stop or refuse credit, which they can very well do, since the banks are themselves organized in syndicates to support each other. All this is a crying evil, since it renders trading enterprises important to the banks, not for their own sake, but simply as speculations.

Moreover, Russian banks depend to a great extent on foreign banks, German ones among others, which have taken over large numbers of Russian shares, and, consequently, the Russian banks are obliged to follow the policy dictated to them from abroad, which results in the raising of prices and the limiting of Russian production. The cramping of Russian trade by syndicates has made the Russian market more accessible to German products introduced by German-Jew syndicates.

This is easy to explain. In Russia production was limited and prices raised to such a point that, despite customs duties, German merchandise was sold in Russia

with high profit for the Germans, and as the supply of Russian goods was far too small to meet the demands the insufficiency was filled by German manufactures.

WHAT THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL BANK MIGHT DO

A friend of mine, who advocates energetic and drastic measures says: "The position is far from being so helpless as some people like to describe. In fact, there is a splendid measure that the Government could take at once. The Russian Imperial Bank gives almost no percentage on current accounts. Private banks, on the contrary, advance money on all sorts of securities quite easily. If the Imperial Bank became as obliging as the private banks, the Government bank, naturally being infinitely more trustworthy than private banks, would get millions of money and stop the greed of the other banks. In fact, the first would muzzle the second! A measure of this kind might be taken for a limited term of years, it would in reality be a kind of *War Loan*, nothing more!"

Of course, perhaps the above scheme is foolish and impracticable, but when a phrase begins with: "Here is a measure which can help Russia," I give up hesitation and doubt and offer it to the scientific judgment of all those who possess that enviable power.

A PAINFUL ANALOGY

There is, however, a painful analogy between the case of Russia and England in the dependence of both our countries before the war to German supplies.

There is another dangerous side to the syndicate system. Before the war Russia produced much too little to meet her own demands, and her supplies were too much dependent on Germany. Consequently, when the war began, we suddenly found ourselves, thanks to the syndicates, deprived of even such things as were indispensable to the country in every respect.

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE SYNDICATES

Nor can one shut one's eyes to the political side of the syndicates. One need only turn to the present dearth of coal, iron, and other products, to convince oneself how serious is the systematic wholesale seizure by the banks of the most profitable trading enterprises, and how successfully they clip in the bud any new undertakings that might tend to cheapen the products concerned. There is in Russia an unlimited wealth of coal and iron, but there is never a sufficient supply of these commodities, and their price is always rising, simply because the banks are interested in preventing the formation of new foundries and mining enterprises.

Let us also remember that at the beginning of the war the directors of very many Russian banks turned out to be Germans, who undoubtedly acted in every way in their own interests. Such banks, of course, support and give credit principally to German enterprises in Russia, and turn Russian undertakings into syndicates, in the interests of German trade.

All this points to one great fact—that syndicates, agreements, bankers' trade speculations are chiefly responsible for the present rise in prices that is causing so much poverty and suffering. With the cheapening of the necessities of life, the burden of this terrible war would be far lighter and more bearable.

Of course, the enormous size of the Russian Empire precludes a sufficient number of railway communications. There is a scheme to rectify this deficiency—and the sooner the better.

Happily Russia is rich, and her colossal natural wealth will suffice to regulate the conditions of her trade. When this has been done, and the German element struck out, things will take their natural course, and the present artificial rise of prices will be at an end.

I wonder whether in other countries where the prices for necessities have likewise risen in such an exorbitant

manner the banks and syndicates are exercising a similar baneful influence.

Everybody should do his very best to stop the calamity, the victims of which, it must be always remembered, are the families of those heroes who sacrificed their lives for their duty and the honour and glory of their country.

PHYSICAL NEEDS AND MORAL COMFORT

We must remember that whilst our troops sacrifice their blood, their health, their very lives, for the benefit of their country, those who remain at home and have the means to help must realize that their first duty is not only to send food, clothing and munitions to the front, but that they also must guarantee beyond all possible doubt that the families of the soldiers are not suffering from cold neglect and miseries of every sort. Even more important than physical needs is sometimes moral comfort.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA

BY SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E.

THE principal religions of India are Hinduism, Buddhism, and Muhammadanism. A study of these religions is most interesting, and it irresistibly leads to the conclusion that these religions, though now debased and overlaid with various accretions of mediæval growth, have the same common origin, and were, in fact, originally identical; that their God was our God—the God who “in sundry times and divers places spake in times past to the fathers by the prophets” (Heb. i. 1).

It is therefore a question for serious consideration whether, instead of attempting to demolish these religions, it would not be wiser to endeavour to restore them to their original purity by freeing them from those accretions by which they have been corrupted, and to afford common ground upon which the lovers of true religion might meet; to do, in fact, that which has given rise to the Buddhist religion and to the Brahmo Samaj and kindred movements.

The question of identity of origin may be narrowed down to two groups:

1. Hinduism and its offshoots, Buddhism, the Sikh religion, and the Brahmo and Arya Samaj, the earliest records of which are contained in the Vedas and other sacred writings of the Hindus.

2. Jews, Muhammadans, and Christians, the earliest records of which are contained in the Bible.

THE VEDAS (Knowledge, from the Greek *oîda*, I know)

The Vedas, or sacred writings of the Hindus, written in Sanscrit, are a collection of hymns, invocations, and prayers, compiled from about 1500 to 500 B.C., and probably some of them are contemporaneous with Abraham. Many of the Veda hymns may sometimes seem childish and commonplace to the European mind, but a strong religious sentiment predominates them. They prove that the Hindu religion was originally monotheistic; they throw light upon the manner in which the attributes of the one God have led to polytheism, and they furnish wonderful coincidences or parallels with our Scripture which indicate their origin from the same inspiration. The aberrations of mediæval Hinduism are unknown in the Vedas. The principal Vedas are the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. The oldest and most important of these is the Rig-Veda, which the Brahmins believed to have been in existence 3000 B.C., and from it the other Vedas appear to have borrowed largely.

Manu, the great Hindu lawgiver about 500 B.C., recognizing the Veda, says :

“Whatever doctrine rests not on the Vedas must pass away as recent, false, and fruitless.”

Even the laws of Manu, if found on any point to be at variance with a single passage of the Veda, must be regarded as at once overruled.

ORIGIN OF POLYTHEISM

The attributes of the Deity were numerous. As in the Christian religion we have innumerable attributes of the Deity to bring Him down to mortal comprehension, such as the “Almighty,” the “Omniscient,” the “Omnipresent,” the “Light of the World,” the “Triune God,” the “Word,” the “Dayspring from on High,” “Heaven,” “Jehovah,” “Jove,” the “Elohim,” the “Creator,” the “Preserver,” the

"Paraclete," the "Morning Star," the "Sun of Righteousness" : so in like manner the poets of the Vedas, with the characteristic imagery of the East, symbolized the Deity. The Vedas speak of "Dyaus" (the bright), "Dyu" (the sky or heaven), hence *Zeús*, Zeus-pater, Jupiter, Deus, the Deity, Dieu. Also "Varuna" (*oûpavós*, heaven), "Deva" (bright), "Ushas" (the dawn or dayspring), "Agni (*ignis*, fire), "Indra" (day), "Prithvi" (the broad), "Mittra" (the sun), etc.

The Vedas show incontestably that all these are interchangeable, representing the one God :

"That which is one the wise call in diverse manners Agni Yama. . . . Wise poets make the beautiful winged manifold, though He is one (Rig-Veda, i. 164). . . . They call Him Indra, Mittra, Varuna, Agni; then is He the well-winged heavenly Garutma. . . . He was our born Lord of All, all that is. He established the earth and sky, who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice. . . . He who gives life and strength, in whose hand is immortality and death, who governs all men and beasts. He whose greatness the snowy mountains, the sea, and the distant rivers, proclaim. He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm (Rig-Veda, i. 2, 121).

"Agni (fire) held the earth; He established the heavens by beautiful words (Rig-Veda, i. 67).

"Varuna (heaven) stemmed the wide firmament; He lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven. He stretched out apart the glorious sky and the earth (Rig-Veda, vii. 86).

"Through want of strength, Thou strong and great God, have I gone wrong. Have mercy, All Mighty (Hymn to Varuna, Rig-Veda, vii. 86).

"Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness, punish us not for that offence."

It is not difficult to account for the gradual transition from monotheism to polytheism by the symbolization of the attributes of the Deity, thus endowing them with separate entity. The Greek and Roman mythology affords innumerable examples of this kind. When once the polytheistic element has been introduced, there is no limit to the number of gods. Every hero becomes a god. Even in our days, a sect has sprung up in India that worships General John Nicholson as "Jahn Nikalsen."

I am not sure that I did not myself run some risk of being deified; for a fakir told me that I was believed to be the brother of Juggernāth, in allusion to my connection with railways and the locomotive engine, which is held to be a rival to the Car of Juggernāth.

In the Veda is found a belief in a personal immortality :

"Where is the eternal light of the world? Where the sun is placed in that immortal and imperishable world, place me, O Soma . . . where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside, where the desires of our desire are attained, there make me immortal."

Again, the trinity of the Godhead is clearly shadowed in an address to Agni :

"Giver of life and immortality, one in Thine essence, but to mortals three, displaying their eternal triple form as fire on earth, as lightning in the air, as sun in heaven."

Again, in an address to Vishnu :

"Hail to Thee, Mighty Lord, the world's Creator, Supporter, and Destroyer, three in one, one in thine essence, tripartite in action."

The story of the universal flood is described, in which Manu (not the lawgiver) is instructed by Vishnu to build a

ship and take on board of it the seven sages, and the seeds of all existing things. And Vishnu (the preserver), in the shape of a fish, directed the course of the ship until it was safely homed on the top of a high mountain.

Again, in the Rig-Veda appears a parallel to the interposition of the Deity in the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, in which King Harishandra, the father of the boy, bound his victim, whetted his knife; but before the blow was struck the boy's prayer for delivery was heard, and a message from Varuna granted him a reprieve and remitted all further claim from Harishandra.

PARALLELS FROM THE VEDA AND THE MAHA-BHARAT

"In the beginning there was neither ought nor nought. There was neither sky nor atmosphere about . . . there was neither death nor immortality, there was neither day nor light nor darkness; only the Existent One breathed calmly, self-contained; nought else there was, nought else above, beyond."

"The mighty Varuna who rules above looks down upon these worlds, his kingdom, as if close at hand. When men can imagine they do ought by stealth, he knows it. No one can stand or walk or softly glide alone, but Varuna detects him and his movement spies. . . . Whoever should flee far beyond the sky would not escape the grasp of Varuna the King" (*Atharva-Veda*, iv.).

"Yearning for him Farseeing, my thoughts move onward as kine to their pastures" (*Address to Varuna*).

"Who in this world is able to distinguish the virtuous from the wicked? Both alike the fruitful earth supports, on both alike refreshing breezes blow, and both alike the waters purify."

"In the beginning God created heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved on the face of the waters" (*Gen.* i. 1, 2).

"Thou knowest my downsit-
ing and mine uprising, Thou under-
standest my thoughts afar off. . . .
If I take the wings of the morning,"
etc. (*Ps.* cxxix.).

"As the hart panteth after the
water-brooks, so panteth my soul
after Thee, O God" (*Ps.* xlii.).

"That ye may be children of
your Father which is in heaven:
for He maketh the sun to rise on
the evil and the good, and sendeth
rain on the just and the unjust"
(*Matt.* v. 45)

"Lay up the only treasure Amass that wealth which thieves cannot abstract nor tyrants seize."

"Heaven's gate is very narrow and minute, it cannot be perceived by foolish men, blinded by the illusions of the world. Its massive bolts are pride and passion, avarice and lust."

"Conquer a man who never gives by gifts, subdue a truthful man by truth, vanquish an angry man by gentleness, and overcome the evil man by goodness. Treat no one with disdain, with patience bear reviling language, with an angry man be never angry. Blessings give for cursings. Never meet an angry man with anger, nor return reviling for reviling. Smite not him who smiteth thee"

"Pride not thyself on thy religious works, give to the poor, but talk not of thy gifts, by pride religious merit melts away, the merit of thy alms by ostentation" (*Maha-Bharat*).

"Do not to others that which if done to thee would cause thee pain, this is a sum of duty . . . a man obtains a proper rule of action by looking on his neighbour as himself" (*Ibid*).

"An evil minded man is quick to see his neighbour's faults, though small as mustard seed, but when he turns his eyes towards his own, though large as bilva fruit, he none discerns" (*Ibid*).

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal, but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven" (*Matt. vi. 19*).

"Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (*Matt. vii. 14*).

"Whosoever shall strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. . . . Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you" (*Matt. v. 39, 44*).

"When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret, and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly" (*Matt. vi. 3, 4*).

"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (*Mark xii. 31*).

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye" (*Matt vii. 5*).

ACCRETIONS OF HINDUISM

Max-Muller, the great authority on Indian religion, has written :

"Does caste, as we find it in Nanu, and at the present day, form a part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? We can answer with an emphatic 'No!' There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of caste; no authority for the degraded position of the Sûdras; there is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with indelible stigma. . . . From a European point of view, there is no doubt, even in the Veda, of a great deal that is absurd and childish, and from a Christian point of view there is little we can fully approve. There is no trace in the Veda of the atrocities of Siva and Kali, nor of the licentiousness of Krishna, nor of most of the miraculous adventures of Vishnu. We find in it no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to divine honours, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal. There is no text to countenance laws which allow the marriage of children, and prohibit the marriage of child widows; and the unhallowed rite of burning the widow with the corpse of her husband is both against the spirit and letter of the Veda" ("Chips from a German Workshop," Max-Müller, vol. ii., p. 311).

MUHAMMADANISM

It is scarcely necessary to state that Muhammadanism and the Jewish and Christian religions have the same origin; that Allah of the Muhammadans is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Muhammadanism was the outcome of a revolt against the degraded condition into which the Jewish and Oriental Christian religions had fallen. It was an endeavour to

reform. There can be little doubt that at the outset Muhammad was a conscientious and sincere reformer, but how far his success changed his character, or how far his zealous followers attributed to him motives and actions that were not in reality his, it is difficult to ascertain. Certain it is that most of the evils of Muhammadanism, as it now exists, have been the work of his followers after his death.

At the outset, Muhammad proclaimed the Unity of the God of Abraham. He taught that the Creator ruled the universe with love and mercy, and that He alone was to be worshipped; that the decrees of life must be placed in His hands in trust and love. The Koran was compiled after his death under the orders of Kalipha Abu Bekr, but the first version of it was so full of errors and contradictions that it was revised under the orders of Kalipha Othman, and the original version was destroyed.

Much of the historical portion of the Koran has been largely drawn from the Jewish Scriptures, though with some degree of inaccuracy.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism was a revolt from the errors and aberrations of mediæval Hinduism. It extends over nearly one-fourth of the human race.

The great moral duties enforced by Buddha are—

“Kill not; steal not; lie not; commit not adultery; drink not strong drink; exercise charity and benevolence; be pure; be virtuous; be patient; be forbearing; be courageous; be contemplative; seek after knowledge.”

Bishop Brigandet, in his *Life of Gaudama*, the Buddha of the Burmese, has said:

“Whether Buddhism be reviewed in its extent and diffusion, or in the compound nature of its doctrines, it claims the serious attention of every inquiring mind.

. . . Though based upon capital and revolting errors, Buddhism teaches a surprising number of the finest and purest moral truths. . . . It may be said in favour of Buddhism that no philosophico-religious system has ever held to an equal degree the notion of a Saviour and Deliverer, and the necessity of His mission for procuring salvation, in a Buddhist sense, of man ; but by an inexplicable and deplorable eccentricity the pretended Saviour, after having taught man the way to deliver himself from the tyranny of his passion, lands him after all into the bottomless gulf of a total annihilation."

In this last sentence it would appear that the Bishop's view of Buddhist annihilation is mistaken.

IS NIRVANA ANNIHILATION ?

The meaning of Nirvana (or Niebban of the Burmese), the great goal to be reached by Buddhists, has been a subject of much dispute. At one time Max-Müller held the opinion that it meant annihilation. He likened it to the blowing out of a lamp ; but later investigation led him to abandon the notion that it involved nihilism. The word Nirvana, from *Ni*, a negative, and *wana*, a desire, signifies freedom from *desire*—in other words, freedom from self or selfishness. It cannot mean annihilation, because Buddha himself in his lifetime, at the close of his first discourse at Benares, stated that he had arrived at the state of Nirvana, and experienced the cessation of desire, and he observed : " This is my last birth. Henceforth I shall have no other stage of existence," meaning thereby that he was not subject to further incarnations, to which he had been subject before his attainment to Nirvana.

In Buddha's Dharmapada, or Path of Virtue, Niebban is spoken of as a state of happiness, of knowledge, of immortality, all of which are inconsistent with annihilation.

Amongst the Sanscrit synonymous terms for Nirvana, or

Niebban, are "Achuta," *A*, not, and *chuta*, death, or freedom from death—*i.e.*, immortality; "Tunhakkhaya," destruction of desire; "Amatu," from *A*, not, and, *mara*, to kill: not liable to death—*i.e.*, immortality.

I have sometimes discussed the question with Buddhist priests, but I have not been able in any case to find that they consider Nirvana, or Niebban, to be annihilation. A missionary in Burma with whom I discussed the question wrote to me from Tongoo: "My interpreter and several of the Buddhists often use the word Niebban of the Christian Heaven. Certainly the common people in no way realize the idea of annihilation. To them Niebban is simply a place of happiness."

When I have questioned the Buddhist priests on the problem of creation, they have repudiated the idea that Buddha was in any way a creator, and when I pressed the question, "By whom was the universe created?" the answer has been: "We do not know."

THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

The Brahmo Samaj movement was first started in 1828, as a reaction against the corruption and misconceptions of Hinduism, by Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who denounced these accretions, refuted polytheism, and advocated a return to the principles inculcated in the philosophic "Upanishads" of the Vedas. The movement did not make much progress until it was revived, about 1842, by Debendra Nath Tagore, a wealthy resident of Calcutta, under whose auspices it made great progress and gained a large number of adherents. Its progress, however, was subsequently interrupted by divisions respecting the inspiration of the Vedas, which led to a split, and this was accentuated by the sanction of Keshub Chunder Sen to the marriage of his daughter, aged fourteen, to the Rajah of Kooch Behar, although he had previously denounced the Hindu principle of child-marriages.

Keshub Chunder Sen was the most eloquent and able

champion of the Brahmo Samaj. It is unfortunate that the movement should have also been checked by the want of sympathy and passive resistance of some Christian missionaries in India. I was present at a very large meeting of the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta in which Keshub Chunder Sen spoke of Jesus Christ as—

“The greatest and truest benefactor of mankind, who originated that mighty religious movement that scattered blessings on untold nations and generations.”

And he added :

“Blessed Jesus! Immortal Son of God! May the world appreciate Him and follow His footsteps!”

Here seemed to be common ground on which Christianity might have met Hinduism and paved the way to Christianity, affording the Christian missionary the opportunity to press on the Hindus the arguments used by St. Paul with the Athenians :

“Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you ” (Acts xvii. 23).

But advantage was not taken of the opportunity.

The objections that have been raised to a recognition of all that is good in Indian religions are twofold :

1. That the nearer any religion approaches Christianity in its moral aspect, the greater is the difficulty in conversion to Christianity.
2. That the “utter and complete degradation of Hinduism is so great that no religion that is in any sense of God could have fallen so low,” and that “Satan was the inventor of Hinduism.”

With regard to the first objection, it may be replied that, even should the recognition fail to end in conversion to Christianity, there would be a great gain to humanity in the rescue of so many from the toul accretions of Hinduism and in bringing them into touch with Christian ethics.

With regard to the second objection, it is illogical to attribute the evil to Satanic influence, and to deny heavenly influence in the case of the good. On similar grounds it might be argued that the Jewish religion was of Satanic origin, as evidenced by the degraded idolatry into which it has lapsed from time to time, and which has been a fertile source of denunciation by the prophets.

THE SIKH RELIGION

The Sikh religion was due to another reaction against the various accretions of the Hindu religion, and to a desire to restore its pristine purity by "Guru" (or spiritual guide) Nanak, who in 1469 summed up its creed as follows :

"There is but one God whose Name is true ; the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and bountiful, He is and was and ever shall be."

Mr. Macauliffe, I.C.S., in an article on the Sikh Religion published in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of July, 1910, says that

"The Sikhs claim that their religion prohibits idolatry, hypocrisy, caste exclusiveness, the cremation of widows, the immurement of women, the use of wine and other intoxicants, tobacco-smoking, infanticide, slander, pilgrimages to sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus ; and it inculcates loyalty, gratitude for favours received, philanthropy, justice, impartiality, truth, honesty, and all the domestic virtues known to the holiest Christians. It would be difficult to point to a more comprehensive ethical code."

In justice to our missionaries, it must be admitted that there are some—and I hope many—who take a wider view of that which is good in Indian religions. Amongst these may be named the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, S.P.G., missionary,

and afterwards Bishop, in Tinnevely, who in 1874 expressed the following views in Congress :

"I recognize in Hinduism a higher element—an element which I cannot but recognize as Divine, struggling with what is earthly and evil in it, and frequently overborne, though never entirely destroyed. I trace the operation of this Divine element in the religiousness, the habit of seeing God in all things and all things in God, which has formed so marked a characteristic of the people of India during every period of their history. I trace in it the conviction that there is a God, however erroneously His attributes may be conceived, in whom or through whom all things have their being. . . . Nor need we hesitate to recognize in such ideas a Divine origin, seeing that in every human society, especially in the domain of morals, we may always and everywhere see a Divine purpose working itself into shape."

The following extract is from the inaugural address of Professor Max-Müller at the Congress of Orientalists in 1874 :

"I feel the time will come when those who at present profess to be most disquieted by our studies will be the most grateful for our support ; for having shown, by evidence that cannot be controverted, that all religions spring from the same sacred soil, the human heart ; that all are quickened by the same Divine Spirit, the still, small voice ; and that though the outward forms of religion may change, may wither and decay, yet as long as man is what he is, and what he has been, he will postulate again and again the infinite as the very condition of the finite : he will yearn for something which the world cannot give."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Carlton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, March 20, 1916, at which a paper by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., entitled "The Common Origin of the Religions of India" was read. Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Henry Marsh, C.I.E., C. H. Roberts, M.P., Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Mr. J. F. G. Walton, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. James McDonald, Mrs. Cowburn, Miss Rising, Mr. G. R. S. Mead, Mrs. Couchman, Mrs. Joseph, Mr. Roechling, Mrs. White, Miss Webster, Mrs. Stoton, Mr. Cozens, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Wigley, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. C. R. Dubash, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, The Rev. Frank Penny, Miss Burton, Mrs. Blaise, Mr. A. H. Benton, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. De Monté, Mr. P. Bannerjee, Mr. Edmund Russell, Miss Mason, Mr. and Miss Molesworth, Miss E. Molesworth, Mrs. Candy, Mr. R. P. Wilder, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mr. C. Colton, Miss Brown, Mr. Gerald Bonnaud, Mr. Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. S. Lincoln, Mrs. Grose, Mrs. Curtis, Mr. W. M. J. Williams, Mrs. R. Dick, Mr. C. C. James, Mrs. Gibson, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. Albert Fleming, Mr. J. Chalmers, Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Dennys, Mrs. Gordon Farquharson, Mr. L. Fitzgerald, Mr. Krishnalal Sakeralal Desai, Mrs. Stewart Everett, Mrs. Kelly, Miss Hopley and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, my duty is very short and very pleasant, because all those who are connected with India in any way must be well aware of the name of, if they are not personally acquainted with, Sir Guilford Molesworth. His life, fortunately, has been a long and a most useful one. He is one of the recognized heads of the engineering profession, and he was, as you know, President of the Institute of Civil Engineers for several years. Also we know that he has special knowledge

of currency, and that he is one of the best known authorities on the question of bi-metallism. But he has certainly given us a surprise by the title of the paper which he is about to read to us. We never suspected, after living a strenuous life in one of the most strenuous of professions, that he could be devoting so much attention to the religions of India. Anyhow he has been most kind to write for us on that important subject. I do not mind telling you his age; he was born in the year 1828, and it is a most remarkable thing when you come to think of it that when he was seventy-two years of age he made a most characteristic request. In 1900 Sir Guilford made an application to Lord Lansdowne offering himself as a volunteer to the Engineering Staff Corps, and in doing so he writes: "I went out last year at the request of the Foreign Office to report on the Uganda Railway, and had to live out in East Africa, camping out and doing the greatest portion of marching on foot or by bicycle. During the hottest day of that summer I cycled forty-six miles without experiencing any fatigue." That is from a gentleman of seventy-two years of age, mind you. However, we are glad to see that at eighty-eight he is no less energetic. I will not stand between you and him any longer, but will ask him to kindly read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, in inviting discussion on the subject of the paper that has been read to us, it is customary for the Chairman to make a few prefatory remarks. I do that with the very greatest pleasure, because I, as an Indian, and as a Hindu, am very grateful to the lecturer for the very generous and sympathetic way in which he has treated the subject of the religions of India. In a short compass he has tried to deal with a very complicated and difficult subject, and we must, I think, give him credit for the excellent way in which he has done it. (Applause.) Naturally his paper is devoted more to Hinduism than to any of the other religions that are believed in in India, because out of the 325,000,000 people who comprise the population of India nearly two-thirds are Hindus in one form or another; but I am also glad that he has treated the subject in the way that he has done, because there is a great deal of misconception in this country about the scope of Hinduism, and that misconception, instead of being dissipated by people who ought to know better, is often mystified and aggravated by interested parties in order to raise money so that the mission work shall be carried on in India to convert Indians. We all know the myth about the Car of Juggernaut. Juggernaut is represented as a Moloch thirsting for human blood; but, as a matter of fact, he is only a very humane person; no fish, flesh, or meat is ever allowed on his table, and he is a strict vegetarian, so that all these inventions are made with an object which is not always a very worthy one. Unfortunately Hinduism lends itself to attacks from various directions for the very simple reason that it has existed for over 3,000 years, and during this long period it has undergone many changes, some for the better, a great many for the worse.

Sir Guilford has already referred to the simple beliefs inculcated in the Vedas. Some of you are perhaps not aware that the Vedas take us back

to 1,500 years before Christ, and the extracts that he has read to you from the Vedas will show, even at that very early period, how far the Hindus had advanced in their spiritual conceptions. They were far ahead of any older nation, whether you look to the Egyptians, or to the Romans, or any other ancient race. We talk of the idolatry of the Hindus; but, of the true conception of God and of the true aim of all spiritual endeavours, they had a much clearer grasp than any of their contemporaries had at the time and many nations for centuries afterwards. Of course, Hinduism started with the Vedas, and shortly after the Vedas—that is to say, about 1,000 years before Christ—there were certain other books composed to which Sir Guilford has not referred—I mean the Upanishads, where you find the highest spiritual ideals that were ever attained by any nation at any time, and those ideals are, to a great extent, followed now in India by some of the reform movements like the Brahmo Samāj. Then, you know, about the sixth century came Buddhism, and it is very curious that up to the advent of Buddhism in India there was no idolatry; there was no image worship. Image worship came really when Buddhism declined and Hinduism again prospered, but in a form different from what it had in the Vedic time and in the time of Buddhism. Buddhism was a revolt against certain of the ritualistic practices of Hinduism, but, unfortunately, the followers of Buddha deified him and so introduced the worship of images, a thing which was absolutely unknown in India before the Buddhist period. With the decline of Buddhism there arose all kinds of superstitions and idolatrous beliefs, and the Hindu Pantheon multiplied, not by the thousand or by the hundreds of thousands, but by the million, until every stone and every tree and every river was deified in some way or other. But the old ideals were never altogether forgotten; and, therefore, Hinduism, commencing from the beginning down to the present day, affords a sort of satisfaction for people of all classes and grades of beliefs. You find the highest spiritual ideals and the highest principles of morality that are to be found in any religion, and alongside of them the worst practices of idolatry and superstition. So that Hinduism affords a very good range for offensive attack from all directions, and people take advantage of those weak spots according to their points of view. Sir Guilford has made the title of his paper “The Common Origin of the Religions of India,” but most of you will be inclined to ask: Why did he not make his title a little more comprehensive and say, What is the common origin of all the religions of the world? because, while treating of Indian religions—undoubtedly he has given more attention to Hinduism—he has brought in Muhammadanism and Christianity, so that when dealing with it in that way, I should almost have thought that he might profitably have gone to the common origin of all religions. What we have to thank him for is the direction he has given of the spirit in which that question is to be approached. You will never come to a satisfactory solution of that question if you approach it from the point of dogma and ritual and not from the spirit in which all questions of religion should be studied. (Applause.) It is, after all, the human mind, the human conscience which is the seat of religion, and mere belief in particular books or particular theories or particular tenets will have no

influence on life. We have evidence of it in Europe at this moment. The Christian nations are at war, brothers are fighting brothers, and both sides are appealing to the same God—on the one side in defence of righteousness and justice, and on the other side on behalf of everything that is wrong in any religion. And yet, poor God! what is He to do, appealed to on both sides for victory? But if salvation is to come to this world, it will come from a proper appreciation of all the religions, and it is a good sign that people in every part of the world are beginning to think if there is not a common religion and if there is not something essential and absolutely necessary which is to be found in all the great religions of the world. We do not hear so much of persecution now. We know what the Christians did in the days of the Inquisition, and all the other forms of iniquity in order to convert people. We have also heard of other religions which have not been free from persecution. But be it said to the credit of Hinduism that it has never tried forcible conversion. One of the great signs that is to be found all over the world is the spirit of liberalism in religions; people are beginning to realize that the great spiritual truths are not a monopoly of this religion or that religion, but that the two great principles which underlie all spiritual ideals—that is to say, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man—are to be found really in all the religions that are worth anything in this world. Those two great truths were preached by the Vedas 1,500 years before Christ, and then Buddha spoke of love; afterwards Christianity and Muhammadanism worked in the same direction—viz., to purify religion from all forms of idolatry and to breathe the true spirit of monotheism. But, after all, in their essentials all these religions agree and there is no reason to quarrel; and if we could leave aside for a moment mere dogmas and tenets we should find that at the bottom we all belong to the same religion, and, as I said just now, we should all agree that the title of this paper might well have been: “The Common Origin of all Religions.” (Applause.)

MR. MEAD, the Editor of *The Quest*, remarked that the same thought had occurred to him as had occurred to the Chairman when he read the title of the very interesting lecture that had been delivered. He thought, first of all, that if the subject was to be treated from a spiritual standpoint the phrasing of the title should be altered to make this clear, for it would be very difficult indeed to show the common origin historically of all the different religions of India. From the standpoint that the lecturer had put forward, however, there could be no doubt to any man of profound religious conviction that the spiritual elements of the great religions of the world must all come from the same source. It was a matter of profound congratulation to find that within the last twenty years or so an enormous change had come over the spirit of workers in the missionary field and in the methods by which they were trying to win from the other great religions recruits to their own faith. He was especially glad to see the difference of attitude adopted with regard to the religions of India, and to note that two series of volumes were now being published written by sympathetic men who are learned in their subjects, while at the same time they hold that Christianity is the highest expression of spiritual religion in the world.

The speaker wished to associate himself with the simple but wise and generous point of view that had been put forward by the Chairman with regard to the study of the great religions. A great deal had been learned from the comparative study of religions in their outer forms, but in his opinion the inner side was of most interest, and indeed of the greatest importance. What one really desired to know was what our fellow-men and women really thought and felt in practising the inner rites of their own religion, so as thereby to come into contact with that which is the soul and life of a religion. Some years ago the speaker had the honour of presiding at a gathering that had met to hear representatives of the great religions discuss the proposition: Is it possible for any great religion to acknowledge the spiritual equality with itself of another great religion? Several distinguished speakers at that gathering had tried from their own standpoints to be as sympathetic as they possibly could in the face of this searching proposition, but the only speaker who showed that there was no hesitation or reservation in his mind on the subject was Sir Krishna Gupta, the present Chairman. It was possible in India for a man who held resolutely to the truth of his own tradition to have a whole hearted welcome for those who were honestly following the inner conviction of their own hearts in loyalty to other traditions. It was very difficult to find that spirit of religious amity in the Western world. It was difficult indeed in certain inner ways as well as in outer ways. Personally the speaker had no hesitation in accepting the practisers of spiritual truth in any of the great faiths as on an equality in every way with regard to religion. One who knew more of the true spirit of religion and more of the value of human life and thought could, of course, show a higher ideal to those who were of inferior education or inferior mode of life. But it was not fair to institute a comparison between the best in one religion and the inferior elements in another. The speaker concluded by remarking that he would say to his Indian friends with regard to such a book as Dr Macnicol's recent "Sympathetic Study of Indian Theism," in which, however, the author tries to show that Christian Theism is morally and spiritually superior, that when confronted with such a sympathetic and honest criticism, it was the bounden duty of Indian men of religion who were skilled in their own tradition to take such a book in good part, and as politely and as honestly to reply to that criticism. If that were done in a spirit of tolerance and religious chivalry on both sides there would be a greater richness of spiritual realization, which, after all, should be the dearest thing to the hearts of those who were following the truly spiritual path in all of the great religious traditions of the world without distinction.

The Rev. F. PENNY thanked the lecturer and the Chairman for their interesting paper and remarks, and was afraid that he could not add anything of much value to the discussion. He would like to point out on the analogy of a lecturer making a revelation to a classroom of students that the original revelation to people was received by them in different ways: some people had gone forth to different parts of the world having learnt their lesson; others had half learnt it; some had not

bothered about it; and others left the subject, saying: "It is too difficult to understand." One could see from a study of the great nations of the past, the Babylonians and Egyptians and contemporary nations, that some of them had absorbed some of the religious teaching which was revealed to the world at some time or other by God Himself; that this revelation had had a great spiritual effect upon those who believed it, and tried to work it according to what they were taught originally. There were other nations who were struggling to do the same thing but were unable to attain to the same kind of spirituality because they had only half learnt their lesson; there were also others who had wandered farther away from the centre of things, because they had not learnt their lesson at all, and were making use of some sort of religion which they had evolved from their own consciousness; and there were others who were quite unable to assimilate any of the higher truths taught, whose religions were of a bestial character. He did not mind using the word "bestial" because those who knew the south of India would agree with him that the word was not too strong to use with regard to certain religions which were practised. The point the speaker would like to make was that all religions had some agreement with the original revelation made. The revelation might have been given through the agency of nature; or through that of prophets—that is, people who spoke of certain things which they had been taught in a certain way—or it might have been revealed by persons called seers, who have a deeper sense of spiritual matters and see farther into them than other people. However it was given, he was convinced that it was given; and that the present state of religion throughout the world was the result of the different ways in which the revelation had been received. He would conclude by saying that he had listened with great pleasure to the remarks of the Chairman, and recognized the tolerant spirit in which he had said that all ought to work together to go on finding out things and to receive one another's impressions, and to try and learn more and more of that which God had constantly tried to teach us.

MR. OLIVER BAINBRIDGE said that he experienced great pleasure by reason of his being present to hear the lecture. He thought that the Westerners present would not, after hearing it, arrogate to themselves the belief that their religion was the only religion, but would come to the conclusion that all religions were true in the respect that they were all aiming towards the one great end. He had been convinced from his knowledge of the native races of the world, that no one race was below another, but only behind another in the train of progression.

MR. S. LINCOLN said he felt it somewhat presumptuous to offer an opinion, but, arising out of the discussion, he would present a view on a matter which he felt had been overlooked. There had been a discussion about religion, common humanity and progress. As a member of the Jewish race he had not heard one word in praise of that race, which had given to the world of its best in matters of religion and art. To his mind religion was entirely the result of birth with its resultant environ-

he, like a friend of his, been born a Jew but adopted by a Catholic mother and father he would probably have become a Catholic eventually. Therefore, if religion was the result of birth and also the result of environment, why throw scorn and obloquy on any member of another faith? He would appeal to the Meeting to speak a word on behalf of the down-trodden nation of Jews. When one talked about human sentiment and common relationship they might remember that the fundamental principle of their common humanity alone united them, and that, in the words of the prophet, they had all one Father, and one God alone had created them.

MR. MARCHANT said that in the history of all the great world religions,—e.g., Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, and all forms of Christianity—there were men marked out far more than others by their deep devotion to the contemplative side of their religion, known as mystics—e.g., Thomas à Kempis. He would venture to express the opinion, formed some time ago, that if it were possible to have a conference of the eminent mystics belonging to the great religions, it would be found that their experiences were very largely identical.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have now pleasure in calling upon Sir Guilford Molesworth to reply.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH: I am afraid I have not much to say in reply. One thing I may say is that I have not dealt with the other religions of the world besides those of India, simply because I have no personal acquaintance with them, whereas I have a great personal acquaintance with the religions of India.

One of the speakers has taken exception to my suggesting that the missionary should not use the opportunity of impressing upon Hindus the Christian religion, by the argument that "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you." I do not think that the missionaries would be very much at fault in using the words which St. Paul used, and in circumstances almost identically similar as regards their ignorance of Christ.

I must thank the Chairman for so kindly coming to preside on this occasion. His views have been most valuable and interesting to us, and I think he deserves our hearty thanks.

DR. JOHN POLLEN said he had been asked by brother Members of Council to move the vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer, and this he did with very great pleasure because both the Lecturer and the Chairman were very old friends of his, and he had, in common with the rest of the audience, listened with close attention and edification to the thoughtful lecture and to the illuminating address of the Chairman. The subject of the religions of India was one which he (Dr. Pollen) had often pondered over during his service in India, and he hailed Sir Guilford's lecture as a kind of much-needed protest against the misdirection of Christian zeal and charity involved in thoughtless proselytism and in

* The scurrilous treatment of Jews in some parts of the globe merited prompt repression. The general apathy of the world on this question of religious intolerance was a gigantic iniquity.

trying to convert people from one form of religion to another. There was surely quite enough to be done in trying to turn people from irreligion to religion; and it should not be forgotten that God had never left Himself without witness in the religion of any race or people, nor could it be denied that Christ, in some mysterious way was "implicit" in all religions, just as surely as His spirit, and His spirit alone, was their common cause. This truth was clearly set forth in the Catechism, but very few people took the trouble of trying to think what the Catechism meant when it says Christ has redeemed the whole world. It clearly declares that the relation of Christ to man is universal, final, and absolute, that He is something objective, or ontologic in relation to the human race, and quite independent of man's religion, knowledge, or will. This is what the Catechism means by saying, "Who hath redeemed me and all mankind," and Christians can listen to no definition of God which forgets that He is the Universal Father, and to no definition of the Son which makes Him other than the Image of *that* Invisible. Christ is not some special Diet of some small Christian sect or of some minute subsection, but He is the Saviour "who has redeemed us and *all mankind*," and this Christ is the God of all. If Christians realized this, they would be more charitable and tolerant to all sincere worshippers, and would be more ready to help in harmonizing the religions of the world on the lines set forth so earnestly by the Lecturer and by the Chairman, to both of whom he moved a hearty vote of thanks.

SIR FREDERICK LELY said he had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH: Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very much. It has been a great pleasure for me to come, and I must thank you all for the patient manner in which you have listened to me, and the kindness with which you have met me. I wish to make one explanation with regard to the Jewish religion. I have not particularized upon that because I merely consider that the Jewish religion has been, until the birth of Christ, identical with our own religion; it is simply that we have adopted what you may term an addition to it in the Christian dispensation, which they have rejected; but that does not in any way affect the question of the *origin* of the religion. "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" is their God and ours.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very cordially for the vote of thanks which you have just carried. It has been really a labour of love with me. I have had the honour of knowing Sir Guilford Molesworth for many years, and it was really a pleasure to me to be able to come here this afternoon.

The Hon. Secretary has received the following note from Sir Guilford Molesworth:

Although the charges made by Mr. Lincoln of the loathing with which Jews have been regarded, and the injustice to which they have been subjected, are true as regards Germany, Austria, and some other Continental nations, they cannot be said to be applicable to England.

I have never seen or heard of the slightest evidence of any ill-feeling or injustice to Jews in this country.

As regards injustice, since the emancipation of the Jews in 1832, that followed the Catholic Emancipation and the Test and Corporation Act for the relief of Nonconformists, Jews have not only been on an equality with other religious bodies, but many have been recipients of the highest rewards and honours, raised to the Peerage, and have held important posts in the Councils of the nation. It is only necessary to refer to a few out of the many well-known names of those who have risen to eminence, such as the Rothschilds, Solomon, Hirsch, Goldsmids, Samuels, Montefiore, Montague, including Disraeli, Earl and Prime Minister of England.

SUPPLEMENT

CHANGING EGYPT*

WHEN the historian begins his task of classifying events which have stirred the world from East to West during the years 1914 and 1915, the changes through which the Land of the Pyramids has also passed will furnish a thrilling episode. To all outward appearances at least, even at this stage, when in reality the fate of the nations hangs in the balance, no country has felt the shock of war more definitely than Egypt. In Egypt, the first blare of trumpets has swept away the old order and produced a new régime. The Ottoman suzerainty over the country, which was always nothing more than nominal, came to an end when Turkey joined England's enemies. A new ruler now occupies the throne of Mahomed Ali, and he has become by a curious concatenation of events, without any serious effort on his own part, what the founder of his dynasty cherished as his political ideal but failed to realize. The title of Khedive has disappeared from the political annals of Egypt, and the ruler is now a Sultan under the protection of Great Britain.

No one can survey the changes through which Egypt has passed in less than a decade without emotion. Egypt typifies probably more than any other country of the world the rapidity of change which marks out the present age from any other. It shows the world in the making.

* "An Englishman's Recollections of Egypt," by Baron De Kussel (Bey), sometime English Controller-General of Egyptian Customs. (John Lane.)
'Egypt of the Egyptians,' by W. Lawrence Balla. (Pitman.)

Having regard to its wonderful past, to its record in old systems of civilization, one naturally expects a country like Egypt to be slow in the acceptance of new ideas, and yet Egypt shows more changes, political, social and economic, within the past thirty years than even any of the new States in America. Perhaps the events which are shaping a new Egypt are still psychologically incomplete, and one would feel diffident in basing prophecy as to the future of the country on them, but even a casual survey of these events is likely to make a lasting impression on one's mind. There are many who have actually seen these changes pass over the Land of the Nile. They are men who have taken a prominent part in one way or another in the making of the new Egypt, and their narratives of their experiences in the historic country during the past twenty or thirty years are of value from the point of view of both the historian and the sociologist.

When one of these men exclaims with amazement at the effects which recent events have produced in the life of the country, those who have only heard of these changes are justified in believing that the Egypt of the American tourists is an entirely different country from the Egypt of the days of de Lesseps. Baron de Kusel—who spent twenty-five eventful years, from 1863 to 1887, in Egypt—in his very interesting memoirs confesses that the Suez Canal, one of the milestones of modern Egypt, has transformed the country. He went out to Egypt to work in a cotton-ginning factory. He retired as Controller-General of Egyptian Customs. He was in Egypt when the Suez Canal was opened and also when the machinations of Arabi Pasha led to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet. He also knew the inner history of the tragedy of the Soudan, and came in contact with practically everyone whose name figures in the recent history of the country. Even Baron de Kusel, on visiting Egypt again after his retire-

ment, exclaims, "What an amazing change there has been since I first landed in Alexandria in 1863! The population, which was under seven millions, is now nearly twelve. The Suez Canal has changed the whole life of the country: the mighty engineering works, the diminution of the Khedive's power, the control of England, and such little things as outbreaks of cholera, rebellions and massacres, great battles and little battles. It is no longer the country that I knew. It has developed and progressed at an enormous pace, and I often wonder whether something will not happen to upset the 'best-laid plans,' for it is a country full of conflicting interests, some of which lie apparently dormant, as though waiting for their day to arrive."

The changes in Egypt, therefore, in view of the testimony of men like Barón de Kusel, are real, and whether they are permanent time alone will show. It is, however, impossible now to conceive of an Egypt without a Suez Canal or without the wonderful system of irrigation which Great Britain has given the country.

One has at the same time to take the character of the people of Egypt into account. On the one side there are the fellaheen, contented and peaceful, like the farmers of any other country; and on the other, there are the doctrinaires, discontented, impatient, and even reckless, like the political bigots of any other land. In the course of a conversation I once had with one of these political agitators of Egypt, I was told that what the patriots of Egypt—and the agitators reserve this title for themselves—desire is the eradication of all foreign influence in Egypt, and when I pointed out that if they were allowed to do so Egypt would soon relapse into its old state of torpor and inactivity, trade and commerce would dwindle away, and even the canals, which have contributed so much to the prosperity of the country, would most likely be left to decay, I was told that a desert Egypt was better than a prosperous Egypt, if prosperity could only be bought at the price of political

freedom. Fortunately for Egypt, its political bigots are unable to exert any influence over the fellahen, and the fellahen are not the simpletons some take them to be. The human element, however, as Baron de Kusel says, is a most uncertain factor in the life of Egypt, and disconcerting as well, one may add.

Baron de Kusel has given some very interesting glimpses into the life of Egypt of the days before the opening of the Suez Canal, and his impressions of men like Gordon, Zobeir Pasha, Arabi Pasha, and the Khedive Ismail Pasha, present some of them in a new light. Baron de Kusel, for instance, contests the accuracy of the current historical estimate of the character of Ismail Pasha, and says that it is not true that Ismail plunged Egypt into debt for his own glorification. "His ambition was to make Egypt a great African nation; not entirely Egypt for Egyptians, but an Egypt capable of playing a part in the history of modern times." Baron de Kusel also blames Downing Street for the blunder in the Soudan, which led to the death of Gordon, as he thinks that the tragedy of Khartoum would never have been enacted if the Foreign Office had acceded to the request of Gordon himself, and sent Zobeir Pasha to the Soudan. The book also contains a vivid account of the bombardment of Alexandria, which is all the more valuable as the writer played a prominent part in that naval drama. In fact, one gains more than a passing knowledge of the events which have made Egypt what it is to-day, and, even in cases where one may not see eye to eye with Baron de Kusel—in the readings of the political signs, for instance—one is sure to come away with a very clear picture of the vast changes which have swept away over the Land of the Nile during the past twenty-five years.

How these changes have been brought about, and how the Egypt of present times differs from the Egypt of old may be gathered from Mr. W. Lawrence Ball's "Egypt of the Egyptians." The history of the country from the

earliest times to the present day has been admirably summarized, and one finds that due regard has been paid to the importance of the wonderful irrigation scheme which has transformed the desert places of Egypt into a fertile land of clover, corn and cotton. Mr. Lawrence Balls rightly says, "It will be years before some of these projects are carried out, if ever. For the moment Egypt is well provided with summer water, but further extensions of the Nile-control must inevitably be made." In the chapter, "The Nile in Harness," he deals with the irrigation scheme of the country, and reveals the difficulties under which engineers have laboured, and are labouring, in providing an efficient system of water-supply to the cultivators. "Not less impressive than the cliff of masonry at Assuan is the idea of a lone white man sitting in the heart of Africa, ordering machines to move sluices in accordance with telegraphic instructions flashed up from headquarters 4,000 miles down-stream, and thus setting free water which more than a month later will reach its destination on the land of some peasant who would otherwise have lost his crop." What happened at the Kom Omboestate in Upper Egypt, about twenty miles below Assuan, is happening elsewhere in Egypt. "A wide flat valley there runs eastward into the desert for about twenty miles depth, and of similar width at its mouth. As a valley it belongs to a geological stage in the Nile's story, far earlier than human history, and its level is consequently well above that of the modern river. At the beginning of this century it was a howling desert, bare of any vegetation, with a daily shade temperature of 115°F. as a regular thing for six months of the summer, and it was one of the most unpleasant stretches of the railway journey to Assuan. There was always a glimmer of mirage over it, and whirling dust devils of all sizes stalked up and down its flat expanse. Then a company was formed for the audacious project of bringing it under cultivation, though every drop of water had to be lifted not less than 35 feet at any time, or as much as 65 feet at low stages, and

there were 20,000 acres to be watered. Many unforeseen difficulties were encountered, but the project has ultimately succeeded, and in the place of scorching sand there is now a wide expanse of green fields, centred round a town with its own sugar factory, which is fed entirely by the produce of the erstwhile desert." One is inclined to question at every step in modern Egypt whether the necromancers of the East could have brought about a more complete transformation of a country by their magic wand. If the physical changes have been so extensive and complete, the effect of the impact of European ideas with Islamic ideals has also been to create in the people of Egypt a mental attitude which is, to say the least, new and puzzling. Mr. Lawrence Balls takes care to avoid the topics of religion, politics, and intrigues, but at the same time holds that the mental attitude of the Egyptian "is largely that of a child, though his toys are the toys of the grown-ups: money, women, land, and—in very bad cases—politics." He does not believe—and many others hold the same view—in bringing the Egyptians under the influences of a conventional Western educational system. The problem is, however, what other educational system is good for the Egyptians? For of the necessity of an educational system there can be no question. One feels that those who criticize adversely the effects of Western education fail to take into account the fact that a national system of education takes years, centuries, to grow, and sufficient time has not elapsed in Egypt for a national system of education to come into existence. When Egypt will have an educational system suited to the needs of its people, no one can say.

GREECE AT THE CROSS-ROADS

BY P. P. THEOPHILATOS

Ancien Consul de Grèce

I HAVE in hand "The Balkans," a history of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Roumania, and Turkey, by Messrs. N. Forbes, Arnold Toynbee, D. Mitrany, and D. C. Hogarth.* From an historic point of view it is a volume of very considerable interest; and it may, indeed, be recommended to all who, in their discussion of Balkan problems, lack a thorough knowledge of what Mr. Gladstone called "these interesting nationalities." It enables them to see, from reading the excellently concise and lucid account of each of the nations, how much is at stake for them and the multiplicity of their claims.

And yet history does not yet explain the reason why two of these nations have, for the moment, lost practically everything, why a third has betrayed her promises, and the other two countries observe the neutrality upon which it is indeed difficult to pass anything but an unfavourable construction. I will not accuse the people themselves, whose sentiments in favour of the Allies are well known, but rather those who direct the destinies of these nations, and particularly their Governments, which without adequate protest become the instruments of a "neutral" policy.

What, then, were the causes which have led to the present state of affairs? I venture to suggest that all the Balkan

* 5s. net. Oxford University Press.



events of to-day have their source in the very bad policy, dating much further back than the Balkan War in 1912, of allowing the Turks to stay in Europe. One result of this blunder is manifest at the present day in the alliance which one Balkan nation has thought fit to make with the common enemy of them all. Now it was just this policy that permitted the Germans to interfere at the conclusion of peace in 1913 after the second Balkan War, and to make her influence felt in favour of Greece in order to conserve the very rich port of Cavalla. It was this intervention that gave occasion to the Germanophil press of Athens to cry out for gratitude and trumpet abroad the German love for Greece. This moral advantage they now strive to uphold.

There may be added at the present juncture the unfortunate misunderstanding between Greece and Russia, which rests on an old and ill-founded suspicion that Russia and Greece both must needs be candidates for the possession of Byzantium. I earnestly hope that this suspicion will at last be eradicated, and that both the peoples will combine in turn to eradicate the German and Ottoman influences in the Balkans. When the Greek Government (M. Venezelos) proposed to the Allies and Roumania to march against the Bulgars with Roumania's assistance, the Russian forces were on the crest of the Carpathians, and the general expectation was that she would be in some months' time in Vienna and Constantinople. After the Russian set-back, which all friends of the Allies deeply regret, and especially the Greek people, Roumania appears to have made new stipulations regarding assistance to Greece. The truth of this fact is to be found in the speech of the Deputy, M. Philipesco, in the Roumanian Parliament on October 11, 1915. M. Philipesco says: "When during the last winter the Serbians were nearly crushed by the Austrians, we were putting forward the idea that in our own interests we ought to intervene on the side of Serbia. The thing which we are unable to do, it

was decided the Greeks should do for us. It has been asked by the representatives of the Triple Entente at Bucharest that we should notify the Bulgarian Government of Sofia that we would intervene against Bulgaria should she attack Greece. I have been called with Dr. Istrati to approach M. Bratiano and ask him to promise us a certain diplomatic step for which we were then anxious against the Bulgarian Government. M. Bratiano replied that this diplomatic step was not demanded by Greece, but by the Triple Entente, who tried to induce Roumania and Greece to join in the European conflict. Thus M. Bratiano was maintaining that through our refusal we were saving Greece from the exigency of an intervention not desired by her. The publication of the memorandum of M. Venezelos to the King of Greece afterwards proved that the facts were totally different. M. Venezelos wrote in his memorandum of January 17, 1915, thus: 'Your Majesty has already taken notice of the reply which the Roumanian Government gave to our proposition in reference to our common action in favour of Serbia. This reply testifies, I think, that Roumania will refuse to us any military action without the participation of Bulgaria, and after.' I admit that I know certain facts about which I cannot speak, because I understand their significance."

It was, therefore, this unfortunate procrastination in taking common action against the Central Powers which caused the attack on Serbia. The resignation of M. Venezelos, who was not in agreement with his Sovereign, served to hurry on the disaster; for the Sovereign, after the resignation of M. Venezelos, was free to follow a policy which was, as we have said, against the opinion of the Greek people. Again, this procrastination was the cause of the Bulgarians turning traitors. Moreover, if the Greeks had taken up arms at the commencement, when the Bulgars were without German assistance, the Greeks would be now on the Turkish frontier, and could by that action

have materially assisted the Dardanelles campaign. Then the war would now be near its end, or at any rate the position of the Allies by far the better.

Nobody can condemn the policy in the Balkan affairs of Sir Edward Grey, who did his best to bring about this common action and prevent the treachery of Bulgaria and the Germanophil neutrality of the King of Greece. In fact, this attitude of the King of Greece and of certain Roumanian opinion is the cause not only of the prolongation of this terrible war, but will also cause for Greece the disappearance for ever of the national dream for Constantinople and for four million Greeks who are under the Turkish domination, and for the Roumanians this exceptional opportunity of seizing Transylvania, as also the opportunity of intervening with Greece in this world conflict with very small sacrifice.

Is this opportunity lost for ever for Greece and Roumania? No, there is yet time, and, to quote the Italian proverb, "It is better late than never." Six hundred thousand Roumanians, four hundred thousand Greeks, one hundred and fifty thousand Serbians, and three hundred thousand Allies can very easily reason with the hordes of Attila, who prepared for forty-five years to bring about this blow to humanity and civilization. Will they seize this new opportunity before it will be too late? That is the question. I am sure that the King of Greece, would have no cause for regret if, without further ado, he had taken action at once and had drawn his sword against the Bulgars after they declared war on Serbia, and come to aid his Ally, in accordance with the signature appended to the Treaty; he should never have thwarted the greatest statesman that Greece had till to-day. He should never have overthrown a man who saved Greece when she was on the edge of a precipice. He should never have placed in power the men who, during those many years, were so fatal for Greece, and who, condemned by the public that tired of their incapacity, were put aside by the very wise and prudent

King George, his father. King Constantine, if he had given the matter the right reflection, would never have put the destinies of our country into the hands of those men who, before the arrival in power of M. Venezelos, had ruined us, and who lead us to-day to misery and destruction.

King Constantine, by his tolerance in allowing the Bulgars to come to the Greek frontier, has added another disaster to our country. As Mr. Crawford-Price says in his book, "*Balkan Cockpit*": "The quarrel between Greeks and Bulgars is of old standing. It raged from the invasion of Europe by the Bulgarians (for this race is Mongol-Tartar in origin) until the coming of the Osmanli. Schopoff, secretary to the Exarchate, wrote in 1885: "The one enemy of Bulgarism is the Greek; the destruction of Hellenism must become an article of faith for the Bulgarians."

This Bulgarian policy of hate, coupled with the action of Constantine, has made this dream of common action an illusion. As for Greece, the greatest, most dangerous and strongest enemy of our country is at our gates.

The responsibility is very great and the burden very heavy for the shoulders of one man.

It is to be hoped that the sagacity of Sir Edward Grey and the remarkable gift of persuasion possessed by M. Briand, will lead the policy of Greece to the path of her clear duty towards civilization and towards her benefactors, and give to the King of Greece a new opportunity of participating in this gigantic struggle for the liberty of nations. In that way alone can he, by securing for them now a place on the page of honour, give to his people in their future history a fitting place.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE FAR EAST

TRAVELS EAST OF SUBZ. By Rachel Humphreys. (*Heath, Cranton, and Ouseley.*) Price 7s. 6d. net.

This book, which is handsomely illustrated, shows that the author has the happy knack of sunning herself unreservedly in the genial enjoyment which travel brings, and teaches us to look with interest at the world and away from ourselves.

She is a delightful contrast to those tourists who start a holiday by casting themselves adrift, as one might set out to explore the North Sea in a boat—

“Uncompassed and unkeeled,
No sail, no rudder;”

who never know where they are or what they are seeing, and who probably reach home thankfully, with their heads in a whirl, as if they had tramped through ten miles of filmy exhibition; but it is difficult for anyone who knows the pleasures of planning a journey, and the satisfaction of having a store of knowledge which the journey serves to verify, to realize the dreamlike vacuity of those who begin their travels without having provided themselves with any pegs of fact on which to hang their later experiences. In nothing does preparation pay better than in travelling, for it makes the most of time, and enables us to fix permanently many impressions that would otherwise fade or become jumbled.

Miss Humphreys is wrong in referring to the peoples of India as “blacks,” for they come from the same Aryan stock as herself, and their record tells the story of a civilization long one of the most far-reaching in the history of the world.

OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

INDIA

RELIGION AND DHARMA. By Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble). (*Longmans, Green and Co.*)

As Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, who writes a short preface to the volume, points out, the book has been compiled from the notes and brief articles con-

tributed by Sister Nivedita to the *Modern Review* of Calcutta. The work of compilation has been very well done, and it is possible to gather even from these fragmentary writings a complete conception of the true Hindu ideal of life and conduct as understood by the writer. To say that Sister Nivedita was more representative a Hindu than an average inhabitant of Hindustan who professes Hinduism will be no exaggeration. In her life in Calcutta she approached most closely to the Hindu ideal of renunciation. In the short articles in the volume one feels how strongly Sister Nivedita succeeded in absorbing Hindu thoughts. Never once does one even suspect that the writer is an Englishwoman with an Englishwoman's prejudices. But for the familiar way in which Sister Nivedita handles facts in European history and social life, the essays might have been the work of her master, Swami Vivekananda. Some of these essays are worth careful study, chiefly those which furnish a striking contrast between the Eastern and Western conception of life, particularly as regards the aim of life. The Hindu conception of renunciation, for instance, as given in the essay "The Spirit of Renunciation," will give many in the West food for reflection. The volume, as a whole, is a valuable contribution to the ethical literature of the times.

MEMOIRS OF THE COLOMBO MUSEUM. Edited by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.L.S. Series A., No. 1. *Bronzes from Ceylon*, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. Ceylon, 1914. Imp. 4to., 31 pp., xxviii plates and explanatory leaves. 10s. net.

This book from the press of Oxford University begins a new series to deal with Archaeology and Ethnology. It is a striking addition to the unfortunately small number of books on Indian bronzes, and it includes both Hindu and Buddhist images, the plates illustrating Śiva, Pārvatī, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa; some Śaiva saints, Nandi, Pattini, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Kṛiṣṇa Hanuman, Sūrya; Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Devas, Lokapālas; a number of animal figures and of small metal objects, lamps, emblems, ewers, and bowls, etc. The colotype reproductions are very creditable, and we are glad to see this process of illustration coming at last into its own; its advantages, particularly in the softness of the impression and its permanence on paper (not on pipe-clay), have long endeared it to us, and in skilled hands, with appropriate negatives, it is capable of results even finer than the plates now before us, a perfection to which doubtless the next issues will attain. The Ceylon Museum, whose previous publications are much valued, deserves congratulation and support in its new series, the price of which is moderate for a work so luxuriously produced.—H. L. J.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY. Part i. By Ethel R. Sykes. (London: *Christian Literature Society*.)

These readings from Indian history deal with the period between the Vedic times and the coming of the English, and are meant for boys and

girls. The authoress points out in her preface that "though the boys and girls of that great, old, ever new Empire were chiefly in my thoughts when I penned the pages, yet now that the stirring deeds of her brave men fighting side by side with ours in Flanders and Gallipoli have brought India so much nearer to all our hearts, I am not without hope that the book may appeal to a wider circle." In view of the ignorance prevailing among the people of these islands regarding the Great Dependency, the hope is not an unjustifiable one. The story of India is simply told in these pages, and will be read with avidity by boys and girls in schools in all English-speaking countries. The numerous illustrations with which the book is embellished make it still more interesting. Some of these illustrations are from old Indian drawings, and have been reproduced by permission of the India Office.

THE UNIVERSAL TEXT-BOOK OF RELIGION AND MORALS. Part iii., vol. i.: "Hinduism." Edited by Mrs. Annie Besant. (Madras: *Theosophical Publishing House*.)

This volume forms part of a series of pamphlets, issued by the Theosophical Society, to show "the specialities of the various great living religions." For an ordinary layman, these pamphlets will very probably have only a passing interest, and for the student, even, the manner in which some of the facts of the social organization of the Hindus has been presented will only afford another instance of speculation in sociology. The chapter on the four castes of the Hindus, in the volume under review, for instance, although richly interlaced with Sanskrit quotations, is, to say the least, full of fantastic arguments.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL FROM EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS. By Amvika Charan Mazumdar.

THE FUTURE OF YOUNG INDIA. By Mrs. Annie Besant.

The above are two of the "New India Political Pamphlets," issued by the Theosophical Publishing House of Madras. The first is a reprint of the speech delivered by Mr. Mazumdar in the National Congress in 1893, and the second is the presidential address, delivered by Mrs. Besant to the Behar Students' Conference, at Muzaffarpur, last year. Both the pamphlets contain controversial subjects. There is, however, nothing strikingly new in either of them.

THEOSOPHY AND MODERN THOUGHT. By C. Jinarajadasa, M.A. (Cantab.). (Madras: *Theosophical Publishing House*.)

So far as Mr. Jinarajadasa discusses the problem of heredity from a purely scientific point of view in these lectures, which were delivered by him at the thirty-ninth annual convention of the Theosophical Society, at Adyar, no one will find fault with his statements; but when he tries to reconcile the teachings of theosophy with science, the intellectual tangle

tributed by Sister Nivedita to the *Modern Review* of Calcutta. The work of compilation has been very well done, and it is possible to gather even from these fragmentary writings a complete conception of the true Hindu ideal of life and conduct as understood by the writer. To say that Sister Nivedita was more representative a Hindu than an average inhabitant of Hindustan who professes Hinduism will be no exaggeration. In her life in Calcutta she approached most closely to the Hindu ideal of renunciation. In the short articles in the volume one feels how strongly Sister Nivedita succeeded in absorbing Hindu thoughts. Never once does one even suspect that the writer is an Englishwoman with an Englishwoman's prejudices. But for the familiar way in which Sister Nivedita handles facts in European history and social life, the essays might have been the work of her master, Swami Vivekananda. Some of these essays are worth careful study, chiefly those which furnish a striking contrast between the Eastern and Western conception of life, particularly as regards the aim of life. The Hindu conception of renunciation, for instance, as given in the essay "The Spirit of Renunciation," will give many in the West food for reflection. The volume, as a whole, is a valuable contribution to the ethical literature of the times.

MEMOIRS OF THE COLOMBO MUSEUM. Edited by Dr Joseph Pearson, D SC, F.L.S. Series A, No 1. Bronzes from Ceylon, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D SC Ceylon, 1914. Imp. 4to, 31 pp, xxviii plates and explanatory leaves 10s net

This book from the press of Oxford University begins a new series to deal with Archaeology and Ethnology. It is a striking addition to the unfortunately small number of books on Indian bronzes, and it includes both Hindu and Buddhist images, the plates illustrating Śiva, Pārvati, Kārttikeya, Ganeśa, some Śaiva saints, Nandi, Pāttni, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Kṛiṣṇa Hanuman, Sūrya, Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Devas, Lokapālas, a number of animal figures and of small metal objects, lamps, emblems, ewers, and bowls, etc. The collotype reproductions are very creditable, and we are glad to see this process of illustration coming at last into its own, its advantages, particularly in the softness of the impression and its permanence on paper (not on pipe clay), have long endeared it to us, and in skilled hands, with appropriate negatives, it is capable of results even finer than the plates now before us, a perfection to which doubtless the next issues will attain. The Ceylon Museum, whose previous publications are much valued, deserves congratulation and support in its new series, the price of which is moderate for a work so luxuriously produced.—H. L. J.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY. Part 1. By Ethel R. Sykes. (London: Christian Literature Society)

These readings from Indian history deal with the period between the Vedic times and the coming of the English, and are meant

girls. The authoress points out in her preface that "though the boys and girls of that great, old, ever new Empire were chiefly in my thoughts when I penned the pages, yet now that the stirring deeds of her brave men fighting side by side with ours in Flanders and Gallipoli have brought India so much nearer to all our hearts, I am not without hope that the book may appeal to a wider circle." In view of the ignorance prevailing among the people of these islands regarding the Great Dependency, the hope is not an unjustifiable one. The story of India is simply told in these pages, and will be read with avidity by boys and girls in schools in all English-speaking countries. The numerous illustrations with which the book is embellished make it still more interesting. Some of these illustrations are from old Indian drawings, and have been reproduced by permission of the India Office.

THE UNIVERSAL TEXT-BOOK OF RELIGION AND MORALS. Part III, vol. i.: "Hinduism." Edited by Mrs. Annie Besant. (Madras: Theosophical Publishing House.)

This volume forms part of a series of pamphlets, issued by the Theosophical Society, to show "the specialities of the various great living religions." For an ordinary layman, these pamphlets will very probably have only a passing interest, and for the student, even, the manner in which some of the facts of the social organisation of the Hindus has been presented will only afford another instance of speculation in sociology. The chapter on the four castes of the Hindus, in the volume under review, for instance, although richly interlarded with Sanskrit quotations, is, to say the least, full of fantastic arguments.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL FROM EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS. By Anvika Charan Masumdar.

THE FUTURE OF YOUNG INDIA. By Mrs. Annie Besant.

The above are two of the "New India Political Pamphlets," issued by the Theosophical Publishing House of Madras. The first is a speech delivered by Mr. Masumdar in the National Congress and the second is the presidential address, delivered by Mrs. Besant at the Students' Conference, at Mu

begins. One feels that there is a great deal in the theosophical theories which must be accepted as dogma, or at least one has to accept the hypotheses as true, without questioning; and when such is the case, it is difficult to see how science can help theosophy. One must, however, give Mr. Jinarajadasa credit for making a valiant effort to reduce the Law of Karma to the exactness of the Law of Mendel. Whether he has succeeded or not, it is for everyone to decide for himself.

THE NOBLE EIGHT-FOLD PATH. By the Bhikkhu Silacara. (Madras: *Theosophical Publishing House.*)

This is an earnest and simple effort to interpret the Law of the Buddha, and the author has succeeded admirably in showing "the noble eight-fold path." The book will be read with interest by those desirous of gleanings the ethical facts of Buddhism. The style is very attractive, and the frequent use of fable and allegory makes the book intensely interesting. In the opening chapters on Right Understanding, the Bhikkhu takes the words of the Buddha, "One thing only do I teach—Ill and the Ending of Ill," for his text, and gradually he unfolds the Law in simple language.

LUCKNOW (THE CAPITAL OF OUDH). By Major H. A. Newell, Indian Army. (*Harrison and Sons.*)

As a compiler of guide-books dealing with some of the great cities of India, Major Newell is now widely known in the Dependency. The brochure on Lucknow will add greatly to his renown as a reliable cicerone. Lucknow is probably the most picturesque city in India. Its history goes far back to the early Aryan times, and in recent years also it has figured prominently in the tragedy of history. Major Newell's description of the places of interest in the city is interesting and accurate. The short chapter dealing with the history of Lucknow makes the book invaluable as a guide-book.

J. C. R.

THE MAKING OF BRITISH INDIA, 1756-1858. By Ramsay Muir. (Manchester: At the *University Press. Longmans, Green and Co.*)

This valuable publication of the University of Manchester gives, by extracts from despatches, treaties, statutes, and other selected documents, the authentic progress of the very haphazard growth of the British power in India during the first century of its existence. The author has made a very satisfactory selection of the papers at his disposal. As he wished to illustrate the growth of the civil rule, he has judiciously excluded, where possible, military history; and, though he has thus limited his range, and cast away much bravery and tales of gallantry, he has made a uniform book illustrating one theme, which he sets before us in a very well-written introduction.

In this the writer shows the curious commencement of the British *Raj*. In 1757 the Hon. East India Company had changed the succession of the *Maras* in Bengal, and yet "had no notion that they had acquired an

Empire." Clive might have ruled India directly, but he had to give up the idea, and the directors "muddled on," eager for trading, but unwilling to govern, until Warren Hastings rose and assumed direct control of the Government. In spite of his errors and detractors, the writer's comment on his rule is "Yet it was Hastings who had turned the Company's power from a curse to a blessing, and laid the real foundations of the British power in India"—a power which (except for the brief period of "The Mutiny") changed India in one century from a land of perpetual warfare into a land of peace, with the British Army defending its borders only. Hastings was a man with vast foresight. He recognized, says the introduction, and was actuated by five great principles. In the first place, he held that power and responsibility must go together. Second, that the servants of the Company (in spite of their history and reputation) could be purified and made fit for responsibility. Then he saw that Bengal was an Indian Province, and must be ruled by Indian customs (how much harm has the introduction of pure English law done to and in India?), that the ryots were the backbone of the people, and must be protected, and, lastly, that the Company, as ruler of Bengal, must take its place as an Indian power and rise in that sphere—or fall. The author has woven his selected documents into an excellent book in support of this thesis. He has shown how, in spite of the unwilling directors, inevitable and successful wars made the British power supreme and gave peace to India, how hasty legislation and reforms have done harm, and especially that, when these five precepts were adhered to, the British power increased, and when they were departed from it dropped in effectiveness and usefulness to zero.

A FRANCIS STEUART

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD By Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell. (London. *W. H. Heinemann*.)

This volume is a war work. It was written by an officer on active service in France, and deals with an important province of the Bombay Presidency, in which he served as a Political Agent. The Hon. Mr. Claude Hill—now a Member of the Council of the Governor-General, and at one time Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kathiawad—writes the preface. He considers that "the book is one which should be perused by, and hold the interest of, all those who are engaged in political work in India, as well as all students of the evolution and development of the country," and we cordially agree with him.

Kathiawad was in ancient times the highway into India from the Arabian Sea, and Scythians, Greeks, Rajputs and Moslems in turn scoured this highway, while the Shalas and Kathis, and other tribes, made incursions across the Runn of Katch from the north, and finally settled in the province.

The Kathis (through, or on account of whom, the invading Marathas gave the whole Province the name of Kathiawad) were a peculiar people who originally came from the south of the Panjab through Sind, and

who excelled in cattle-lifting, horse-stealing and horse-breeding. They were formerly Sun-worshippers, and claimed descent from the Kaurawas.

As a community they divided themselves in "the Haves" and "the Have-nots," and made a democratic rule that the rich should marry the poor, and that the lack-lands should form matrimonial alliances only with land holders, and *vice versa*. This system was calculated to equalize property and prevent wealth from accumulating in the hands of a few, and seems to have worked satisfactorily. At any rate, the Kathis developed into a fine fighting race, and left their mark everywhere on Kathiawad, although they were really late-comers and recent settlers.

The whole province was in a state of upheaval due to internal disturbances, and in the utmost confusion when the British Government intervened in 1808, and succeeded in establishing something like order out of the ever increasing chaos. The difficulties Captain Wilberforce-Bell has experienced in telling anything like a connected story of the evolution of the various kingdoms and principalities of Kathiawad well illustrate the complications that prevailed everywhere when the British arrived, and the involved situation with which Colonel Walker, the Settlement Officer, was called upon to deal. The painstaking Colonel did his best to set forth and settle the province just as he found it, and he seems to have said to the tumult of the waters "Here let the billows stiffen and have rest," and made his settlement accordingly.

A good deal of rounding up and smoothing out has had to be undertaken since Colonel Walker's time, but Kathiawad still reflects his settlement in all its main features. Captain Wilberforce-Bell traces the traditions of Kathiawad (then known as Saurashtra) from 327 B.C. to the end of the Gupta dynasty, A.D. 760, and then proceeds to describe the advent of the Rajputs—Lethwas, Chaoras, Walas, Ahers, Mera, etc.

In his second chapter he has given us translations of the Edicts of Asoka, found on the great rock at Junagath, and these make most interesting reading. And in his third chapter, the second and third inscriptions on the Asoka Stone are set forth and explained, and then follow the more or less necessarily involved and sporadic descriptions of the "warring world" of the province. In setting forth the inconsequent events of the struggle between the tribes, the author is constantly driven to use the indefinite conjunction "and now," for there is seemingly no other connection between the various events.

The story of the rise of the Portuguese at Diu is equally disjointed, but the wonder is that the author has been able to find his way at all in setting forth the irregular expeditions and the rambling excursions and alarms!

He deserves the greatest credit for all the pains he has taken in telling the succession of traditional stories, and for the care he has exercised in omitting nothing of importance. He has dealt fairly throughout with the Chiefs and their tribal policies, and has traced with sympathetic care the development of the resources of their States, and described the dawn of a better day for the whole province heralded by the advent of the English.

The book is well illustrated, the map is an excellent one, and the

pedigrees of the various chiefs have been very fully set forth. As we have said at the beginning of this notice, we agree with the Hon. Mr. Claude Hill in commending this volume to all interested in Kathiawad or engaged in political work in India.—J. P.

NEAR EAST

LORD KITCHENER AND HIS WORK IN PALESTINE. By Dr. Samuel Daiches. London: *Luzac and Co.*, 1915, pp. 88. 2s. 6d.

One of the most romantic features in the literary history of the nineteenth century is the rewriting of traditional chronicles in the light of archaeological research. In the case of Palestine it is interesting to note that this work in its early stages was largely carried out by officers of the Royal Engineers, and while we value the knowledge derived from the later excavations of Macallister, Bliss, Flinders Petrie, and Sellin, we should never forget the debt we owe to the labours of Wilson, Conder, Warren, and Kitchener. In this little book an attempt is made not only to summarise the labours of Kitchener in this field, but to estimate their value as a formative influence in the development of a great personality. Kitchener was employed by the Palestine Exploration Fund for four years (1874-1878) in the Survey of Western Palestine, and in the preparation of the map embodying the results of the Survey. From his reports, published in the *Quarterly Statements of the P.E.F.*, Dr. Daiches gives a large number of interesting extracts, with a view of displaying the qualities and bringing out the character of the young Engineer officer. And his conclusion is that "no recorded period in the life of Kitchener gives us such an insight into the mentality of Kitchener and into his ways of work, reveals to us the mind, heart, and character of Kitchener, as well as the four years which he spent in Palestine and in Palestinian work. His indomitable energy, his unequalled thoroughness, his hunger for work, his mastery of detail, his preparedness, his economy of men and material, his making sure of success, his sense of duty, his ability to inspire others with zeal for work, and his clear and crisp style—all these characteristics of Kitchener of to-day we find in Kitchener nearly forty years ago" (p. 11). It is certainly interesting to any student of human nature to notice the first opportunity which is given to any great man to display his powers, and to study the continuity of his character and abilities. This book is valuable as furnishing materials for such a study in the case of Kitchener. "His Palestine work was the first great work done by Kitchener, and this was the beginning of a series of marvellous achievements, culminating in his present achievement, which is unique in human history" (p. 87). Our author has done his work well. At a time when Lord Kitchener is engaging the attention of the whole Empire, this contribution to a fuller knowledge of his mind and character is very opportune and informing, and we hope it will find a large number of readers.

THE CALIPHATE: ITS RISE, DECLINE, AND FALL. By Sir William Muir, K.C.S. A New and Revised Edition by T. H. Weir, B.D., M.R.A.S. 10s. 6d. net.

The high merits of this work need hardly be commented upon, considering that in little more than thirty years, it has gone through not less than four editions, a fact which for a book of such a specialized kind speaks for itself. This last edition, edited by the learned lecturer in Arabic at the University of Glasgow, and its publication at an historical moment such as this, has no doubt raised its interest still higher. "The Caliphate," as far as the eastern side of the history goes, is chiefly based, as the author tells us, on the annals of *Ibn-al Athir*, who lived and wrote at Mosul in the early part of the thirteenth century. He also has largely drawn from Dr. Wells' famous "*Geschichte der Chalifen*," and Wellhausen's admirable work "*Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*," which brings this book up to date. In perusing these pages the reader will feel himself transported to those far-off times—for such is the atmosphere that the authors knew to create round their work—when Islam emerged out of the desert of Arabia to rival the Cross. The first chapter tells us of the death of Muhammad; how he was lovingly nursed by Aisha his wife, a daughter of Abu-Bekr, and how before he breathed his last, he asked Abu-Bekr to read prayers in his stead. It was this same request which made the believing Arabs subsequently choose this chieftain as their Calipha, hence called successor of Muhammad. Yet this election did not pass off without altercation on the part of Omar and Abu-Obeida, who stood in the same relation to the Prophet, both also being his companions. But Abu-Bekr was chosen, nevertheless, by general acclamation, and it was a happy choice. From the first he tried to carry out Muhammad's intentions, whose dying legacy was: "That there should be but one faith throughout Arabia." These words were to become the spur to a universal creed and conquest not only in Arabia but throughout the world. Abu-Bekr, Omar, who succeeded him, and Othman, are the three great pillars on which Islam has been founded. Under their reign the Muhammadan conquests extended from Arabia to Syria, from Persia to Egypt. Great outstanding figures are their generals: Abu-Obeid, Khalid, and Amr. Even Damascus, "the Queen of cities," the most ancient city in the world, which since the days of Abraham had survived through all vicissitudes, had at last to yield to the Arab warriors and to capitulate.

Here the author quotes the terms of the treaty by which the capital of Syria passed into the hands of the Muslims: "This is the treaty which Khalid the son of Al-Welid designs to make with the inhabitants of Damascus upon his entry into this town. He secures to them their lives and goods, the retention of their churches, and of the wall of their town. No house will be pulled down or taken away from its owner; this assures the alliance of God and the protection of his Prophet, of his successor, and of the faithful." And Omar held his word. The cathedral of St. John the Baptist, still rearing its great dome to-day over the city, was left intact; the

story even goes that it was shared for some time as a place of worship by the Christians and Moslems alike. The author, not without reason, lays stress on the fact that the Umeiyad Caliphs, who reigned at Damascus over two hundred years until succeeded by the Abbasid dynasty at Bagdad, were nobler and greater than the latter, and that Islam would never have become so victorious if it had not been for men like Abu Bekr, like Omar, Othman, and Mu'awiya. Under Mu'awiya, Amr conquered Egypt and Aben Musa Spain. It was, however, under this great Umeiyad Caliph that a party succeeded to elect Ali, the cousin of the Prophet, and husband to Fatima, his daughter, as nearer related to Muhammad's family, as a counter Caliph. As a young man Ali was a brave warrior for Islam, but he did not by far compare with the two great Caliphs Omar I and Omar II. Later on Ali was given to luxury and harem life, just as his son Al Hasan, who succeeded him, but abdicated in favour of Mu'awiya, and soon after was murdered by one of his numerous wives. His brother, Al Hosein, being declared his successor by the Hashim party, was defeated and killed, a far reaching incident on which the author much extends, proving it to be the beginning of much internecine strife and the subsequent downfall of the Umeiyade Chaliphate.

It was certainly the chief cause of the quarrel that ever since raged among the Koreish, it was also the first step to bring forward the claims of the descendants of Abbas, Muhammad's uncle. The reference to Aisha made by the author, how she put herself at the head of a battalion to punish Ali for not having defended Othman the third Caliph who was slain, is not the least attractive part of this fascinating and at the same time learned book. It says not little for the position of women that Ali asks her for forgiveness and tries to soften her heart by quoting to her the words of Muhammad which he had overheard—namely, "that she was not only his wife in this world, but would be equally his wife in the world to come." This is a proof that the Arab prophet did not deny to women a soul. Another interesting Arab dame is mentioned in the book—the Caliph Mutawiya's wife Meisun. Amid the Court luxuries of Damascus she pined for the freedom of the desert, and gives vent to her feelings in the following verses

"The tent fanned by desert breeze is dearer to me than these lofty towers
I should ride more joyously on the young camel than on the richly caparisoned steed
A crust in the shade of the Bedawi tent hath better relish than this courtly viands
The noble Arab of my tribe is more comely to see in my sight than the obese and bearded men
Oh that I were once again in my desert home! I would not exchange it for all these gorgeous halls

It was the voice of a woman who pointed to the danger of a luxurious life, which did not agree with the Arab race and which was to lead to their ultimate decadence. Even Omar II., who was known for his uprightness and simplicity of life, and Hisham, famous for his just reign and his skill

in finance, the last of the Umeiyad Caliphs who was great, could not stop the reason of their gradual fall

Merwan II was the last and one of the least famous of the Umeiyad Caliphs. He was defeated in the year A.D. 750 by Abul-Abbas, and pursued as far as Egypt, where he was slain and mutilated. On seeing his dead rival, the first Caliph of the Abbasids bowed low in adoration, and thanked the Lord that victory was given to him, the true successor of the Prophet, because of his relationship, over an ungodly race. He called himself As affa, the bloodthirsty, and under that title he has ever been known in history.

The author gives more than one proof that the decline of the Caliphate dates from the time of the Abbasid succession, inasmuch as it divided Islam into two separate camps—a fact which has much contributed towards the downfall of the Moslem Empire. Persia, one of the first conquests of the Muslims, proved to be in this schism the chief supporter of the Abbasids and Alids against the Umeiyads, and this because the little son of the murdered Al Hosein, named Ali, after the Caliph Ali his grand father, was Persian on his mother's side, she being a daughter of Yesdejird, the last of the Sassanids. Although it cannot be denied that there were a few famous Caliphs under the Abbasids, like Harun and his son Al-Manum, none of them can vie with their great predecessors of the Umeiyad race. Harun's reign, which has been called splendid, was that of a tyrant who amassed by unscrupulous means vast treasures in his vault. Al-Manum slew his brother Al Anum, who made claim to the Caliphate. Al Mursur, the founder of Bagdad, one of the first Abbasids, began his reign by killing in a most treacherous way the greatest Muhammadan general of his time, Abu mushm, who had helped him on to his throne, and raised the house of Abbas on the ruins of the house of Umeiya. He also killed unscrupulously his uncle and his nephew, in order to ensure the succession to his son, a practice which has often been imitated among his followers. It is interesting to note that Egypt subsequently founded an Anti-Caliphate by Obeidallah, in virtue of his alleged descent from Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, whilst Spain elected an Umeiyad Caliph of her own, not acknowledging the change that had taken place in the East.

In his closing chapter, Sir W. Muir mentions as a redeeming point of the Abbasid reign, the more intellectual and philosophical development of Islam. Al-Manum, with the help of Greeks, introduced at Bagdad, as well as in the Persian provinces, an era of science and art which was rather neglected by their predecessors. The Abbasid Dynasty came to an untimely end as early as 1258, under the Caliph not deserving his name, Al-Mutasim, when Bagdad, his residence, was sacked, his palace pillaged, and he with all the members of his family put to death by the Mongol chief Hulagu. But with this catastrophe the history of the Caliphate does not yet end, for subsequently a sort of mock-Caliphs were instituted by Beibar, the Sultan of Egypt. His duties were very perfunctory. He presided at public prayers, and his mission seems to have been to enthrone each new Sultan. Although the claim of these so-called Caliphs

was their being related to Abbas, they did not command respect, because of their unworthy and dissolute life. The succession of these Egyptian Caliphs were, as the author says, maintained throughout the dynasty of the Memluks, "a dynasty known as one of the most painful episodes of tyranny and bloodshed in history." One of the most interesting pages of this book, as lucid as it is brief, is the narrative of how this dynasty was at last conquered by that new power which rose in the East, the Osmanlis.

The last of the Egyptian Caliphs, Al-Mutawakil, in order to save himself, waited on Selim I., the Sultan of the Osmanlis, and was in this conqueror's train when he made his entry into Egypt. To his influence it is due that the tumult and rapine raging then at Cairo did not take still greater dimensions. The Memluk Sultan was put to death and Selim I. henceforth reigned in Egypt. After a stay of many months, during which he gave himself up to all sorts of dissipations, Selim returned with the Caliph Al-Mutawakil to Constantinople, where the latter was first held in high honour but afterwards accused for misappropriation of property given to him in trust. He was confined to a fortress, but released by Selim's successor, Suleiman, who asked him to resign his rights to him. He did so and retired into Egypt, where he died after having joined an unsuccessful rising. As Sir W. Muir clearly explains, the claim of the Osmanli Sultans to the title of Caliph rests on but this cession, and he concludes in saying "that even if there were no other bar, the Tartar blood which flows in their veins would make their claims untenable. Even if their pedigree by some flattering fiction could be traced up to the Koreishite stock, the claim would be but a fond anachronism. The Caliphate ended with the fall of Bagdad; the illusory resuscitation by the Memluks was but a lifeless show; the Osmanli Caliphate a dream."

—L. M. R.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE CIVILIZATION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. By Morris Jastrow, Jun. (Philadelphia and London: *J. B. Lippincott Company*.)

At a time when the thoughts of the whole Empire are anxiously following the course of events on the Mesopotamian rivers, it is with an especial interest that we take up this book, which conjures up before us the life of flourishing cities and the feats of warlike peoples now long forgotten and buried under the very soil over which nations are again locked in desperate struggle. Mr. Jastrow begins his book by introducing the reader to the Euphrates Valley in its present deserted condition. He describes the huge and shapeless rubbish-heaps of clay and sand underneath which the great cities were buried, and he proceeds to show us how their history was reconstructed by the untiring energy of excavators and scientists. It is a fascinating story. Beginning with the work of the French Consul P. E. Botta, and continuing to our own day, explorers from almost every country in Europe and from the States have worked together, each contributing his

share to the unravelling of the mystery. Some of the difficulties which had to be overcome may be realized by reading the description of the course and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, those puzzling combination of wedges that were the medium of written expression in the Euphrate Valley. When once this was achieved, a great stride had been made, and the numberless inscriptions on monuments and clay tablets could be read.

We find much in the history and customs of Assyria and Babylonia that reminds us that Biblical history and Hebrew tradition is indissolubly wound up with the Euphrates Valley.

We are told in the Book of Genesis that the Garden of Eden was watered by the Euphrates; and, again, we read of the great tower that should reach to heaven, built in Babylonia. Such stage towers were a characteristic feature of the religious architecture of that country. The story of the Deluge was doubtless suggested by the annually recurring overflow of the rivers, which submerged entire districts for weeks, and even months, until the introduction of an elaborate canal system turned the whole region into one of remarkable fertility. We find, too, that there are a number of versions of the story of the Deluge in Babylonian literature. It is a strange coincidence that one of the mounds covering the ruins of Nineveh bore the name of "Nebbi Yunus"—i.e., "the prophet of Jonah"—and a little chapel surmounting it was revered by the natives as the tomb of the prophet who announced the destruction of Nineveh. This formed a clue by which early explorers identified the site of the great capital of Assyria.

The fact that the Semitic race at one time gained ascendancy on the Euphrates Valley, and that Babylonian influence spread over the whole of Western Asia, no doubt accounts for the striking similarity with Hebrew traditions in the social and political organisation, and in the rites and earlier beliefs. The temple is the nucleus in which the whole life of the people centres. Here are performed not only the religious functions, but also the commercial and social life is directed by the authorities in the temple. The code of laws are of Divine origin, and therefore immutable. The people identify themselves with their god, who fights for them, and who, if defeated, is subjected to the god of the conqueror.

The Babylonians were the originators of many customs and sciences which have been passed on and developed by later civilizations. It is in the Euphrates Valley that medicine was first studied, although it continued to be dependent on the belief in demons as the source of physical ills. The foundations for the science of astronomy were also laid, but it remained in the service of astrology. Their civilization has left its impress on military organization, the government of the people, and in commercial usages, while some of the sculptures now distributed in the various museums of Europe and America still evoke our admiration.

When the time was ripe, and the culture of the Euphrates Valley had fulfilled its purpose, it succumbed to the Persian and finally to the Greek civilization. Alexander's entry into Babylon, where he died in the palace which Nebuchadnezzar had erected for himself, marks the beginning of a new epoch.

Mr. Morris Jastrow, who is Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, a University to which we owe some of the most important excavations of Babylonian sites, has by his work enabled the larger public to acquaint themselves with the results of the researches of Assyriologists, and we recommend his well-illustrated book to all thoughtful readers. J. A. R.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATION. By J. P. Droop, M.A., Late Student at the British School at Athens. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 4s. net.

Though excavating has been a popular pursuit for a long time, the science of excavation is not more than about fifty years old, and it is only during the last ten or twenty years that the full importance of careful digging has been realized. In former times people dug chiefly for spoils, and cared little for the circumstances under which these were found. If we could now excavate again all the sites which were hurriedly and carelessly dug in the past, our knowledge would be vastly increased; but the pity of it is that the damage done is irreparable, and the secrets which could have been yielded up are now lost for ever. We must console ourselves, however, with the thought that no knowledge is gained without experience, and that at least for the future new methods are assured. Mr. Droop has done both archæologists and the general public a real service in summarizing in his book "Archæological Excavation" the methods now generally employed by experienced excavators. He is a trained excavator himself, and speaks with thorough knowledge of the subject. He has, moreover, the gift of clear, concise exposition, and of writing in a natural conversational style which greatly adds to the enjoyment of the reader.

"An excavation should be so conducted that it would be possible in theory to build up the site again with every object replaced exactly in its original position." That is the principle which Mr. Droop lays down as the ideal of the modern excavator. Besides the general qualities of patience, good judgment, and power of organization, he must have a general knowledge of archæology, civil engineering, drawing, photography, chemistry, and anthropology, as well as be able to speak the language of his workmen. Happily, these qualifications need not all be combined in one person, except in a very rudimentary degree. But the people—and there still are some—who imagine that, in order to excavate, all you need are a spade and a pair of strong arms will find "Archæological Excavation" surprising reading.

The book has an epilogue, and, as is often the case with epilogues, it would be better if it had not been written. It registers the author's opinion that co-operation between men and women in excavations is inadvisable. It is known that Mr. Droop has had an unfortunate experience; but hasty generalization, as Mr. Droop has told us himself, is not a desirable quality in an excavator, and after the high ideals set forth in the rest of the book the end is a little disillusioning—for it is always disappointing to discover that what men preach they do not necessarily practice. G. M. A. R.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND CRITICISMS

PREHISTORIC MAN AND HIS STORY. By Professor G. F. Scott Elliot, M.A., etc. xvi, 398 pp., demy 8vo., with 64 illustrations. (London: Seeley Service, 1915.) 7s. 6d. net.

The discovery of the Piltdown skull awoke a new interest in the history of fossil man, which has been rewarded by the publication of various books and pamphlets, chiefly of a controversial character and equally unsuited to the requirements of the general reader uninitiated in anatomical matters, who cannot visualize the importance of apparently small variations in the structure of a skull or a mere jaw. Indeed, to the layman (especially if science appeals to him only *when* confirming the stories embodied in Genesis), the assurance with which modern anatomists calculate the probable size of a brain, and model the probable appearance of a monkey-like ancestor, appears little short of jugglery, and the purely scientific memoirs are wasted on him, whatever the size of his own skull. Professor Scott Elliot, who has already written several readable books to introduce science in a pleasant way to the general reader, has tackled this time a difficult problem in an unconventional manner, and the result is a pleasing volume which can be heartily commended to all who take an intelligent interest in the history of *homo sapiens*. Scientific truths are so hard to drive into some brains that one welcomes a book which makes them attractive. The descent of man from a monkey of some sort is still offensive to many—the present writer can say so from personal experience: only last year a Belgian father strongly protested to the principal of a London school because this pedigree had been mentioned in a lecture. Unlike the Irishman who said to his son, “*You* may be descended from a monkey, but *I* ain’t,” this worthy man objected because it shocked what he termed his profoundly religious convictions; and he was perfectly sure that Adam lived 5,900 odd years ago. Were he able to read this book, perhaps he might alter his views, for the author has a truly refreshing way of introducing common sense into his arguments. One inwardly chuckles at his solemn reminder that there were “no cement mills in the Miocene,” or at his joke about the single atlas on page 41. And the more one admires his science and his method the greater the astonishment at some slipshod statements—e.g., on page 95, that respecting the *Japanese*, because (1) they are *not* the shortest of the so-called Yellow races (their conscription regulation height, 5 feet 2 inches, is higher than the present Belgian one); and (2) they do not marry at eleven or twelve years of age. Recent statistics have shown that the average ages of Japanese men and women at first marriage are twenty-seven and twenty-three years respectively, it may be noted that in the warmer provinces of Kyushu, the most prosperous in Japan, the ages are still higher (twenty-eight, twenty-four) and the general averages in Japan are thirty-two and twenty-nine. Some twenty years ago they were lower but never as stated by the author. Surely the author meant to write *Siamese*. The statement of Geoffroy St. Hilaire can be substantiated by the present writer from experience with two marmosets

who could recognize and differentiate pictures of a "red" and a black cat as readily as they did the living ones, and who showed great intelligence in other matters as well. On page 98 the French sentence has been ludicrously murdered by the printer: read—"l'eau se superpose au mercure," etc. Following seriatim, we do not like the curt reference to Dr. Keith on page 128; *perhaps* in that case conveys a regrettable alight. The author tells us, further on, that he does not agree with Dr. Keith, nor, apparently, do those responsible for the British Museum (Natural History) Guide to Fossil Man (1915), in which his name is not even mentioned; but Dr. Keith needs no champion, and he surely knows more about human skulls than most geologists or palaeontologists, official or otherwise. Prof. Scott Elliot accepts the first estimate of the capacity of the Piltdown skull by Dr. Woodward at 1,070 c.c. The British Museum handbook *now* places it at *circa* 1,300 c.c., in accordance with the amended statement made before the Geological Society in December, 1913. Dr. Keith's original impromptu figure of 1,500 c.c. has now been reduced by him to 1,397—say, 1,400 c.c.—by the application of the Lee Pearson formula, postulating the skull to be that of a female, with the probability of 1,550 c.c. in the corresponding male. More can be found thereabout by reading Dr. Keith's Anthropological Institute paper and his "Antiquity of Man," held back a year by the war. This same war is probably responsible for the fact that no references are made by Professor Scott Elliot to publications since 1912—e.g., Keith's, Herdlička, Elliot Smith's "Migrations and Dolmen Period," etc.; but it is a pity that the acceptance of the early estimate referred to above should not have been qualified. Are we to assume that the author disagrees from both Dr. Keith's and Dr. Woodward's second estimate? We have somewhat laboured this point, as the Piltdown skull has been a "bone" of contention between so many ethnologists—*que de tempêtes autour d'un crâne*: it almost reminds one of the Virchow-Broca controversies in the seventies. We are not so sure that the author is right when he says that a man would have no inducement to wear a necklace if there was nobody around. He might have some hazy belief in the magical value of such a necklace. There may have been some connection of the kind between the magatama necklaces of the Yamato tribes and the original use of animals' claws or teeth, as I suggested nine or ten years ago. The author shows the rise of the primitive man from Piltdown through the evidence of Heidelberg, Neanderthal, Cromagnon, up to the first herdmen, the first agriculturists, and the first artists. He shows the beginning of civilization, of trade, of art, of religion; he has digested in an attractive form a huge mass of technical literature, and given ample bibliographical notes for the use of those who wish to learn more. Let us wish him an early second edition, in which a few points of detail might be revised.

H. L. J.

EPHEMERA. By Geoffrey Drage. (Smith, Elder and Co., 1915.) Price 10s. 6d. net.

Although the various subjects touched upon by the author are all of unfailing interest, the reader whose concern is especially with Asiatic

subjects will at once turn to his chapters on Russia and the Balkans. The former fall into the somewhat turbulent period of Anglo-Russian relations previous to the accession of King Edward, before the good sense of both nations prevailed to form the present Entente, and include a chapter on Russian literature, with which readers of the "Cambridge Modern History" will be familiar. The article on "Balkan History," published in the *Fortnightly Review* during the temporary lull at the close of 1913, is also very instructive. He reminds us that if there was a Turkish Macedonia which dreamt of liberation, there was a similar agitation in Austria-Hungary. He gives a very good sketch of the demand for a Triune State there. Very pleasing, too, are the two Addresses delivered at Eton College, on the connection of her "playing-fields" with the Empire and the Labour Question. But the finest passage in this volume of over 450 pages occurs in a speech delivered in October, 1913, to the Master and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights.

He expresses himself in no uncertain terms:

"We live in a *cynical age*—in an age without enthusiasm in some respects, and with too much enthusiasm in other respects. I venture to say that the more the generation which is growing up will take the trouble to study, whether it is working classes, whether it is business classes, whether it is those who are engaged as *sailors, soldiers, or diplomatists*, in defending our interests abroad, or in administering, as *proconsuls*, the great territories on which our fame and name depend—I say, the more you travel, the more you go into the facts of the case, the more you will say that not only is there *life in the dog yet*, but you will say, and say from your hearts, that the Government of His Majesty the King and the flag of this country do still, as in the past, bring to subject peoples, as well as to our own folk, *liberty, truth, and justice*. As long as we can say that—we do not even need to say it as long as we can believe it, as those who have travelled and seen must believe it—so long, Sir, I think we can assert that our one duty as Britishers, small as is our capacity, small as is our sphere of work, is to do the best we can in our day and generation; that *we are all part in one great family*, and in so far as we do our own work honestly and well, however small our sphere may be, we are helping in the greatest Empire the world has ever seen."

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. "Year Book," 1915. (Washington, U.S.A.)

This contains a series of reports from the working factors of the above endowment. Of most interest to English readers will be the section on the Hundred Years' Anglo-American Peace. It is recorded that the decision for postponement which was notified by means of a circular letter. "Although this letter called for no response, many replies were received, without exception approving the action of the Executive Committee." The hope is expressed that "after the restoration of peace in Europe, the Washington Committee will resume plans for an appropriate celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817,

under which the limitation of armaments on the Great Lakes, forming the boundary line between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, has remained undisturbed "

Another section describes the history of the endowment. They keep for reference the official gazettes of the leading nations of the world, Parliamentary and Governmental papers relating to all phases of international relations: at least one leading periodical of each important country, chiefly devoted to international affairs, and of one American and one English daily newspaper, both of which publish complete indexes of their contents. If, as appears probable, this energy is persisted in, the library will in due course become one of the most important reference libraries in the world for the present period. A general perusal of the volume before us reveals a most comprehensive organization for the study of foreign politics—chiefly, of course, in the abstract—and its development will be watched with increasing curiosity.

MUTUAL DEFENCE OF NATIONS. By O. F. Maclagan. (*Garden City Press, Ltd.*) Price 2s 6d. net

In this useful work the author shows us the way to build up the future peace and prosperity of the world—the way to reach an end worthy of those who have been accustomed to the conventional morality of civilization

Mr. Maclagan expresses a sentiment common to millions of others when he says there must be some means of preventing the violation of a solemn promise made by one nation to another. Against such a nation the others must unite and take immediate action to prevent any illegal act from being carried into execution. And one cannot help but feel that in adopting such a plan the world would find an unquestionable assurance that no violation will be attempted

The present system of arbitration, which is in no way compulsory, is most imperfect and powerless, unless in dealing with small matters that are never likely to disturb the friendly relations of civilized States

Mr. Maclagan, whose object is to impress upon the peoples of the world that the true reliance of a strong, free nation, should be, not on the force of arms, but on the force of righteousness—is deserving of every man's support.

OLIVER BAINBRIDGE

THE HOUSE OF WAR. By Marmaduke Pickthall. (*Evelyn Nash*) 6s.

I have always been suspicious of the wisdom of "carrying the Gospel to the heathen"—still, I was under the impression that modern missionary zeal was tempered with so much discretion that it had become practically harmless. It is, perhaps, unfair to missionaries to let that impression be contradicted by "The House of War," since that book deals, not with normal missionaries, but with the foolish efforts of an ardent young woman to break from the amiable, if futile, routine of the Protestant community of a city somewhere near Antioch, and to embark upon a militant campaign on behalf of Christianity among the neighbouring Mohammadan villages. That

militancy leads to local disaster, and, but for the timely intervention of the Turkish Governor—a wise and most attractive old gentleman—would have led to more extensive calamity; for the Christian population, aware always of the force of Christian diplomacy behind them, are, we are told, ever ready to insult the Muslims with impunity. The Christians of the Turkish Empire are not, it appears, all they should be; one is led to believe that they have often brought massacres upon themselves by their provocative behaviour towards the long-suffering and, by creed, tolerant Muslims. In return for Turkish protection and specific rights, all the Christians who declined to embrace *El Islam* after the Muslim conquest pay annual tribute to the Turks, and, beyond this, do not “enjoy” the full rights of citizens, being exempt from military service. They had grown rich while the Muslims remained poor.

“From birth to death they governed their own lives and were at liberty to ply their trades or till their lands continuously—whereas the Muslim village was perpetually being robbed of able-bodied men. The Muslims had borne all the burden of the service of the State for the benefit of the said Christians, whom *El Islam* of old agreed to tolerate and to protect in consideration of a yearly tribute paid by them. . . . But were the Christians grateful? Ask your eyes. No sooner did the Europeans find a way into the land . . . than the Christian population flocked around them, eating all their dirt in order to secure protection from a foreign Power, which should enable them to thrive at the expense of the poor Muslims. On the one hand they whined lies to their protectors, filling their minds with prejudices against *El Islam*; on the other, they grew arrogant towards their Muslim neighbours. Missionaries came and dwelt among them in their villages. . . . They were educated free of charge, and placed in good positions. The least injustice to a Christian so enraged the Powers of Europe that all the masters of oppressions were driven to confine their practice to the poor Muhammadans, who, being patriotic, raised no cry. The Sultan was too greatly pestered by the Powers of Europe, each clamouring on behalf of its own Christian favourites, to give attention to his loyal Muslim subjects.”

That is the pro-Turk case—and it is Mr. Pickthall's case. He has written a telling story around it, in the spirit of the quotation from Horace Walpole which is printed on the title-page: “The world is a comedy to those who think; a tragedy to those who feel.” I. C. W.

KILLING FOR SPORT. Essays by Various Writers. With a preface by Bernard Shaw. (*G. Bell and Sons.*) 2s. 6d. net.

This is not a book about the war, though G. B. S. is at his best in a short but illuminating preface. Being a logician, he has his readers at a disadvantage, for he brushes aside the ordinary sentimental argument against sport, which one may call for briefness' sake the pet-dog analogy, or “How would Fido like it?” with the brief but wholly appropriate commentary that Fido would have no opinion to offer on the matter at all, not being

a rational animal. In short, he urges, animals of all sorts must be killed to make the world inhabitable; a cow in the drawing-room would be neither a civilizing nor a sanitary influence, and even if you allow it a restricted liberty, and allow it to live on condition that it lives alone in a field—conditions which, from the experience of Nebuchadnezzar, we know to be disastrous to social and economic well-being—a sentimentalist is still faced with the hideous necessity of mangling a cabbage or interfering with the contemplative life of the artichoke. Frankly, it will not do. A philosophy of life which does not take man's well-being as the legitimate end of man's activity may be curious, but it cannot be interesting. Sport stands or falls by its effect on men, not by its effect on animals; Mr. Shaw says that on the whole the effect is bad. Or, rather, he seems inclined to regard it as symptomatic of a pitiable lack of sensibility, as at once the effect and the cause of a lack of artistic refinement, a lack of culture.

Other writers in this book are less logical. Some have too warm a fellow-feeling for the pheasant to allow them to write dispassionately, while some are struck more with the odious parasites of sport—the bookmaker, the gamekeeper, the racing tout, the spectator, and the sporting journalist—than with the sportsmen. Perhaps the most interesting articles in the book are those by Mr. Salt (the editor) on the "Fallacies of the Sportsmen," and the article on the Game Laws by Mr. Connell. We cannot help feeling that a studied criticism of sport can hardly be made if we make "killing for sport" the dividing line between what is harmful and what is admirable. When seriously considered, the disadvantages of sport are mainly social, the effect on the individual is comparatively small. What, for instance, Mr. Marnot Watson, in an interesting essay, calls the "callousness" of fox-hunting is much more the outcome of a widespread lack of culture and refinement than the cause of it. The evils of sport as it exists to day are probably due less to cruelty involved in particular sports—there is nothing very humane about a butcher, yet he is not in the least evil—than to fallacies which have grown up concerning it, and which perpetuate and consecrate sport as an activity far more conducive to moral and material prosperity than hours of serious study and considered thought. It is not the cruelty of the fox hunter which is harmful, it is his belief in the merits of fox hunting. We do not mind his wasting three mornings a week unprofitably, he probably wastes the other four. Personally he is humane. But what is objectionable is his fixed belief, universally held and passed on to each generation, that three mornings a week hunting is a serious contribution to the moral and material welfare of the whole country, not excluding the fox.

Clear thinking on these subjects is always good, and even for those who disagree with every word of this book it should conduce to this. It is ably written, and is seldom dull, except when confining itself to statements of fact.

DOUGLAS JERROLD

FICTION

NARCISSUS By Viola Meynell. (*Martin Secker*) Price 6s.

The author of "Modern Lovers" and of "Columbine" has again given us a very exquisite piece of work. Its delicacy, its slight but certain loveliness, so grow upon one in reading it that one has the impression that the last part of the book is much better than the first, but this is only, I think, because, as in a picture, greater value apparently attaches to the finishing strokes than to the beginning ones. And the whole impression of "Narcissus" is so much that of a delicate drawing whose lines, in themselves beautiful, are related to each other in unusual affinity. I am thinking particularly of the last stroke of all, the last page, where Victor's tormenting questionings as to the fate which stole Imogen from him and gave her to his brother are suddenly answered by a familiar memory of his boyhood, returning to him at last with the full meaning with which it had always been so bafflingly pregnant.

"But why, Jimmy? Why should not he too——"

"The swift, inexorable answer came, and it was like the quick coming answers of the old, old days. Was he a boy again, sitting at the table in the library, his head propped on his hand, stammering aloud the question marked Q, longing for it to be unanswerable, while just underneath there was A, always there, waiting, ready, full, apt, impossible to dismay, swift and deadly to reply?"

It is in the drawing of Victor and Jimmy Carmichael, from the characteristic differences in temperament early shown in their library companionship through youth to manhood, that Miss Meynell's very real artistry is seen. Availing herself of no definite or easily distinguishable differences in their actual lives, discarding all but the merest suggestion of drama altogether, she yet accomplishes a very rare individualization of the two brothers. Their relations to one another, to their home, to their mother, to the world outside South Mimms, are given with an insight, a sympathy—more intimate and loving with Victor, who is the chief Narcissus, than with Jimmy—and an art which is ever and again astonishing in its coherence and flashes of genius. The study of Imogen does not convince so much as the slighter picture of Edie, in Imogen I feel that expectancy, unaccompanied by any dramatic activity, is carried too far—she is too limbless. But Edie is quite real, and very endearing.

I. C. W.

THE DARK FOREST By Hugh Walpole (*Martin Secker*) Price 6s.

"War is made up, I believe, not of shells and bullets, not of German defeats and victories, Russian triumphs or surrenders, English and French battles by sea or land, not of smoke and wounds and blood; but of a million million past thoughts, past scenes—streets of little country towns, lonely hills, dark sheltered valleys, the wide space of the sea, the crowded traffic of New York, London, Berlin, yes, and of smaller things than that of hiltle quarrels, of dances at Christmas time, of walks at night, of dressing

for dinner, of waking in the morning, of meeting old friends, of sicknesses, theatres, church services, prostitutes, slums, cricket-matches, children, rides on a tram, baths on a hot morning, sudden unpleasant truth from a friend, momentary consciousness of God "

This passage from Trenchard's diary is the revelation of "The Dark Forest"—at least, so it seems to me. War cannot, except in speech, be shaped by a monosyllable. Only perhaps at the beginning of the war did any of us imagine that it could be. Yet we, at home, on the far outskirts of the spectacle, have still fancied that in closer adjacency and in contact with the enemy, the jumbled burden of personal and impersonal feelings, one's own and other people's histories, moving sometimes as usual, sometimes vehemently, more often heavily or not at all, broken impressions of a changing world, which is what *the war* has been to us at home since August, 1914, would be exchanged for some sure glimpse of reality, or, at least, would be connected by a thread of relation which should pierce to the heart of all these feelings and facts. "The Dark Forest" is the story of the treachery and derision of such fancy. The war confirms that "odd jealousy," as Emerson called it, which for ever separates the pursuer from his object. It will not bandy meanings with us, it is for ever ahead—ahead of us at night and up before us in the morning, a pageant which has just gone by, a mystery which we cannot lay hands on. What we lay hands on, what of all the members of that Russian Red Cross unit Trenchard laid hands on most triumphantly, are our own histories. It is the personal triumph of the soul over death and fear—the "You've won," as Semyonov cried to his dead and, in life, defeated rival—that is really attainable.

The stage of the war's deceit is the Russian front during the great retreat of last year. A Russian Red Cross unit, the Otrnad, starting from Petrograd, is made up of the two Englishmen—Durward, who writes the story, the shy, self-conscious, clumsy Trenchard, upon whose "victory" the book closes, Marie Ivanovna at starting engaged to Trenchard—young, adventurous, enraptured with curiosity and desire to find life wonderful, Nikitin and Semyonov, two convincingly drawn opposite types of strength and efficiency, and Andrey Vasilevitch—rather ridiculous, over talkative, vain but pathetic in his knowledge of his own deficiencies. Trenchard's sentimental expectations of finding the war glorious and romantic have already, for him, been partly realized in his engagement to Marie, but the war shatters this, as it also disperses his yet unrealized dreams. Semyonov, strong, brutal, self-sufficient, snatches Marie from him. Trenchard realizes to the full his defeat. The rest of the story is his facing of that temporal defeat and his eventual triumph. Marie is killed, and to both of her lovers is borne the certainty that whichever of them dies first will regain her. In the Dark Forest on the other side of the shining Nestor, opposite to their headquarters after the great retreat, the last struggle takes place. There, behind the foremost lines of trenches, where so many dead lie mouldering, there where Vulatch, the ruined town in the heart of the forest, is like some hideous hidden secret, the four men—Nikitin, Vas

silievitch, Trenchard, and Durward—go to serve a temporary hospital. To the two latter, the forest, with its sinister green haze, its deep silences, its dark hollows, has all along been the symbol of the secret they could not reach, the reality they could not conquer. The story of those last desperate days—a furious battle raging close by between the Russians, practically unarmed owing to the lack of ammunition, and a confident, advancing enemy—is given by Trenchard's diary interrupted by Durward's accounts of his visits to the forest, his place there after the first three days having been peremptorily seized by Semyonov, who knew intuitively for what all were silently waiting. For Nikitin and Andrey, too, were rivals for a woman's soul.

Durward wrote after his last visit :

"As I look back upon it now it seems, without any extravagance at all, the very heart of the fortress of the enemy. I do not mean in the least that life was solemn or pretentious or heavy. It was careless, casual, as liable to the ridiculous intervention of unimportant things as ever it had been ; but it was life pressed so close to the fine presence of Fate that you could hear the very beating of his heart. . . . I saw suddenly here the connection for which I had been waiting between the four men. There they were, Nikitin and Andrey, Semynov and Trenchard—Two Wise Men and Two Fools. Surely the rivalry was ludicrous in its inequality."

It was the Two Fools who won.

I do not want to give the impression in this review of a fine book that its interest lies in what may seem, when you read the above rough sketch of the story, purely sensational and slightly melodramatic. "The Dark Forest" is not like that at all. "The last impression I wish to convey," writes Durward, "is that war is an hysterical business." The force of the book lies in its avoidance of hysteria, in its refusal to draw from scenes of horror anything more than was actually felt by those who took part in them, and in its recognition that the reality of war cannot be integrated, that it must remain the sum of so many individual experiences, so many individual histories, the only integrable quality being the victory of the individual soul over fear and death.—I. C. W.

AFRICA

A HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST AND ASHANTI. By W. Walton Claridge.
(*John Murray.*) Two volumes, 36s. net.

In his introduction to Dr. Claridge's work, Sir Hugh Clifford remarks that "The dragging across the face of any primitive country of Jagannâth-car, in which is borne aloft the great idol we name *Pax Britannica*, entails the demolition of many romantic things." This work, authoritative in its nature and extremely comprehensive in its scope, is a record of demolitions. To quote again from Sir Hugh Clifford's introduction : "The history of British relations with the peoples of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, rightly viewed, is the story of an attempt to secure our merchants' profits at the least possible cost to ourselves, and the gradual assumption of extended responsibilities undertaken in pursuance of that object." To a

much later phase, says Sir Hugh, belongs the conception of moral obligations which our presence in the country imposed on us.

The colour of romance is on the first of these two volumes, for it treats of the early days, the likelihood of the Gorgones of the *Periplus* being identical with the species now known as gorilla, the first discovery of the Gold Coast by Europeans, the kingdom of Prester John, the slave trade, and the complex network of intrigue and fighting in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. This volume carries up to the cession of the Dutch Settlements to England in 1872. It may be added that the matter in this first volume concerns events that have passed out of the range of criticism for the most part, and the author has very wisely contented himself with stating facts and leaving comment to the reader.

The second volume begins with the sixth Ashanti war, and continues the story of demolition up to the final fall of Kumasi. Here the author questions, in a guarded way, Sir Garnet Wolseley's "apparent vacillation," which he admits was imposed by his instructions with regard to the campaign. This strikes, on the whole, as a species of wisdom after the event, and is in contrast with the very good judgment at the root of most criticisms in the work.

It is generally considered that Wolseley's campaign settled the main problem of the Gold Coast, but the publication of this work will at least dispel such a fallacy, for it takes the history of the country up to Sir James Willcocks' expedition in 1900, and shows the conditions prevailing at the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the most interesting features of the whole work is "Appendix F," which consists of a tabulated history of the various forts built by the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and other settlers.

Adequate notice of such a work as this, within the limits of a review, is practically impossible. It may be said that the author has done his work conscientiously and well, if without any great enthusiasm. To those who know the west coast, these pages are lacking in that vague quality known variously as "local colour" and "atmosphere." The future historian of the British Empire will come to this semi-official publication for his facts, and will know that he can rely on their accuracy, but he will go to Burton, to Dapper, or to Ellis, for his picturesque touches, and, in spite of the historical character of this work, room might have been made for a spice of word photography or artistry. This, however, is mere cavilling, atmosphere apart, the work is well done.

E. C. V.

DUTCH COLONIES

INDISCH NATUURONDERZOEK. Door Dr. M. J. Sirks. (*Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam.*) Pp. 303. 425f.

The above is a history of scientific research in the Netherland Colonies. Although Dutch writers on Eastern subjects are prone, and perhaps naturally, to confine their investigations to their own wide possessions, the thoroughness of their scholarship will always commend itself to us. The pioneer of scientific investigation there appears to have been Van

Bontius, who, in 1623, was attached to the then Governor General J. P. Koen. His work was very much extended by Rumphius, and we read that our James Cook was there in 1768-71, during his first voyage, accompanied by Sir Joseph Banks, and that they were there occupied in "studying the fishes."

The narrative is brought up to the present time, and includes the achievements of Oudemans and Dr. Bergsma, the former of whom ordered the erection of the observatory in Batavia, and the latter carried it out.

There is a special chapter on scientific activities in the West Indies, the work of Van Capelle is recorded, and it may be added for the convenience of those who cannot read Dutch that one of his books has appeared in French—viz., "*La constitution géologique de la Guyane hollandaise suivie d'une étude pétrographique*"

FINANCE

ON CHINESE CURRENCY By Dr. G. Vissering Vol. II The Banking Problem (Amsterdam *J. H. De Bussey*) xvii, 299 pp. 6s. net

This is the report tendered to the Chinese Government by Dr. G. Vissering, acting as honorary adviser (for the second time since 1911), and it forms a companion volume to the valuable study of Chinese monetary reform which the same author wrote in 1912, and which has recently been republished. The work is highly technical, and will commend itself to financial minds; it contains in substance a definition of the duties of a Central Bank and a Bank of Issue, independent one from the other, the latter being also independent of the internal conditions of China, whilst the former should adapt itself to the conditions existing in 1913. A bank has indeed come into being, and its fortunes were entrusted to another adviser, Dr. Arnold, of the German State Bank—wonderful how a nation of bankers and shopkeepers allowed it, but the fact remains. The author expresses his thanks to an acting British Consul at Amsterdam for the revision of his periods, but one could wish the text were clearer, less involved in its syntax, but perhaps the editor lacked several of the qualifications crystallized by Boileau in his classical lines:

"Ce qui se conçoit bien s'énonce clairement . . ."

Opening the book at random, p. 71 is *not* a sample of clear style, more's the pity, as there can be no doubt of the author's own lucid conception of the scheme he discusses in its minutest details.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

WHO WILL LEAD THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER?

In a striking article especially contributed to the *KAVIRW OR REVIEWS* (May), Miss Scatcherd, well known for her devotion to the cause of Armenia, and who has lately done such service in exposing the mistaken

tactics of "pacifists," "pseudo socialists," and "pseudo internationalists," shows that the ideals for which she has so long contended are on the eve of being realized.

"Anti nationalism is not a tenet of Socialism, as is proved by the many resolutions passed at successive International Socialist Congresses, which recognize the duty of national defence against aggression. This teaching of a Socialism, which to begin with was 'made in Germany,' is amply exemplified by the strong patriotism of the German Social Democrats.

"Down to August, 1914, it was believed that the German Social Democrats would avert the war—a belief seemingly shared by statesmen like Sir Edward Grey and by social leaders like Jaurès, Drakoules, Hause, Liebknecht, and other supporters of the class war dogma. When in May of that year I met Camille Huysmans and members of the International Bureau at Brussels, I incurred suspicion and dislike for condemning the class war as anti social and inhuman, and was told I could not be a Socialist unless I accepted that teaching.

"I then felt vaguely what I now see clearly. Internationalism must be based on nationalism, the social units consisting, not of *classes* but of *nations*, linked together by co operative effort and brotherly love. There is hope for the future of Mr Hyndman's new party now that he has changed his views of International Socialism, and if Mr Hyndman can scrap one or two more of the old shibboleths he may yet become one of the pioneers who will lead mankind into the Promised Land of the New Social Order."

The PIONEER MAIL (January 15) Sir Michael O'Dwyer has published some interesting correspondence that has passed between himself and the Commander in Chief concerning the armoured aeroplane fleet which the Punjab is presenting to His Majesty the King for war service. In a letter to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, His Excellency Sir Beauchamp Duff conveys His Majesty's acceptance of the gift. His Majesty desires that his sincere thanks should be conveyed through His Honour "to his loyal subjects in the Punjab of all creeds and nationalities, who so generously are subscribing to the fund, and to those ruling chiefs of the Punjab and to the heir apparent of Jammu and Kashmir who have expressed their wishes to join in the gift." His Majesty has approved of the suggestion that the planes should be named after the rivers of the province, of their being primarily employed in theatres of war where the Indian Army is serving, and of their being placed at the disposal of the Government of India when the war is over. The subscriptions to the fund for providing the fleet of armoured aeroplanes now amounts to six and a half lakhs of rupees.

The STATESMAN (January 7), in an editorial on the sinking of the *Persia*, writes "It has for a long time been useless to apply to Germany any principle of international law. But, if only to preserve the memory of the moral standards which Germany has abandoned, it is worth while

to emphasize once more the gravity of this latest offence against the code of humanity agreed upon by all nations. By general consent the lives of non-combatants are to be safeguarded, and the bombardment of the non-military area of a besieged town has been avoided. No class of non-combatants deserves more consideration than passengers on the high seas. They are in a position of singular helplessness, and the rules of international law prescribe that no hostile action shall be taken against a non-combatant vessel until she has been warned and given an opportunity of surrender. One of the great triumphs claimed for Mr. Wilson's anæmic diplomacy was that by methods of persuasion he had induced the German Government to recognize the validity of the chapter of law relating to merchant vessels. After prolonged correspondence over the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Herr von Jagow, the German Foreign Minister, in September last, gave the American Government a formal assurance that 'enemy passenger ships will not be subjected to attack without warning, provided they respect the maritime code, and will be sunk only when an opportunity for the safety of the passengers and crew is given'. The Note gave the additional information that 'the instructions to the German submarine commanders are very precise and definite.' Austria only the other day announced to the Washington Government her unqualified acceptance of the same rudimentary principles of humanity. The sinking of the *Persia*, whether by a German or Austrian submarine, is therefore a deliberate violation of a solemn pledge "

The WEDNESDAY REVIEW (January 12) contains a suggestive discussion by "Miles" on the lecture by Pandit Shyama Shankar, M.A., on "Education in India," delivered before the East India Association (see *Asiatic Review*, November, 1915)

Miles "reflects on the vast difference between the ethical, political, and financial conditions of England and India, and wonders whether the highly centralized system the lecturer has in his mind for India is ever likely to come off or would really be useful "

"English education is the outcome of the democratic initiative, as far as the masses are concerned. University education is a high class refinement for wealthy classes who can pay for it, and who have developed the lead and direction of the masses and their work."

"England with a population of *industrials and traders*, perhaps only a sixth of the *cultivators* of India—a homogeneous people and quite different from the many states, castes, races, and creeds, comprising India—manages her country and parochial business through Boards and the popular vote, but the system is the reverse of efficient or economical, and responsibility can seldom be fixed or authority controlled by the public. India, on the other hand, looks to the Government initiative for *everything*, this initiative and the check on it creates the need for co-operative Local Government subordinate to the Central Government, charged with the final responsibility for the entire mass."

In the JOURNAL OF THE UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION OF INDIA (January), R. W. Ewbank, I C S., puts the following question : " Recognizing that the domiciled community of India is of value for military purposes, what is the best method of utilizing it ?" and, in a suggestion for greater facilities, states : " First of all the case may be considered of the young men of the upper classes, of honourable descent and good social position, whose fathers have in many cases borne His Majesty's Commission, but who are at present prevented by their mixed birth from entering the Army. . . . The history of India during the last two centuries has proved over and over again that men of this class have often first-rate fighting qualities. The records of the 1st Madras European Regiment, or, indeed, of any of the European regiments in the Company's army, show what forces containing many Anglo Indians, both among officers and men, could do . . . Among these, probably the best known was the son of a Scottish Ensign by the daughter of a Rajput Zamindar, Lieutenant Colonel James Skinner, C B., who has been generally recognized as one of the most brilliant leaders of irregular cavalry that India has known. Almost equally famous was Sir Robert Warburton, sprung from the marriage of an English officer with an Afghan Princess, who for eighteen years controlled turbulent tribesmen around the Khyber Pass with a hand of iron. . . . Among the adventurers who during the eighteenth century commanded the armies of some of the native chiefs, Major Louis Dorrison, one of the Scindia's most gallant officers, was half Indian and half French, and Major Vickers, who chose to be beheaded by Holkar rather than lead his army against the British, had an Indian mother. These examples are quoted to show that the community has, as a matter of historical fact, produced brave and able officers in the past, and might be expected, if the opportunity were given, to do so again. On this supposition it is suggested that a relaxation of the rule defining ' European parentage ' might be permitted in certain cases, and that the best way to make use of the most promising and well-born Anglo-Indian youths would be for the Government of India to hold an annual cadets' examination, to which candidates should only be admitted by nomination.

A NEW PUBLICATION

At this anxious time when we are all thinking of the Empire and how to bind its component parts more closely and solidly together, special interest attaches to a scheme which we owe to Mr. Max Bellows, of Gloucester. It is, in brief, a society to be composed of all sorts of people having all sorts of interests, studies, and hobbies ; such society to be recruited from all parts of the Empire and the English speaking world, with a special eye to those living in lonely, inaccessible districts, far from the mutual intercourse which is so precious a factor in a crowded island like ours. We are glad to know that Mr. Bellows's idea is bearing fruit and that subscribers are steadily coming in. It is not difficult to see what

value a scheme like this must possess if it eventuate on a considerable scale, and its originator will, after his fashion, claim a place amongst the Empire-builders, and cause many to bless the name of Max Bellows for bringing a new interest into their lives. The society is to have its own monthly organ, appropriately named *The Link*. Mr. Bellows has drafted a most interesting circular setting forth his plan in detail, and a letter addressed to him at Gloucester will doubtless bring readers a copy.

"A HERMIT TURNED LOOSE" By A Kawabata, Professor of the Keio-gaku University, Tokyo. (*East and West, Ltd*) 2s. 6d net.

The above is a very readable account of the experiences of a Japanese Professor in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and England. He states in his preface "I went, I saw, I conquered, and my conquests, both active and passive, are offered to the public in the following pages" They are certainly widespread and wholly delightful. They include a conquest in the Cafe Florence in London, where he spoke of things so wide apart as the Yellow Peril and Norman Angellism. On page 172 he states that "of all sculptures of Japan within my knowledge, the wooden image of the she-cat at Nikko comes up to the European standard of sculpture. He then explains that it was the want of polishable marble, not the want of genius, which prevented Jingoro, sculptor of the she cat, from being a Michel Angelo. There is in fact very much which the Western does not know he should therefore read "A Hermit Turned Loose" and learn — II

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

AN URGENT QUESTION: THE EMPLOYMENT OF
SOLDIERS AFTER THE WAR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

If you can afford me space I should like to add a little, (chiefly, of course, from his own writings, as he is the sole patentee of the scheme), to Captain Petavel's most suggestive article in the current number of the REVIEW.

As the *Morning Post* observed on November 29th last, "this country has suffered terrible things because in time of peace the Government did not prepare for war; it will suffer worse things if *in time of war* it does not prepare for peace"; and, though it is probable that Germany, which *did* prepare for war during forty years of peace, has suffered even more terribly, there is, of course, much wisdom in what the *Morning Post* says, and as long as the war lasts the great problem for us all will be that of enlisting every available person in the ranks of the producers and making the very most of his or her labour. After the war, when we begin to disband millions of soldiers and at the same time cease manufacturing munitions on the present scale, we are likely to be confronted with a grave problem of just the opposite kind; but the great problem of to-day and that of to-morrow, diametrically opposite as they are, both demand that we should pay attention to what the Swiss have accomplished in the way of organizing even

the most unskilled labour to produce the main necessities of life. The Swiss have developed a system of employing unskilled workers in producing food-stuffs and other necessities, and have brought it to such perfection that they have made even tramps under sentence for vagrancy self-supporting.

Now, the Boy Scout movement has shown beyond dispute that the labour of boys of twelve or more is worth quite as much as that of a tramp, and it increases very rapidly in value just according as it is properly trained. Evidently, then, we should improvise farm-colonies, where labour would be organized on the Swiss model, and employ in them as many boys as we can enlist for the national service of increasing our home-food production. Schooling could be continued in the farm-colonies, and the boys might remain in them, earning something the whole time until they had arrived at the required standard of proficiency in their brain-work. When they left they would be fit to be excellent colonists should employment be scarce after the war; or, should the war continue long, the older ones would have had the very best training to make them good soldiers. When once they had had a few practical object-lessons of that kind we should soon make great use of boy-labour in a way that would be in the very highest degree beneficial to the boys themselves.

Clearly this scheme opens up many possibilities, not the least of which is the further development of the splendid Boy Scout movement, but with these developments I do not propose to deal at present. Just now I only wish to emphasize two facts: first, that the Swiss have attained economic success with a small organization on this very system, even though employing the most inferior kind of labour; and, secondly, that the larger an industrial organization is, by so much the more productive it makes the labour of every worker it employs. There is, therefore, no question at all as to whether we should succeed by employing boys or soldiers (instead of tramps) on a large scale.

And it is evidently our duty both to have "industrial

reserves" in order to fit our soldiers for civil life, and farm-colonies to put an end once and for all to blind-alley occupations.

The duty presents itself with special urgency just now. We have called upon all physically fit young men to leave their vocational training to serve their country. We must offer them on their return a training that will give them a proper start in life.

There is but one difficulty in the way—namely, that organization producing things mostly for the use and consumption of its own workers is something new and quite different from a commercial organization, with entirely and perplexingly different economics. Therefore we shall not advance with confidence towards establishing "industrial reserves" unless we have first tried and seen practically what can be done by similar organizations for boys.

If, then, we do but act in time we can insure that those who have responded to their country's call will be absolutely secured from want on their return, and that, instead of competing for work, they will form an organization that will enable us to deal with any amount of genuine employment.

Clearly, then, if we are to do our duty now by developing to the utmost our food-production and our productive power generally, and if we are to be ready to do the best for our returning soldiers, we must lose no time in opening our still too insular eyes to what has been accomplished abroad in the way of farm-schools and self-contained organizations, and in putting the plan into practice as one of the most useful things we could possibly do at the present moment.

Now, could not Captain Petavel's services be utilized in trying his scheme on part of the land which I believe the Government propose to purchase for the settlement of soldiers after the war?

J. B. PENNINGTON,

Hon. Sec. Educational Colonies and Self-Supporting
Schools Association.

3, VICTORIA STREET,

April 8, 1916.

THE RESTORATION OF ARMENIANS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

It has been suggested to me that it would be of interest to your readers to know the latest phase of the work that the Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's) Fund, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, is doing for the remnants of that ancient and much suffering people. All through the winter we have been chiefly engaged in saving the lives of the 250,000 refugees who had escaped from massacre into the Russian Caucasus. Now, with the advance of the Russian Armies and the capture of Erzerum, Mush and Bitlis, and other places, the refugees are rapidly going back to their old homes, at any rate in the district of Van, and others which are now securely held by the Russians. The Russian Governor of Van has issued an appeal for help for this purpose. The need is very great owing to the immense number to be repatriated, and to the fact that they find everything in their old homes either destroyed or pillaged. The time for sowing is rapidly slipping away, and one of the appeals which has reached us from a very responsible quarter speaks of the need for 12,500 yoke of oxen, costing in all 2,500,000 roubles, for ploughing purposes. This is only one small part of what will be needed if the people are to be put in a position to grow their own food before next winter. The Russian authorities and the Armenians in Russia are helping vigorously; so are the people of the United States. Our own Hon. Secretary, the Rev. Harold Buxton, has just taken a party, including a doctor, nurses and relief workers, out to Tiflis; and they are proceeding at once from there to Armenia itself to give personal attention to the work of repatriation, and to saving the sick and starving Armenians who are found wherever the Russian troops advance.

According to our information, in spite of the 500,000 Armenians who probably lost their lives in the terrible massacres of last summer, there are at least another 500,000 surviving in concentration camps and desert places. These it may be possible to help and to restore to their homes at some later stage of this war; for the present all we can do is to help the refugees whom I mentioned first—namely, those whose lives were saved last winter in the Russian Caucasus.

If any of your readers will help us by sending a contribution to our Hon. Treasurer, Lieut.-Colonel Gregory, at 96, Victoria Street, London, S.W., we shall be most grateful.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

ANEURIN WILLIAMS,
Chairman.

"AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN INDIA"*

It would appear from Mr. Wacha's paper that all is not so well with the Co-operative Banks in India as we had been led to believe. Mr. Wacha's introduction of twenty-one pages to an essay of thirty-three is perhaps somewhat lengthy, and raises many controversial points into which I do not propose to enter now. I must confine my remarks to his comparison of the new Co-operative Banks, which he condemns, with the Agricultural Banks, which are, he says, "the only hope of salvation" for the Indian, as they have been for the Egyptian, ryot.

Now, the comparison is not very clearly made in this paper, and it is not a subject of which I have any personal experience. What little experience I had was under the old Takávi system, and I must admit that it agreed exactly with Mr. Wacha's description, on p. 10, that such advances

* By the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha in the *Indian Journal of Economics* for January, 1916.

"were looked at askance by the ryots, and not much availed of because of the trouble, vexation, and even blackmail, to which they had to submit before the advance could be secured. . . . The Takávi advances were in no sense a help to the ryot to diminish the load of his indebtedness." And yet there was the whole capital of the Government behind them, so that it cannot be the greater command of capital alone which differentiates the Agricultural Bank from the Co-operative Credit Society. Evidently, therefore, it can only be the management that was at fault in the case of "Takávi," and the want of capital in the new Co-operative Banks. The late Sir Elwin Palmer, indeed, seems to have decided (so long ago as 1904) that Co-operative Banks in India are "all nonsense," and that "anyone who knows the natives of the country knows they will never co-operate." And yet caste is a fairly well-established co-operative society of a sort, and a good many people who once knew the people of India, perhaps as well as Sir Elwin, would agree with Mr. Dupernex that "the Indian village itself has been from time immemorial a co-operative society, in which very often the land is held in common, and the ryots are accustomed to being jointly responsible for the revenue. The affairs of the village are managed by the village council, and, though the British Government have too often followed a policy of encouraging individualism, this ancient communism is still strong. Upon this village system Mr. Dupernex suggested that the Government should graft the Raiffeisen Banks of Germany. These banks, it need hardly be explained, are close societies of villagers who pool their entire credit, and thereby obtain cheap money from outside which they lend only to members at a slightly higher rate of interest than they pay. As the loans are only made for reproductive purposes, and are amply safeguarded in a number of ways, there is hardly ever, out of the thousands of such banks in Europe, a case of failure, and by these means the German peasant has been delivered out of the

hands of the money-lender and turned into a thriving farmer." *

A great deal depends, no doubt, on how these new banks are managed, and how they are backed up financially, but I hope we need not yet accept Mr. Wacha's judgment as final.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

* See "Truths about India," p 88.

EDITORIAL NOTE

IN the April number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* we drew attention to a paper which was read a few weeks ago by Mr. H. Charles Woods before the Royal Geographical Society upon "Communications in the Balkans." As a copy of the paper was not then in our hands, those references were of necessity very brief. With the consent of the Royal Geographical Society and of Mr. Woods, we therefore require to make no apology for now reproducing some further extracts from the paper itself, which was published in the "*Geographical Journal*" for April last.

The author, who held a commission in the Grenadier Guards for seven years, and who served with that regiment in the South African War, has been a constant traveller in the Near East during the last ten or twelve years. He has studied the political and military situations in Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania, Montenegro, and Greece. He has visited the Peninsula of Gallipoli, and has tramped the mountains of Albania and of Asia Minor. His knowledge of Turkish, enabling him to dispense with interpreters, means that he really gets to know the people.

Indeed, in the words of the President of the Royal Geographical Society, "No one is better qualified to deal with a subject which is intensely interesting to all of us at this moment. I think he has spent there most of the present century—at any rate, there are few years since 1900 when he has not been there. . . ." Or, as Lord Bryce said : "I cannot pretend to anything like Mr. Woods' know-

ledge. . . . We shall need all these data when we begin thinking upon what the future has in store for these regions where so many nationalities dwell intermingled, and so many rivalries and jealousies impede the restoration of a settled peace."

From the paper which fills about twenty-five closely printed pages of the "Geographical Journal," and which contains countless important details, we reproduce the following extracts.

The Balkan Peninsula is essentially the meeting place of East with West. Whilst after the wars of 1912 and 1913 the European dominions of the Sultan were reduced in size from 65,350 square miles to 10,882 square miles, so large a part of the whole Peninsula belonged to Turkey until comparatively recent times that almost the whole area still shows signs of Ottoman misrule. This partly accounts for the extraordinary surprises by which the traveller is met in various parts of the Peninsula. In places the whole country appears to be perfectly European. In others, the traveller passes for miles across bare country, the soil of which is of a brown-red colour—country which almost reminds one of the veldt of South Africa. Again, as one wends his way, by road or path through the Balkans, and particularly through Turkey, one finds that places which from the map would appear to be centres of importance are made up of only a few houses located in the valley or half-way up some forbidding hill-side.

* * * * *

The Near East is therefore a land of contrasts. Although we have some of the monotonous scenery to which I have already referred, we also come upon the unexpected in the opposite direction. For instance, the magnificent land-locked Bocche di Cattaro is a gem of beauty, the like of which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to surpass in Europe. Again, there are places, such as Sofia or Sarajevo, where civilization has advanced by leaps and bounds. The capital of Bulgaria, in 1878 little more than a collection of mud huts, is now a prosperous, modern city. Equally, whilst the Austrians may not have given political satisfaction to the Slav population of Bosnia, they have undoubtedly made of its capital a city in which picturesque beauty is combined with modern comfort. Composed partly of modern and partly of Turkish houses, and nestled on both sides of the narrow valley of the river Miljacka, Sarajevo is a place in which East certainly meets West.

Although Turkey now forms but a very small part of the Balkan Peninsula, the question of the existing communications in the whole area under discussion has been largely influenced by the attitude of the Ottoman Government. For years much of the politics of the Near East has turned upon railroad questions, and therefore, whilst considerable parts of the Peninsula had already passed out of Turkish hands before the construction of railways was practicable in such an area, yet up to the time of the Balkan wars the geographical distribution of the European dominions of the Sultan was such as to give the Ottoman Government the deciding voice as to the construction of numerous lines leading through Turkey to the sea coast. The building of roads and railways would have carried with it economical as well as political advantages to the State, but their construction was opposed alike by Abdul Hamid and by the Young Turks. This opposition was sometimes due to internal political reasons, and sometimes it resulted from the existence of rival schemes supported by different Governments, or by concession hunters who were directly or indirectly interested in them. Again, as large numbers of railways in Turkey were built under a kilometric guarantee from the Government—a guarantee which assured the company in question a fixed gross income every year—it is well known that the Turkish authorities agreed to what was often a most extravagant sum, but only when the line in question was required for some strategical purpose, or when its construction was forced upon the Sublime Porte by some more than usually active diplomatic representative at Constantinople.

* * * * *

By far the most important railway in the Balkan Peninsula is that which connects Belgrade with Constantinople. It constitutes the Balkan section of the great trunk route from West to East. Of its total length of 659 miles, 212 miles are in Serbia, 271 miles are in Bulgaria, and the remaining 176 miles are still in the Ottoman Empire. The line, which has no kilometric guarantee, was built during the period between 1869 and 1898, when it was opened to through traffic.

Second only in significance to this line, and perhaps even destined now to play a more important role, is the railway which connects Nish with Salonika. The length of the line is 278 miles. Following the valleys of the Vardar and the Morava this line takes the great high-road from north to south across the Balkan Peninsula. If seriously improved or rebuilt, and if better harbour facilities were available at Salonika, this line would constitute the shortest and the most direct route from Europe to Egypt, India, and the Far East.

There remains one other railway of very considerable importance. It leaves the main Belgrade-Constantinople route at Kuleli Burgas, a junction situated on the right bank of the river Maritsa, and lying at a distance of about eighteen miles to the south of Adrianople. This line forms the connecting link between the Constantinople-Adrianople Railway and Salonika.

After discussing numerous branch lines of Serbia and Bulgaria Mr. Woods proceeds :

In Turkish Thrace the means of communication are still extremely indifferent, and this not only because of the lack of railways, but also on account of the bad state of repair in which Turkish roads are always maintained. Whilst the construction of several railways has been under discussion for years the only one actually built is that which leaves the main route at Alapie and which runs in a northerly direction to Kirk Kilissa. With a length of about thirty-two miles this line was available for traffic about the time of the outbreak of the first Balkan war. It is important because it facilitates the means of communication between Turkey and South-Eastern Bulgaria by shortening the distance to be covered by road.

With regard to the roads, if we ignore all minor routes, there are at least three which lead from railways in a northerly or north-easterly direction. The first unites Adrianople in Turkey with Jambol in Bulgaria. The second runs in a northerly direction from Kirk Kilissa towards the frontier. Both these were used by the Bulgarians in their advance during the first Balkan war. There is also a road from near Chorlu to Midia on the Black Sea.

On the south there are several roads connecting the coast of the Sea of Marmora with the railway from Constantinople to Adrianople. Without discussing those located in the more or less immediate neighbourhood of the Ottoman capital, we have four so-called thoroughfares which are worthy of mention. The first two connect Rodosto respectively with Muradli and Baba Eski. Their importance is that they enable troops, landed from Asia Minor at Rodosto, to be marched into the interior and towards Adrianople. The third runs from Rodosto by way of Malgara to Keshan, where it meets the main route by which land communication is maintained between Uzun-Keupri on the railway and the Peninsula of Gallipoli. This last-named road, which was practically rebuilt a few years ago, is certainly passable for all arms. Even before its completion, about the year 1910, it was feasible for vehicles to travel by it without any danger of being stuck in the mud, and without any serious inconvenience to their occupants. The length of this road is about

seventy-five miles, and it passes through Keshan, over the Kuru Dagħ Hills, and thence by Kavak and Bulair to the town of Gallipoli.

* * * * *

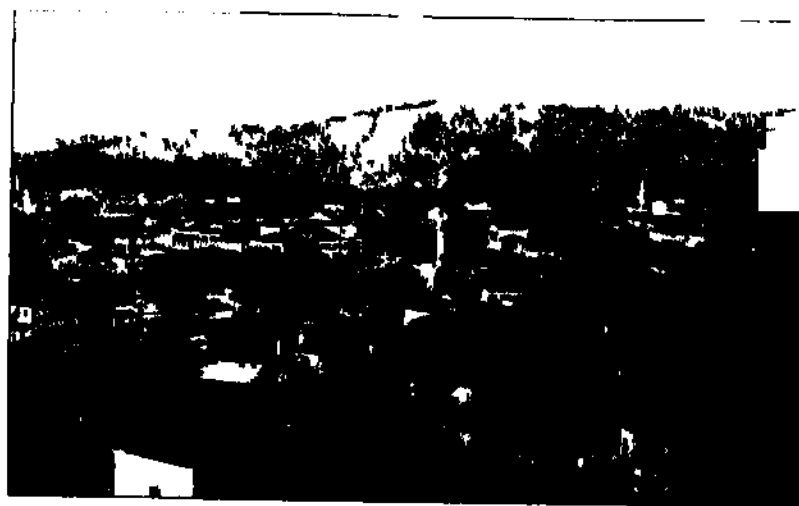
Towards the end of his paper and after entering into a detailed discussion upon the lines of advance from the Adriatic into the interior by way of Montenegro and Albania, Mr. Woods goes on to describe the more principal routes by which it is possible to advance into the heart of Bulgaria from the south and the south-west.

The first or most easterly of these routes is that which connects Gumuljina on the Dede Agach line with Haskovo in Old Bulgaria. The greater part of the road, which now lies wholly in Bulgaria, was constructed by the Turks for military purposes during the closing years of the reign of Abdul Hamid. After the Balkan wars it was greatly improved by the Bulgarians, who foresaw its enormous importance as a means of communication with the coast should they not have secured possession of the whole of the railway between Adrianople and Dede Agach. Always well engineered and laid out, this road is certainly now practicable for motor traffic, for before the entry of Bulgaria into the war it was easy to make the whole journey in a day, and by the use of motor cars for hire in Haskovo or even in a motor diligence which I believe maintained a daily service.

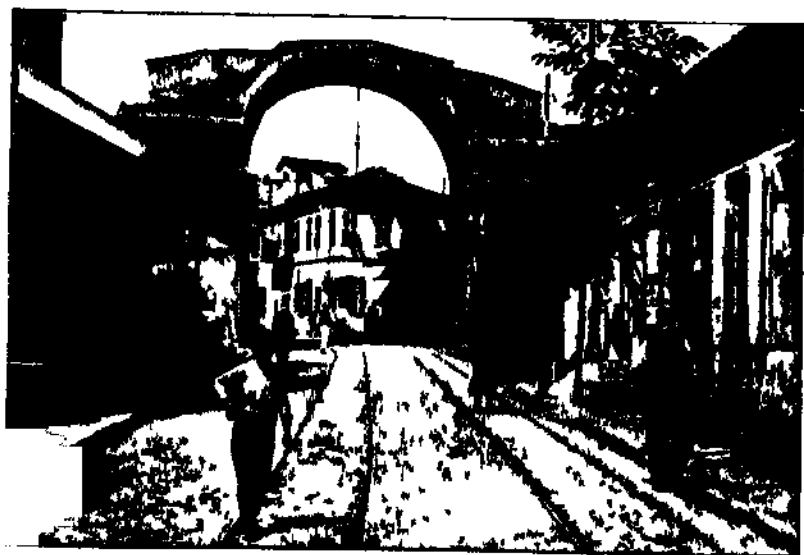
* * * * *

If we ignore the road which leads into but not right across the Rhodopes from Drama, and which runs up the Mesta Valley, the next route by which it is possible to advance right into the interior is that which takes the valley of the Struma, and therefore hugs the banks of the river of that name. This line constitutes the natural outlet for Bulgaria towards the Ægean, and particularly by way of the port of Kavalla. It is for this reason that the Government of Sofia was particularly anxious to obtain possession of that port, and to secure a frontier which gave to Bulgaria the whole Struma Valley.

A good and thoroughly passable Struma Valley road, about 110 miles in length, connects Demirhisar on the Salonika-Dede Agach railway with Radomir, a town on the Bulgarian line from Sofia to Kyustendil. About fifteen miles of this road are in Greek, whilst the remainder are in Bulgarian territory. Branching at Dupnitsa another runs to Sofia by way of Samakov. During the period which intervened between the two Balkan wars this route was followed by postal motor diligences, and in peace time it is the one chosen by those possessed of motor cars who desire to travel rapidly from Salonika to Sofia without the inconvenience of a long railway journey by way of Nish.



THE CANAL AT SAU NHA



102108

THE ARCH OF GATEWAY AT SAU NHA

As the means of communication between the valleys of the Vardar and of the Struma are bad, the only route into Bulgaria which is worthy of consideration here is that which connects Kumanovo on the Uskub-Nish railway with Gyuveshevo, the Bulgarian frontier terminus. The road, about forty-six miles in length, is certainly passable for wheeled traffic, and it is probable that ere now it has been rendered practicable for motors. After leaving Kumanovo it runs across an uninteresting tract of country, where many of the mountains or hills greatly resemble enormous detached sugar-top kopjes. Much of the arable land produces tobacco, whilst the remainder is devoted to the cultivation of maize. The area is sparsely populated, principally by Bulgarians, and the name of an occasional village even betrays that its inhabitants are Pomaks (Moslem Bulgarians) who are numerous in certain districts of the Rhodope Balkans.

* * * * *

We devoutly wish that Mr. Woods's admirable lecture had been delivered a year or more ago. There was much in it that elucidated, in a manner we have not met elsewhere, the intricate problems of Balkan politics with which the question of communications is so intimately bound up. In some respects it is a monumental study; for whereas the ethnical and political conditions of a country or countries are subject to the changes imposed by the slow decree of time or the more rapid whims of fortune, the general geographical features remain for all time, and are the same for General Sarrail as they were for a Bragidas or a Cornelius Sulla.

ASIA'S HOMAGE TO SHAKESPEARE.*

UPON the occasion of the tercentenary of Shakespeare, Dr. Gollancz (Honorary Secretary of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee) has very fittingly edited "A Book of Homage to Shakespeare," which on May 1 was presented to the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House.

We are delighted to note that he has included several striking appreciations from Asiatic men of letters. India is represented by Ananda Coomaraswamy, the great authority on Indian Art; Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Laureate; Mohammed Igval of Lahore; Sardar Jogendra Singh, the novelist. From Burma we have S. Z. Aung, the Buddhist scholar, and Maung Tin, editor of *Khuddaka Pāṭha*. From Arabia, His Excellency Mohammed Hafiz Ibrahim; from Japan, Yuzo Tsubonchi, the translator of Shakespeare, and Gonnoské Komai, the war correspondent and poet. Chinese homage is paid by Liu Po Tuan, the poet. Ahmad Khan represents the land of Omar. Armenia's tribute comes from the pen of K. H. Funduklian and Miss Zabelle C. Boyajian, whose poem was quoted by the Editor at the meeting. The following are a few short extracts:

INDIA

Sir Rabindranath Tagore:

... At this moment, after the end of centuries, the palm groves by the Indian Sea raise their tremulous branches to the sky, murmuring your praise.

* "A Book of Homage to Shakespeare." Edited by Israel Gollancz, Litt.D., F.B.A. Oxford University Press 218 net 1916

Ananda Coomaraswamy :

In honouring the genius of Shakespeare, we do not merely offer homage to the memory of an individual, but are witnesses to the intellectual fraternity of mankind.

BURMA

Maung Tin :

In spite of his vigorous appreciation of the world, Shakespeare shakes hands with Buddha in his utter renunciation of the world.

CHINA

Liu Po Tuan :

The people of five continents look up to this high peak !

PERSIA

Ahmad Khan :

The spirit of Omar would not wish to be absent from the book of homage to the great master-poet of England—the glory of the modern world.

ARMENIA

Zabelle C. Boyajian :

What token shall my poor Armenia bring?
No golden diadem her brow adorns.
All jewelled with her tears, and glistening,
She lays upon thy shrine her crown of thorns.

ARABIA

Mohammed Hüfz Ibrahim :

Say to the men of the Thames, when the gathering in Shakespeare's honour is listening to prose and verse :
" However great your pride in your mighty fleet, your pride in the unique bard is yet greater."

JAPAN

Gonnoskō Komai :

Magical, myriad-minded,
Thy mighty pen
Hath conquered all men,
Even to the remotest bounds
Of our wide earth !



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

WITH Sir Thomas Holdich as lecturer at the Royal Geographical Society on April 3. and "Boundary-Making" as his subject, it goes without saying that he gave interesting information with regard to the Indian frontier. As befitted the audience he addressed, his paper was concerned principally with the geographical problems of the subject, and he showed how the loose wording, or want of familiarity with actual fact, on the part of the politicians who made the treaties, gives serious trouble sometimes to those who have to carry out the work of demarcation. "A boundary bar," he said, "is but an artificial impress upon the surface of the land, as much as a road or a railway; and, like the road or the railway, it must adapt itself to the topographical conditions of the country it traverses. If it does not, it is likely to be no barrier at all. Boundaries have been twisted out of every conceivable natural feature, with more or less success." Illustrating the difficulties created through ignorance and the absence of maps and consequent resort to "the worst of all possible expedients, the straight line, Sir Thomas mentioned a case in Africa, in which a meridian line was selected. The result was an awkward international complication as soon as it was discovered that a wide tract of valuable land had been erroneously assigned to England which had subsequently to be transferred to Belgium. The dangerous antagonism which arose between the two great South American republics of the Argentine and Chili with regard to the partitioning of Patagonia was largely due to inaccurate and assumed geography. War seemed to be the only possible termination of the dispute, and many millions of money were spent in ships and armament, but fortunately stern good sense prevailed, and the British arbitration, crowned by the King's award, was accepted with gratitude and relief. Sir Thomas also told how, in connection with the boundary between Russia and Afghanistan in Mr. Gladstone's time, the Russian and British Commissions spent weeks of diligent searching for the post of Khwaja Salar, as a boundary objective on the banks of the Oxus; but the post had been washed in by the river and swallowed whole many years before the Com-

missions met. As an instance of loose phraseology, the words "the foot of the hills" caused serious disagreement in the demarcation of the boundary between Afghanistan and certain tribal territories deemed independent and beyond interference from the Kabul Government. The meaning was eventually taken to be the actual nullah bed. In another case the words "in an easterly direction to a junction with the Chinese frontier" in the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia in the Pamirs, led to disagreement between the Russian and British camps, and it looked as though winter would have to be spent in those altitudes. Fortunately, the weakness of geographical expression was recognized, and clearer instructions were received just in time for the British Commission to escape over the passes, deep in snow and shrouded with menacing mists, back to sunny India. The selection of an impossible geographical feature to carry the boundary is another difficulty in delimitation. Sir Thomas instanced this in the demarcation of that part of the Indian frontier which separates Chitral and Kashmir interests from Afghanistan. The agreement defined the boundary as running parallel to the Chitral river at an even distance of four miles from the bank. The result was that it fell on the spurs of a flanking range, about half-way between the summit and the foot, festooning itself from spur to spur, cutting across mountain torrents, dividing water rights in inaccessible valleys, and making a continuous ascent and descent over some of the wildest, ruggedest, and most inaccessible parts of the Indian frontier. Fortunately, it was possible to suggest an alternative without much loss of time, and there was no great difficulty in effecting an alteration in the text of the agreement. As a contrast and to show the advance in geographical knowledge, Sir Thomas gave details of the negotiations for the Canadian boundary from the Bay of Fundy to Juan di Fuca, which commenced late in the eighteenth century and lasted into the twentieth.

"Call Alexandretta of the future one of the greatest, perhaps the very greatest, seaport on the Mediterranean, and you will not have overestimated its possibilities."

This was the emphatic statement of Mr. W. J. Childs, in his lecture on "Asia Minor and the War," given before the Central Asian Society on April 12. Mr Childs has tramped more than 1,500 miles in Asia Minor, especially in the districts of North Anatolia and the country round the Gulf of Alexandretta, which he described as "the real vitals of Asia Minor." He pointed out that Alexandretta was proposed, a generation ago, as the western end of a British railway to India, and said that "we may look forward now to seeing that railway constructed sooner or later. We may be able to travel by rail from Charing Cross to Calcutta, and Cairo and Capetown. Whenever that comes about the route will be past the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta. The Gulf will have as much to do with railway communication between London and Africa as between London and India." He laid stress on the fact that the Power which holds the Gulf and Port of Alexandretta will control railway communication between Europe,

India, and Africa, and largely Persia, and that "there is no spot of equal importance in all Asiatic Turkey." Further, Mr. Childs said that this "vital part of Turkey in Asia" may be called the centre of the whole German scheme in Asiatic Turkey. For a distance of fifty miles the Bagdad railway is never more than twenty five miles from the sea, and here was to have been a great German port, the Mediterranean port, in fact, of the Bagdad Railway. To understand the importance of the port, it was necessary to consider the agricultural possibilities of the Cilician plain, the mineral riches of the districts—the mines now worked in the Taurus are said to produce more silver than any in Europe—and other developments. Looking far ahead, Germany realized what was to be done in the Gulf of Alexandretta, and determined to make it the centre of the future economic development of Asiatic Turkey. It was to be the Hamburg and Trieste of Turkey-in-Asia. The Bagdad Railway was the first step in the process—a military railway at this stage to make the best possible—a great trade between Alexandretta and Trieste and Fiume, for the Austrian partner in the scheme, and between Alexandretta and the North Sea ports a still greater trade for the German partner. The town itself, said Mr Childs, is called unhealthy, a place of mosquitoes and malaria owing to marshes between it and the mountains, but Ibrahim Pasha, at the time of the Egyptian occupation of Northern Syria, made it his chief port, cut a canal, drained the swamps, with the result that mosquitoes and malaria disappeared. The canal has not been maintained and fever has returned, but there is no reason why the town should not be made healthy again. It has a good situation and an abundance of excellent water from the mountains. The possibilities of a harbour are also good, all that is needed is to construct a snug harbour within the Gulf, a breakwater would present no difficulty in construction, it would not have to resist a great weight of wave, shingle and concrete are to be had in abundance, and there is deep water close inshore. The town is now the terminus of the short branch of the line which comes from the Bagdad Railway at the head of the Gulf. "In time to come," said a German official to Mr Childs, "no doubt we shall take the railway under the Berian Pass to Aleppo." Mr Childs summed up his lecture thus:

"If at the present time the Gulf of Alexandretta is the most vital point in the Turkish Empire outside the capital, not less but more so will it be in any conceivable order of things which may follow the present war. Its importance will increase with every year. You cannot well over estimate what that importance will become if you consider the commercial and other developments likely to take place in the future between the Aegean and the Persian Gulf. You may be glad that Cyprus, covering this great position, remains a British possession."

The paper on "Scientific Agriculture in India," by Mr James MacKenna, formerly Deputy Commissioner, Myaungmya, Burma, now designated Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, was read for him before the Society of Arts (Indian Section), on April 27, by Sir

Steinying Edgerley, and additional interest was given to the gathering by the presence of the chairman, Sir Robert Carlyle, who for more than seven years has been in close touch with agriculture in India and who retired last year from the Council of the Governor General. Mr MacKenna gave some account of the growth of interest in, and provision for, scientific agriculture in this country, and showed how it was reflected in India. In the Budget of Lord Curzon's Government, 1905-1906, the importance of improvement in agriculture in India was recognized and an annual provision of twenty lakhs of rupees granted—afterwards raised to twenty four lakhs. The story was told of the establishment of the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, and the lantern slides of the Institute were followed by others of Agricultural Institutes now to be found in several parts of India. "In most provinces," wrote Mr. MacKenna, "there is now a Director of Agriculture as adviser to the local Government, under him Deputy Directors, each in charge of a circle, are posted at different centres, and, aided by a staff of Indian assistants, control the experimental, demonstration, and seed farms." The crying need for India is good seed, the best seed, and plenty of it, but the professional seedsman is as yet practically unknown. The department has introduced improvement by selection of existing varieties, new crops and methods, and hybridization. The mention of Pusa brought into prominence the work of Mr and Mrs Howard, Imperial Economic Botanists, and the wonders they have achieved with wheat, tobacco, and (to a less extent) with cotton, by the application of Mendelian methods. The work is slow and infinite patience is required, but a modest estimate put the area under Pusa wheats in a few years at 5,000,000 acres, which would mean an increase in the value of one crop only of £5,000,000. Mr. MacKenna gave particulars of what is being done for rice, jute, indigo, sugar-cane, and pointed out that as the staff of botanists increases, and more immediate problems of improvement by selection are solved, work on Mendelian lines will bulk larger and larger in the scientific work of the agricultural departments of India. "On a conservative estimate," he added, "we claim that the annual increase to the value of the agricultural products of India, as a result of the labours of the agricultural departments, is already over two and a quarter million pounds sterling, and I think it will be admitted that the policy of agricultural development which established the Pusa College and secured the scientific study of agricultural problems peculiarly Indian has been fully justified." A final word was about agricultural co-operative societies, which make it possible to take improvements to groups of cultivators, bound together by common interest, instead of to isolated individuals working only for themselves. "In the harmonious union of these two great movements—scientific agriculture and co-operation—lies the economic future of India." Sir Robert Carlyle gave interesting particulars about rice, wheat, and cotton, but said that although the areas under these crops were large, the yield per acre was meagre, and the application of science imperative. The improvement of agriculture he declared to be the greatest problem of India to day. Sir Robert strongly supported the lecturer's statements with regard to co-operation, and paid

tribute to Lord Curzon's interest in, and action for, agriculture and co-operation. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali urged that the co-operative rate (9-12 per cent.) was still high for ryots, and that the co-operative ideals should go beyond the borrowing of money. Improved agricultural education, he insisted, was the crux of the matter. Other speakers were Sir Andrew Fraser, Sir Frederick Fryer, Sir Evan James, and Sir David Hamilton.

At the annual meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, at the Caxton Hall, on May 2, at which the President, Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart., M.P., took the chair, it was reported that there were many indications of advancing public opinion in India in favour of temperance reform, largely attributable, it was considered, to the example of personal abstinence set by His Majesty the King-Emperor. The report also showed, for the first time for some years, an actual diminution of liquor consumption in most of the provinces in India. A resolution was passed unanimously at the meeting, urging that the Advisory Excise Committees should contain a larger representation of non-official opinion and be endowed with more effective power of control and restriction, and that there should be established in the provincial capitals Licensing Boards, as in Calcutta, vested with full and final authority to determine the number and location of all licensed premises within their areas. Sir Herbert Roberts regarded the Advisory Committees as a movement in the right direction for local veto. Another important matter, dealt with in the form of a resolution, was the drug habit in India. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali said that ten years ago cocaine was almost unknown in India; now it has spread from the bazaars in the towns to the country, and whole areas are infected by it. Cocaine, he maintained, was the worst drug ever invented by the malign ingenuity of man. He spoke also of the deplorable effects of hemp drugs and opium, and urged the necessity for giving the habit its death-blow. He thought the Advisory Committees would make greater headway if Government would remove the limitation of the minimum number of liquor shops and the regulations should also apply to drug shops. Other speakers were the Rev. Canon Masterman, Mr. Chancellor, M.P., Alderman Joseph Malins, Dr. Hooper, and Sir Krishna Gupta.

"Writers on the East" were entertained at the Lyceum Club on April 10; Miss G. E. Mitton, who presided, gave interesting information about her recent visit to Ceylon; Sir Edwin Pears, speaking on Turkey, declared that if a poll were now taken, nine-tenths of the Turks would vote for the extermination of the Germans. The Kaiser poses as the friend of Islam, but endeavours to suppress the religion in East Africa by the extension of pig-keeping. Sir Edwin's stories of the Turkish Censor in peace time were amusing. He refused to allow the Lord's Prayer to appear in a Turkish translation of the Bible, stumbling over the words, "Thy Kingdom come." "There can be no attempt on the rights of the Sultan," he declared. He censored "Will you meet me at the river?" in a collection of hymns for children, as "the river," of course, meant the Maritza, which

separates Turkey from Bulgaria. Mrs. Delane Stebbing spoke on Cyprus, and praised its forest clad slopes as a health resort, many wounded men from Gallipoli had recuperated there. She thought disabled soldiers might be settled on the island and become fruit growers for Egypt and Britain. She emphasized the importance of the position of the island, commanding Alexandretta. Sir George Scott, speaking of writers on the East, said that the people who pride themselves on "having been twenty years in the country and speaking the language of the people" often produce ponderous books which few readers understand, and satirized the cold weather visitors who write books by quoting Lord Rosebery's answer to a request that he would make a speech just after his arrival at Bombay "I have been long enough in the country to write a book, but not to make a speech."

The Union of East and West gave a dramatic reading of "The Little Clay Cart," at the Grafton Galleries, on April 4. The play is supposed to have been written by King Sudraka in 100 B.C., and is stated by Professor H. Wilson to be of great interest in the literary and national history of the Hindus. Miss Victoria Drummond was particularly successful as the heroine, Miss Margaret Mitchell took other female characters, and Mr. Patrick Kirwan several male characters with insight and power. Mr. Arthur Bouchier presided, and said that he had never been so impressed by a play as when he saw "Savitri" given by the Union last year. He welcomed the work the Union was doing in bringing East and West into closer touch through drama and art, and wished it still greater success. Mrs. Pethwick Lawrence expressed warm interest and the wish that the work of the Union may extend and prosper.

Miss /inaida Vengerowa's lecture on "Dostoevsky and his Message to the World," given to the London East and West Society, at 27, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on April 29, not only aroused keen interest, but impressed the audience with the striking personality and remarkable genius of the Russian writer. Miss Vengerowa pointed out that to Indians Russia is the land of the unknown, to Russians India is the land of mystery, but she said that there was community of spirit between the great Russian writer who has expressed to the fullest and deepest Russia's message to the world and the great Indian writer who has revealed India to the West—both saw all life as the manifestation of spirit. Dostoevsky felt the mystic harmony of life and death. Tagore wrote "Because I love this life I shall love death as well." Russia's message to the world is endurance. Dostoevsky did not revolt against it, he regarded it as part of Russia's spiritual destiny—redemption through suffering. He gave forth the message in his personal experience and his books. Miss Vengerowa drew an impressive contrast between Tolstoi, the spoilt child of fortune, and Dostoevsky, to whom, in addition to suffering and exile, the "well soaped rope" in a public square in Petrograd was not denied, yet Tolstoi longed for personal suffering, and grieved because he was not able to sacrifice enough, Dostoevsky endured, and was full of love and pity

for suffering humanity. His novels cannot be understood unless it is understood that their foundation is the question of suffering humanity. In addition to giving the principal facts of Dostoevsky's life and an illuminating character sketch, Miss Vengerowa outlined with power and insight his most important novels. Dr. James Murhead, London Correspondent of the American *Nation*, who presided, expressed the enthusiastic appreciation of the audience and their thanks to Miss Vengerowa for her most enlightening lecture

A. A. S.

THE FIRST YEAR'S WORK OF THE "RUSSIA SOCIETY."

It is not often that a newly formed Society can show such a record of useful work as that shown by the report (covering only eleven months) of the first annual general meeting of the Russia Society, which was held at Speaker's House on March 24. The President of the Society (the Speaker of the House of Commons) was fully justified in describing it as "very satisfactory." The Society has rendered excellent service by *numerous small acts, done daily and continuously*, in creating a congenial atmosphere of Anglo-Russian friendship. The recent suggestion that the Russian Easter, which fell this year on the same day as the English Easter, should be marked in the English Churches by the use of Russian hymns, etc., was acted upon by upwards of 1,000 clergymen throughout the British Isles. The Society is responsible for the teaching of Russian to more than 2,000 people, and more than 100,000 people have attended the lectures that have been given by the Society, its members, and others at its instance. It has helped in the formation of local Societies with similar aims in Scotland and in other parts of the United Kingdom. It has given useful information about Russia and England to many thousands of inquirers, and has collected and supplied material to authors, writers, and lecturers, not only in England, but also in Russia. Thus what it has wished to say has been said in a number of books and numerous articles by different writers in their own way, which has lent variety and attractiveness to the propaganda of the Russia Society. Not the least remarkable feature of the activities of the Society is that the whole of the expenses for the eleven months, according to the audited balance sheet, is the small sum of £332. It is not astonishing, therefore, that, in spite of opposition from unexpected quarters, the Society has created for itself a position of influence in the public life of the country. All real well-wishers of Anglo-Russian friendship will wish the continued success of this really live and useful institution.

The School of Slavonic Studies at King's College (London University), inaugurated last autumn, has arranged for two public lectures on June 7 and 14. The first will be on "The New Spirit in Russia," by Professor Paul Vinogradoff, I. B. A., of Oxford, and the second on "Pan-Slavism," by Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson. In view of the importance of increased knowledge of Spain and the Spanish speaking countries, a summer evening school has just started, and a course of public lectures on Spain, Argentina,

Chile, and Central America, will be given in May and June. "Cervantes," to whom, as to Shakespeare, world wide honours are paid, will be the subject of a public lecture by Professor J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly on May 17, when the Spanish Ambassador will preside. All these public lectures are free, but it is advisable to apply at King's College, Strand, for cards of admission in view of their popularity.

The Shakespeare Tercentenary Festival which has attracted many Indian students and residents in London has been that given at the Royal Victoria Hall, usually known to Londoners as "The Old Vic," close to Waterloo Station, and within a mile of the site of the Globe Theatre, where Shakespeare played in his own plays. The "Old Vic" has had a chequered history as a place of amusement. It began a hundred years ago with the best of intentions, but even Queen Victoria's presence and patronage—hence its name—did not enable it to live up to them, and by the time a courageous woman, Miss Emma Cons, seeing the need of clean and good amusement for those who could only afford a few pence for a seat, grappled with the situation in 1886, the Old Vic had no character to lose. With the help of philanthropic friends, she transformed it into a People's Opera and Concert House, with admission from 2d to 2s. It has remained for Miss Cons's equally courageous niece, Miss Lilian Baylis, to add drama to opera, and from last September to May 5 Shakespeare's plays have been given five times a week, as well as such classical dramas as "She Stoops to Conquer," "School for Scandal," and "The Rivals." Miss Baylis was given a good send off in her Shakespearean enterprise by Matheson Lang and his wife, Hutin Britten, and most welcome and invaluable help throughout the season by Mr Ben Greet, who has devoted himself to the production of the plays, "all for love and nothing for reward." The Tercentenary Festival at the Old Vic has been worthy of the high aims of this admirable and national work. A fortnight's celebration—twenty one performances including "Hamlet" in its entirety and "Henry V" in the Elizabethan manner—has attracted large audiences from both sides of the river, amongst whom have been hundreds of L.C.C. school children. The children have been present at many performances during the winter, and the L.C.C. has counted attendance at the Old Vic as attendance at school. Part of the Festival was to present prizes to the girls and boys whose essays on the plays won the prizes offered by the Old Vic and many friends. Ellen Terry, Mary Anderson, and Henry Ainley, took part in the Festival. Ellen Terry volunteered to appear a second time because she was so pleased with the Old Vic audience, and has promised to pay another visit in September, when it is hoped that the People's Theatre will reopen on the hundredth anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone of the theatre. The enthusiasm was indescribable when two performances, "As You Like It" brought the Festival to a close. The Old Vic Repertory Company fully deserve the ovation given, and the nation owes a debt of gratitude to Miss Baylis and Mr. Ben Greet.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

HIS Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to sanction the grant of a salute of eleven guns and the rank and status of a First Class Chief of the Bombay Presidency for life to His Highness Aga Sultan Sir Mahomed Shah, Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

GOLD STANDARD RESERVE.

Statement showing the form in which the balance of the Reserve was held on April 30, 1916 :

<i>In India—</i>					
Gold	...	...	...	£ 240,060	£
Temporary loan to Treasury balances,					
India	...	...	...	4,000,000	
					4,240,060
<i>In England—</i>					
Cash placed by the Secretary of State					
for India in Council at short notice				5,841,333	
British and Colonial Government					
Securities (value as on March 31,					
1916)	...	...	...	16,218,692	
					22,060,025
					26,300,085

WALTER BADOCK,
Accountant-General.

INDIA OFFICE,
May 11, 1916.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

(FORMERLY "THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW")

VOLS. IX. AND X.

JULY - NOVEMBER, 1916. Nos. 25—28



PUBLISHED AT
WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, 3, VICTORIA STREET, LONDON.
BY
EAST AND WEST, LIMITED.

INDEX TO VOLS. IX. AND X.

THE NEAR EAST

	PAGE
BIBI SHERBANI. By Raffi	37
GALLANT SERBIA AND KOSOVO DAY. By Oliver Bainbridge	77
A WELL-KNOWN TRAVELLER	104
BOHEMIA: HER STORY AND HER CLAIMS. By F. P. Marchant	147
THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TURK. By Marmaduke Pickthall	240
THE ROUMANIANS AT HOME AND AT WAR. By Oliver Bainbridge	276
PAN-SLAVISM AND YUGO-SLAVISM. By Vladislav R. Savitch	281
"BOHEMIA." By a Member of the London Czech Committee	363
ROUMANIA AND THE DANUBE. By H. Charles Woods	373
SPECULATIONS ON NEW NEAR EASTERN FRONTIERS AFTER THE WAR. By Lieut.-Colonel L. A. Waddell	405
ARMENIA'S LULLABY. By Archag Tchobanian	441

REVIEW OF BOOKS:

Armenian Events of 1915. By Herbert Adams Gibbons	87
The Armenians. By C. F. Dixon-Johnson	88
Forty Years in Constantinople. By Sir Edwin Pears	95
Domestic Life in Roumania. By Dorothea Kirke	96
Greece Triumphant. By Captain Trapmann	97
Sheikh Haroun Abdullah. By H. M. Léon	100
Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites. By H. Shaeffer	221
Zionism and the Jewish Future. By H. Sacher	221
Syria as a Roman Province. By E. S. Boucher	228
Slavs of the War Zone	229
The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv. Translated by M. D. Gibson	460
Armenian Legends and Poems. By Q. C. Boyajian	471

INDIA

INDIAN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. By Sir Roper Lethbridge	1
THOUGHTS ABOUT INDIA. By Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell	25, 270
"SWADESHI" AND NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. By J. B. Pennington	31
INDIA AND THE SUGAR BOUNTIES. By J. B. Pennington	244
MRS. BESANT AND HOME RULE. By J. Pollen	246
ORIENTAL LIGHT CAVALRY. By Colonel A. C. Yate	382

Proceedings of the East India Association

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE INDIAN WORKMAN. By S. M. Dikshit	48
FAMINE PROTECTION WORKS IN BRITISH BUNDELKUND. By H. Marsh	163
THIRTY-FIVE YEARS IN INDIAN RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT. By H. Kelway-Bamber	182
INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY. By Sir Guilford Molesworth	288
THE MAGNESITE MINES OF INDIA. By C. H. B. Burton	420
ANNUAL MEETING—ANNUAL REPORT	314

REVIEW OF BOOKS :

	PAGE
India: a Nation. By Mrs. Besant	90
How India Wrought for Freedom. T. P. S.	90
The Tale of the Tulsi Plant. By C. A. Kincaid	92
Bharata Varsha. By K. Narayana Tyer	93
Acrapatasán and Nirangastán. Translated by S. J. Bulsara	93
Hindu Philosophy of Conduct. By M. Rangacharya	94
Aperçu sur l'Etat de l'Indianisme. By G. de Bloney	97
Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny and Afghanistan. By Colonel Sir E. Thackeray	229
The Triumph of Delhi, and other Poems. By N. V. T. Sarkar	231
History of Bengali Language and Literature. By D. C. Sen	340
European Manuscripts in the India Office Library, Vol. I. and Vol. II. Part I.	344
Some Aspects of British Rule in India. By S. Bose	345
A Translation of the Kathā-Vatthu from the Abhidhamma-Pitaka. By S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids	347
A Syntax of Colloquial Pashtu. By Major D. L. Lorimer	477

THE FAR EAST

SOME PAGES IN THE HISTORY OF SHANGHAI. By W. E. Cartes	127
THE FLOUNDERING OF CHINA. By E. H. Parker	263
SINGLE VERSE-POEMS. By C. M. Salwey	486

REVIEW OF BOOKS :

The Nestorian Monument in China. By P. Y. Saeki	82
The Boxer Rebellion. By P. H. Clements	338

RUSSIA

PICTURES FROM RUSSIA IN WAR-TIME. By S. E. Howe	439
THE HISTORIC ISOLATION OF RUSSIA. By A. Francis Stewart	444
THE RUSSIAN HOSPITAL IN LONDON. By Olga Novikoff	450

REVIEW OF BOOKS :

The German Peril and the Grand Alliance. By G. de Wesselitsky	225
On the Russian Front. By R. S. Liddell	231
Russia at the Cross-Roads. By C. E. Bechhofer	232
Two Months in Russia. By Rev. W. M. Merry	233
A Practical Guide for Russian Consular Officers. By Baron A. Heyking	234
My Siberian Year. By M. A. Czaplicka	333
Fyodor Dostoevsky. By J. Middleton Murry	335
Russian Sociology. By J. F. Hecker	337
Russia through the Ages. By S. E. Howe	468
The Liturgy of the Eastern Orthodox Church. By H. Hamilton Maughan	469
Ideological Foundations of Russian Slavonism. By A. A. Brianchaninoff	470

ORIENTALIA

A POEM BY FIRDUNST'S NEPHEW. By H. Beveridge	259

COMMERCIAL SECTION

AFTER THE WAR: (1) RUSSIA. By Baron A. Heyking	353
(2) ROUMANIA. By R.	356
INDIA AND GERMAN TRADE. By S.	414
OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS	118, 258, 362 489

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET**(A Record of Meetings of some Learned Societies in London)**

	PAGE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION See under: India	
IMPERIAL INSTITUTE, WORK OF	109, 479
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY Sir Aurel Stein	111
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY Charles Roberts	113
Annual Meeting	114
Sir George Gurnerson	480
UNION OF EAST AND WEST Edmund Russell	114
Empire Day	116
K N Das Gupta	483
KINGS COLLEGE Dr Burrows	115
Slavonic Section	366
INTERNATIONAL CLUB FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH Mrs C Barkworth	116
NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION Return of Miss E J Beck	117
Annual Meeting	255
Miss Beck	256
Distressed Women's Aid Committee	367
LYCEUM CLUB Alexis Aladin	117
'The Soul of Russia'	483
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS Sudar Dajit Singh	250
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY Miss A S Roc	252
Rev A R Mackenzie	252
INDIAN PRISONERS OF WAR FUND	255
WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN MEDICAL COLLEGE	257
BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNION	257
BRITISH ASSOCIATION Sir Arthur Evans	368
H C Woods	369
ANGLO RUSSIAN LITERARY SOCIETY	370
RUSSIA SOCIETY	370
CHINA SOCIETY W E Catles	127
INDIAN FLAG DAY	479
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES	481
SERBIAN SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN	484
CURRENT PERIODICALS	101, 237, 350, 412
FICTION	
The Greater Call, 34b Backwater	348
MISCELLANEA	
Bothas Great Drive, 98 Year Book of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony 99 The Tropics, 235 Europe in and other Race Origins, by H B Hinnay, 236 Life Cannot Cease, by M Perey, 476 John Strange Winter, by O Bunbridge	476
THEATRES AND DRAMATIC CRITICISM	
New Psychology and the Drama, by F R Scatcherd, 119 "Ye Gods, 262 "The Professor's Love Story	362
DOCUMENTS AND NOTES	
Home Rule for India Leaflets, 125 The Greek Elections Dr Drakoules Manifesto	371

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY 1, 1916

INDIAN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE THE LESSONS OF THE WAR

By SIR ROGER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.F.

THE exceedingly valuable "Imperial and Foreign Trade Supplements," which the *Times* now publishes every month, were started in April with a telling message from the Right Hon W H Hughes the eloquent and courageous Labour Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia, which concludes with these words

' The organization of our Empire trade is one of the vital duties before us. It is a necessity in the defence and security of our race. The hour has come, and we look for action '

Whilst the relations between the various States of the British Empire will be profoundly modified in almost every respect by the events and the lessons of the Great War, it cannot be doubted that the change will be especially marked in regard to their mutual fiscal arrangements. It is now agreed among us all, without difference of race, creed, or party, that the Empire must be as far as possible self-contained and self-supporting, that "never again" shall Germany be permitted to control our key-industries, some of which are vital to our national existence.

Mr. Runciman, the President of the Board of Trade, has officially declared that if, after the war, we are successfully

2 Indian Industry and Commerce : Lessons of the War

to defend our industries and commerce from the dumping, the "peaceful penetration," and the other artful devices of Germany, we must lay out our plans for doing so at once, and not wait unprepared for the deluge that will inevitably come after the declaration of peace.

And in the same debate, the President made the following memorable declaration :

" One hon. gentleman in the course of this debate drew attention to the fact that there were some industries which were almost entirely in German hands before the war broke out. . . . Every one of these articles, glass, chemicals, dyes, electrical apparatus, and I could name about a dozen others, were industries of vast importance not only to us as a great commercial country, but as a fighting country. Without these glass articles, without some of the porcelain articles which are essential for electrical construction, without the best type of magneto, without some of the best of our chemicals, and without a great range of dyes, which used to be manufactured in Germany, we were placed at a great disadvantage. Never again should that happen. This is more than a mere matter of competing with Germany. It ought to be part of our national organization. There should be no essential article, either for the arts of peace or for the arts of war, upon which we cannot within the Empire lay our hands."

Mr. Runciman's vigorous denunciation of German "peaceful penetration" has been echoed by the other Liberal members of the Cabinet. For instance, in the House of Lords, on March 11, Lord Crewe said :

" What was it Germany had done on the commercial side to cause a great many people, both in France and this country, to determine that she should not have the power to continue in the same line of action in the years to come ? She had combined commercial expansion with political intrigue with an audacity and with

a success which, so far as he knew, had no parallel in the past."

And the *Times*, commenting on Mr. Hughes's great speeches, wrote :

"The immediate point is that British people all over the world, like their Allies in Europe, have realized that German trade was a weapon forged against them, and that the same weapon will be at their throats again unless they make its use impossible. When all are agreed about the end, the means are not difficult to devise. The first thing necessary is that we and the Dominion peoples should develop the habit of doing things together."

It is satisfactory to observe that Mr. Runciman's "never again," with regard to the control of our most important industries that had been usurped by Germany before the war—in India we had permitted her to obtain a practical monopoly of our wolframite or tungsten, and the greater share of our manganese ore, and of our raw hides and skins, and our raw cotton, all essential raw materials for the production of munitions and war-equipment—has been repeated with approval, not only by the solid Unionist party, not only by all our oversea Dominions, not only by the public opinion of India, but also by such typical and sincere Free Traders as Mr. McKenna, Lord Cromer, the editor of the *Spectator*, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. Hodge, Sir Leo Chiozza Money, Sir A. Markham, and indeed the whole intellectual side of the Liberal party. And Lord Cromer, in a letter to the *Spectator* of February 19, specially mentions India—on whose economics he is one of the greatest living authorities—as bound to receive Preference for her products among the other States of the Empire, to the exclusion of German control, while Lord Hardinge and Sir Harcourt Butler have promptly given practical effect to the suggestion by commandeering the sources of the German supply of tungsten.

It has been vainly asserted in the *Times* by that eminent

4 *Indian Industry and Commerce: Lessons of the War*

French statistician, M. Yves Guyot—who is probably the last surviving advocate of Free Trade in France—that “the war has proved to us once more that a nation cannot be self-supporting; it was the Utopia which the German Empire sought to realize according to List’s formula, yet the latter was willing to admit that it would be impossible to grow cotton on the banks of the Spree.” That may be true enough of Germany, or of France, or even of the United Kingdom if we stood alone in the world. But it is absurdly untrue of the British Empire when we include India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Alike in food, in raw materials, and in manufactured products, the Empire at the present moment is far more than self-supporting. The various States of the Empire, blessed with every range of climate, from the Arctic regions of Northern Canada to the tropical and sub-tropical districts of India and Ceylon, can richly supply every possible need of themselves and each other, and still have an ample margin of production for foreign trade.

In a remarkable interview that was granted to a representative of the Press by Sir John Hewett, one of the most distinguished of retired Indian proconsuls, the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces declared bluntly that “a little of Mr. Hughes in India would do an immense amount of good.” It cannot be doubted that the clear and resolute notes of Mr. Hughes’s speeches have resounded as a patriotic trumpet-call throughout the British Empire, and his arguments for an Imperial trade policy apply even more forcibly to India than elsewhere.

For inasmuch as up to now the fiscal systems of the United Kingdom and India have been based on what are known as “Free Trade” principles, there is no reason in the world why at any rate those two States should not unite in mutual Free Trade (subject to certain revenue considerations), while joining the Dominions in a system of close Imperial Preference, giving to our Allies and to friendly neutral States a favourable tariff, and treating our enemies and unfriendly neutrals exactly as they treat us.

That India may expect some such change in her fiscal policy, to accord more closely with her wishes as expressed by the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, can be gathered from the words of Sir W. Meyer, when replying to Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's amendment on this year's Budget. The Indian Finance Minister on March 1 last, when speaking on that amendment, explained that the Government of India had been disposed to deal with the question of the excise and import duties on cotton goods, but that

"His Majesty's Government," he said, "feel that the fiscal relationship of all parts of the Empire as between one another and the rest of the world must be reconsidered after the war, and they desire to leave the question raised by the cotton duties to be considered then in connection with the general fiscal policy which may be thought best for the Empire."

On this very satisfactory assurance, Sir Ibrahim, with the full concurrence of all the Indian members of the Council, both official and non-official, withdrew his amendment. And at the close of the debate, the Viceroy, with that fine sense of honourable dealing that has marked His Excellency's rule, emphasized the momentous words of Sir William Meyer. He referred to them with enthusiasm, and added

"Now I wish to be very careful in not reading into this declaration an interpretation that would not be justified, but I think I am fully justified in saying that it contains an assurance that the matter will be reconsidered after the war in connection with the general fiscal policy of the Empire, and that the best interests of India are being taken into account in postponing the decision about the cotton duties, which, after all, form a fraction of the fiscal system built up in India. We are all unanimous, I think, as to what the best interests of India in connection with the cotton duties may be, and we regard this declaration that

I and my Government have been authorized to make in the name of His Majesty's Government as a far-reaching pronouncement of statesmanship and full of hope and promise, implying, as it does, the possibility, or I might even say probability, of a broad reconsideration of the fiscal interests of India from a new angle of vision. It seems to me to mark a new departure in that it places the future position of India much higher than would have been done by the simple acceptance of the proposals of the Government of India, and I think the Government and people may, with this declaration before them, await the future with patience and confidence."

It is a matter of common knowledge that immense stocks of manufactured goods are being accumulated in Germany, by the aid of the Kaiser's Government, to be used after the declaration of peace in the capture of foreign trade—and especially the trade of the United Kingdom and India—by dumping, the proceeds of which will enable her to pay her debts and recover her economic position, whether victorious or defeated in the war. It is also known that Germany is actively preparing the way for a vastly extended Zollverein, commencing with the commercial federation of Germany and Austria-Hungary and Turkey and Bulgaria, and continuing with the admission to it on very favourable terms of such of the neutral Powers as can be bribed to join it. It is well, therefore, that His Majesty's Government recognizes that these cunning devices must be met and countered at once and at all costs.

Sir Algernon Firth and the Associated Chambers of Commerce have impressed on the Government this undoubted fact, that in all parts of the Empire the establishment of a new commercial industry is a matter of considerable difficulty and risk; capital has to be provided, and expert supervision as well as skilled and unskilled labour, also machinery, land, buildings, and other plant. In India, it would be absolutely quixotic for any capitalist to embark

on such a costly undertaking, if he is to be liable (as he has always hitherto been liable) to see his business first undersold, and then bought out, by a foreign protected competitor.

The very least that the Indian Government can do, in order to encourage Indian enterprise to step in to occupy the immense field of industry that is just now offered by the knocking-out of Germany and Austria-Hungary, is to give an authoritative pledge that after the war measures will be taken, if necessary, to insure that such enterprises shall not be crushed by the untaxed dumping of protected foreign goods.

India alone on its present production—or at least with that fair encouragement that would be afforded by a moderate preference—could supply both itself and the United Kingdom with all requirements in the following food-stuffs and raw materials, and perhaps others :

Wheat, rice, maize, sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, bananas, tobacco, raw cotton, raw jute, raw hemp, raw flax, oil-seeds and oil-cake, raw hides and skins, lac, indigo and vegetable dyes, teak-wood, bamboo, wood-pulp, spices, manganese ore, tungsten, monazite, mica.

Before the war, these valuable raw materials were generally bought by Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians—about 50 per cent. of the total export of raw hides and skins were taken for their leather industry—worked up in German factories, and then the finished products were dumped back on India, or sent to England to undersell our factories. When India is able to expand her industries in her own way, much of this vast wealth of raw material will be worked up in the country to supply her own needs, with an immense margin for export, to enrich Indians with the proceeds.

It is, of course, fully understood that, during the war and under a Coalition Government, no permanent and sweeping change of the Indian fiscal system is possible.

But not even the strictest Free Trader could fairly object to the Government giving a pledge—to those who will now act as pioneers, and under Government sanction and supervision establish the plant for a new industry—that if after the war foreign nations, by dumping and in other ways, endeavour unfairly to crush these industries, suitable measures will be officially taken to meet and foil these unfair alien attacks; and it may confidently be alleged that, with this reasonable and moderate guarantee to support freedom of trade, factories might at once be started in India, with every prospect of commercial success, not only in the great textile and metal industries in which a commencement has already been made, but also in such miscellaneous lines as (1) glass and glass-ware (especially in the manufacture of *churis* or bangles), (2) matches, (3) paper and paper-pulp, (4) tobacco and cigars and cheap cigarettes, (5) tanning and the manufacture of leather goods of all sorts, (6) oils and oil-cake, and (7) soap and candles of all kinds.

In the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of October, 1912, in an article on "India and the Sugar Bounties," I showed in minute detail how the immensely valuable and almost universal Indian sugar industry had been ruined by our mistakes in fiscal policy. I then wrote :

"There was a time when India produced half the sugar of the whole world. Even now it is believed that she produces far more than any other country, and about ten times as much as the West Indies. In 1851 India exported to Great Britain alone over 1,500,000 cwts. of raw sugar, and for many years sugar was nearly her most valuable export. Now her export is practically non-existent, while she is compelled to purchase from abroad for her own internal consumption every year sugar to the enormous value of seven millions sterling! Sugar—the indigenous product of India, the commodity which she ought to be able to produce more cheaply than any other country

in the world if natural laws counted for anything, the commodity which she used to export in enormous quantities until modern fiscal conditions made it impossible—is now her largest import, save only textile manufactures! It is needless to say that the vast bulk of this huge import comes from Protected countries.”

In this year's Budget the Government has done much to atone for this injury to India by imposing an import duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on imported sugar. But owing to a prudish fear of Imperial Preference, this tax will grossly injure the loyal colony of Mauritius—just as the 7½ per cent. import duty on boots and shoes will injure Northampton, and the export duty on raw jute will injure Dundee, for the same reason.

The *Hindu* of Madras of January 21 put forth a most instructive and interesting article on the possibilities of Indian industrial expansion after the war, which warmly advocated the appointment by the Government of India of a strong Committee to deal with the problem in all its aspects, and to formulate specific recommendations, as asked for in the motion of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla in this year's Budget debate. The result has been the appointment of a Committee, the *personnel* of which—including such great authorities as Sir Thomas Holland, the famous ex-Director of the Indian Geological Survey, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerji, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, and other equally competent industrial experts—is undoubtedly strong. This is universally accepted in India as a small step in the right direction. The influential and scholarly *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly, edited by the Rao Bahadur Raja Ram Rao, acclaimed the first announcement of the Committee in these words :

“ We cannot feel sufficiently thankful to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for this crowning service done to the country, and to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, whose zeal for Tariff

Reform and the development of the resources of the Empire by indigenous effort is well known."

But alas! the timidity of the ultra-Free Traders among the Home authorities so limited the scope of the inquiry as to deprive it beforehand of much of its value. Everyone in India understands that no permanent change of the Indian fiscal policy, except by universal consent, can be actually carried out during the war. It is simply bigotry that would forbid an immediate investigation of the pros and cons of the whole problem; and yet this is how Sir William Clark—in a speech that was otherwise somewhat in the nature of a recantation of the extreme Free Trade views with which he was generally credited when he was sent out to the Indian Council some five or six years ago by the Home Government—described the limitations imposed on the Committee. It was to inquire, he said :

"(a) Whether new openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry can be indicated; (b) whether and if so in what manner Government can usefully give direct encouragement to industrial development (1) by rendering technical advice more freely available, (2) by the demonstration of the practical possibility on a commercial scale of particular industries, (3) by affording directly or indirectly financial assistance to industrial enterprises, or (4) by way of other means which are not incompatible with the existing fiscal policy of the Government of India."

On this, the *Wednesday Review* says: "We hope that the work of the Commission will not be fettered by any such restriction."

And the *Calcutta Englishman*, the leading representative of commercial India, in its issue of March 24, says :

"The necessity for immediate action in this matter is imperative. It is no use waiting until the end of the war. This may be a long way off yet, but if it

comes when the commercial community of India are still without a clearly defined policy they will find the Government as ready as ever to sacrifice or ignore their interests, and to accept conditions which may be highly prejudicial to British trade. We pointed out a few days ago that the Government is in a dangerous state of uncertainty on all these questions affecting the future of the German trader in India. It has no mind of its own, and it has only been induced to do the little it has done in the way of closing down German firms by continual badgering on the part of Chambers of Commerce. As to the future, however, it preserves a strictly non-committal attitude very much at variance with the staunch anti-German spirit that is gradually taking possession of the Home Government, despite the Free Traders and a few aforetime friends of Germany who still remain entrenched in the Ministry."

And the same influential journal, writing of the many advantages of an immediate investigation of the claims of India to a prominent place in the coming Commercial Federation of the Empire, says :

"It is an interesting and potent fact that on this policy English and Indian opinion in this country are in practical agreement. It was one of the most distinguished of our Indian fellow-subjects that moved in the Imperial Council, long before the war was thought of, a resolution in favour of Imperial Preference. The war has compelled the most ardent Free Traders to abandon their old standpoint and to accept the doctrine of Imperial Preference as the right and the inevitable policy for the Empire to pursue."

The *Englishman's* reference here is, of course, to the famous resolution moved in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 17, 1913, in favour of Imperial Preference, proposed by the then leader of the non-official Indians in the Council, and concurred in by all the Indian members, official as well as non-official. Sir Gangadhar

Chitnavis moved the resolution, which recommended to the Governor-General in Council the desirability of "considering financial measures for strengthening the resources of the Government, with special reference to the possibility of increasing the revenue under a system of Preferential Tariffs with the United Kingdom and the Colonies." In his speech proposing the motion, Sir Gangádhār said :

"Since 1902, when the Colonial Prime Ministers at their conference in England adopted a resolution in favour of Preferential Tariffs, English economic opinion has undergone a great change. . . . The idea has caught on. It is bound to develop in England, flanked by a Protectionist Europe on one side and a Protectionist United States on the other. India has so far not been admitted, so to speak, to the confederacy, but in any rational scheme of preference she cannot be ignored."

Such a scheme, Sir Gangádhār pointed out, would conduce to the solidarity of the Empire, and would secure for India in the Colonial markets "a better and more dignified position than we now have."

When this resolution was accepted and actively supported by the whole of the purely Indian element in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the *quietus* was given, once and for all, to the silly talk of some of the more ignorant or more fanatical Free Traders here in Britain who professed to believe that if Imperial Preference were accepted by the United Kingdom, then the leaders of Indian public opinion would demand for the Indian cotton-mills, not Imperial Preference, but hostile Protection against Lancashire! This silly suggestion was only rendered plausible by the fraudulent substitution of the well-defined term "Protection" for the equally well-defined and entirely different term "Imperial Preference." For the fact that the suggestion is a foolish and childish one is obvious on the face of it when the term "Imperial Preference" is used, for the latter term implies that the United King-

dom gives to the products of India a fiscal preference, and may, therefore, fairly expect to receive the same friendly treatment from India (and certainly not a hostile protective tariff) for the products of Lancashire, and other British and Colonial products. And that friendly treatment was undoubtedly proposed by Sir Gangádhār Chitnavis's resolution.

Moreover, it may confidently be asserted that every British politician who used this fraudulent argument was perfectly well aware that no Viceroy or Secretary of State would ever dare to propose Indian protection against Lancashire, and certainly no House of Commons would ever listen for a moment to such an unpatriotic and disruptive proposal.

And further, every Indian statesman knows perfectly well that Indian protective duties against Lancashire would terribly enhance the cost of the scanty clothing of Indian raiyats, the poorest and infinitely the most numerous section of the Indian population. Whereas Imperial Preference, by diminishing the burdens both on the Lancashire imported goods and on the Indian indigenous product, would sensibly diminish the cost of that clothing, to the benefit both of Lancashire and of India.

The excuse for postponing any discussion of the fiscal problem for the present that is commonly put forward by the Free Traders in Great Britain is, that it might possibly impress both our enemies and our allies with the idea that we are a divided nation. But that excuse does not in the least apply to India, for, as stated in the *Englishman* in the passage I have quoted above, public opinion in India, Indian as well as English, official as well as non-official, is practically unanimous on this question. With one or two exceptions, the whole Press of India, both Indian and English, presses for an immediate advance on the part of the Government; and it is gratifying to observe that just now, among the purely Indian journals and reviews, in no sphere of thought is the educated Indian mind so active and so well-informed as in that of industrial economics.

The *Hindu* of Madras—perhaps the most widely read of the Indian daily papers conducted by Indian gentlemen—published an admirable leader on December 3 last, entitled “Japanese Goods and Indian Markets,” giving a most interesting account of the daring methods adopted by the Japanese to capture the vast Indian market, and of the extraordinary success that has already attended those methods since the outbreak of the war. The story is a marvellous one. They have a regular and direct line of steamers to Bombay and to Calcutta, and this line is “heavily subsidized by the Government of Japan by means of rebates and bounties,” and, “so aided, they are fast developing the coasting trade of our (Indian) maritime provinces.” Of Japanese cotton manufactures, the *Hindu* says :

“We have both coarse and fancy goods in our markets made out of our raw material and sold at a price which puzzles buyers. The Japanese competition is, therefore, as much a problem to our Indian mill industry as it is to Manchester or Lancashire. Japan predominates in the trade cotton hosiery. Of the foreign knitted goods in our markets, 84 per cent. were from Japan in the past year. These goods have a growing popularity in this country on account of their extreme cheapness. The markets are flooded with these goods, and they are being dumped here with a freight from Kobe to Calcutta of Rs. 9-6 a ton. It looks as if within a very short time English hosiery will disappear from our markets. Beads, false pearls, bottles and phials, funnels, table-ware, and miscellaneous glass-ware are also pouring in. During the past year the value of the imports of these articles from Japan rose from less than 4 lakhs to about Rs. 20 lakhs. The Japanese chimneys are cheaper than the German and Austrian chimneys we used to get before. The same is the case with their tumblers. In half-crystal heavy-bottomed tumblers they are underselling Belgium, which had such a long hold on our market. The matches at present in use in India are almost entirely

Japanese. They have very nearly driven out matches 'made in Sweden,' and 'made in Norway.' They nearly doubled their imports last year. We are told that a league of manufacturers and shippers has been formed, and by means of cheap freights they have attained this success, though anyone in this country will admit that these matches are of the cheap and indifferent kind. Umbrella fittings, bamboo and wood umbrella sticks and handles, notches, runners, caps and ferrules are imported in considerable quantities in competition with the United Kingdom. They have also virtually monopolized the Indian camphor trade, ousting from the field China, an old constituent of ours. Having carefully studied the Indian demand for light beers, they have marketed Pilsener beer directly and cheaply in enormous quantities. In one year they have raised their exports of this article over tenfold. Japanese cement is available, even in the Madras market, and it stands favourable comparison with any foreign brand. Japanese chemicals are coming in. The imports of their wrought copper, brazier and sheets, are by no means insignificant. India was one of the world's great producers of raw silk. Japan is increasing its large production, and sent heavy consignments to us last year. On account of the cheapness of the Japanese stuff, Indian silk of Murshidabad and other places is at a disadvantage, and is comparatively neglected. In the China markets, Indian yarns suffers by the competition of Japanese spinning mills."

The *Indian Review*, a high-class monthly magazine ably edited by Mr. G. A. Natesan, of Madras, devotes a section of every issue to the discussion of Indian industrial and commercial topics ; and the articles in this section are not only those written specially for the *Review*, but also a selection from current Indian literature, from the official reports of Government, and from the papers read before the numer-

ous Indian associations concerned with these topics. In the *Review* for January, 1916, there is given an excellent *résumé* of the Presidential Address of the Hon. Sir Farulbhoy Currimbhoy to this year's Commercial Congress, in which the President declared that

"There can be no doubt that a very careful revision of the tariff has become increasingly necessary in view of the financial needs of Government. In this matter of tariff, Indian commercial opinion ought certainly to prevail, and one of the principal objects of the Associated Indian Chambers of Commerce is to press this opinion upon the attention of Government with all the force and all the weight which such a central and responsible Committee can lend to it."

A special article in the *Indian Review* for last July expressed a generous recognition of the efforts made by the United Provinces Board of Industries to seize the opportunities offered by the war

"Specific recommendations with regard to the oil pressing industry were under consideration of Government. The scheme of self-help affecting the perfume industry was occupying their attention. Glass-makers had been placed in touch with the suppliers of chemicals. Proposals for the formation of co-operative societies amongst bangle makers were being examined. Practical help had been given in several directions to the dyers. The leather trade had been furnished with additional tanning materials, and a comprehensive scheme for a central emporium for indigenous small wares and art productions had been formulated. The Director of Industries invited special attention to the extensive use of adulterants in the oil trade. Over 2,000,000 gallons of white oil were imported from Germany in the year ended March 31, 1914—admittedly intended solely for use as adulterants, mainly as a constituent of 'ghee' and cocoanut oil—while imports of bloomless oil from America were

enormous, as they were being used throughout the country as an adulterant for all coloured oils."

The *Mysore Economic Journal* for February—a valuable monthly periodical, published at Bangalore under the auspices of the Mysore Economic Conference—contains a remarkable paper on "Indian Trade during the War," contributed by Mr. Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., now Director of the Mysore Industries and Commerce Department, and formerly the very energetic Director of that Department in Madras. Mr. Chatterton discourses at some length, by the light of the annual *Review of the Trade of India*, which has been compiled for 1915 by Mr. G. Findlay Shirras, I.C.S., the first Director of the Government of India's newly created Statistical Branch of the Department of Commerce and Industry. Of course, Mr. Chatterton follows the ruling of the Government, and refrains from discussing the fiscal question. But it is abundantly clear that, with reasonable encouragement and guidance, there is in India a practically unlimited scope both for the existing industries, and also for new enterprises in the manufacture of glass-ware, soap, paper, matches, sugar, silk, vegetable dye-stuffs, and many other commodities as well for export as for internal consumption. But in existing circumstances, it is Japan that has chiefly benefited by the openings afforded by the war, followed at a long interval by the United States. For instance, in the year 1914-15, the imports into India of matches were valued at over three-quarters of a million sterling; formerly the greater part of this trade was done by Austria and Sweden and Norway, but now already Japan has captured 61 per cent. of the total.

So for silk goods Mr. Chatterton observes:

"Mysore should be able to produce silk and to manufacture silk goods as cheaply as either China or Japan, yet, whilst these two countries export to India between three and four crores of rupees worth of silk and silk piece goods every year, the Mysore State exports

only from twenty to thirty lakhs, and even in the bazaars of Bangalore, which may be regarded as the centre of the Mysore silk trade, Chinese silk yarn is largely dealt in."

And he notes that the imports of sugar into India (the greatest producer of raw sugar in the world) in the year 1913-14 were valued at fifteen crores of rupees, or ten millions sterling, of which Java produced nearly the whole, with a smaller contribution from Mauritius.

The Wealth of India, a monthly magazine edited in Madras by Mr. G. A. Vaidyaraman, B.A., and the *Indian Journal of Economics*, edited on behalf of the University of Allahabad by Professor Stanley Jevons, M.A., and published quarterly, contain a vast amount of information on Indian economical questions. An article on "The Indian Cotton Trade" in the January number of the latter journal, written by Professor Todd, B.L., of the Punjab University, shows that the cost of producing cotton in India is far less than it is in America, and even when all due allowance is made for the inferior quality of the Indian staple, it pays better than in America. So Professor Todd concludes :

"When the war is over and demand again becomes normal or even active in replacing depleted stocks, we shall once more be faced with the old problem of where in the world to find a largely increased cotton crop. And in the answer to that question, India, if she is wise, will have a very large share, for there is no doubt whatever that India could grow not only much more but much better cotton than she is doing at present."

The problem here stated by Professor Todd is one among a hundred other similar problems that should be studied by Sir Thomas Holland's official Commission. But how can India be "wise" in these questions, if the Government forbids her official commissions even to consider the possibilities of a change in her fiscal policy—

a change that is considered by the whole world, outside a small and rapidly diminishing *colerie* in the United Kingdom, to offer the best chance of inducing Indian capital and labour to embark in new enterprises?

Professor Hurst, of the Muir Government College, Allahabad, in an important address delivered last November under the auspices of the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce on "Japan and the Indian Market," shows by figures the enormous amount of raw materials that Japan now yearly takes from India, to return to India the finished product when worked up in Japanese factories; and he warned the Chamber that "Japanese competition is threatening us in all directions." He points out that Japan fosters her manufactures by every device known to science, by heavy tariffs, by rebates and subsidies, by facilities for bounty-giving syndicates, and so forth. He states his view that,

"Having established a sound basis for our industries, it would be better to protect them by a tariff rather than encourage them by giving subsidies. Exceptional situations require exceptional measures, and we cannot hope for our infant industries to live if our markets are open for any nation to dump goods here. In my opinion, we must have a tariff to protect our infant industries, but here, I think, it must be a scientific tariff."

Next he points out the tremendous possibilities of a market for Indian goods in Russia, Spain, and South America; and concludes by saying:

"It is simply a matter of organization which has enabled the Japanese trader and manufacturer to be so successful. It is no good for us to deplore the fact that foreign goods are entering our markets and to remain inactive. We must take action, and that action should be in the form of extension of commercial and technical education, and the protection of those industries which have a chance of success. The longer

we delay in taking action the greater will be the footing that foreign competitors will have obtained in this country, and great will be the difficulty to dislodge them then."

I am sure that the gigantic extent of the Indian trade that was left derelict at the beginning of the war by the knocking out of Germany and Austria-Hungary has never been realized here at home. Sir John Hewett the other day drew attention to the fact that most of the Calcutta firms engaged in the vast export of raw hides and skins bore German names, and to the monopoly that Germany has obtained of many of the most important Indian products. In 1913, these two countries imported Indian goods to the value of £24,287,000, nearly all food or raw materials. And they exported to India goods to the value of £11,304,000, nearly all manufactured goods. The chief commodities bought by Germany from India were oil-seeds, mowra, copra, rape-seed, poppy, sesamum, linseed, hides and skins, coir (manufactured), myrabolams, raw jute, gunny bags, fodder, teak, lac, spices, raw cotton, mica, oil-sacks, oils, raw hemp, manures, fruits, vegetables, grain, rice, and wheat. The share of Germany in the total export trade of India in 1913-14 in mowra was 85·2 per cent., in copra 63·2 per cent., in cow-hides 48·3 per cent., in all raw hides and skins 27·2 per cent., in cotton 14·6 per cent., in raw jute 21·9 per cent., and in gunnies 1·4 per cent., to mention only a few. Austria-Hungary had in the same year 22·2 per cent. of India's total export trade in raw hides, 15·5 per cent. in indigo, 7·1 per cent. in cotton, 6·4 per cent. in raw jute, 3·4 per cent. in seeds, and 7·8 per cent. in rice.

And these German and Austrian purchases of Indian raw materials were made annually to the tune of millions sterling : raw cotton to the value of over six millions sterling ; raw hides and skins, three and a quarter millions ; raw jute, five and three-quarter millions ; rice, nearly three and a half millions ; oil-seeds, three and a quarter millions.

The chief commodities sent by Germany and Austria-Hungary to India were (1) metals, consisting of enamelled iron-ware, aluminium, copper braziers and sheets, mixed or yellow metal for sheathing, iron or steel beams, pillars, nails, rivets, sheets, and plates ; (2) cotton goods, consisting of blankets, handkerchiefs, shawls, hosiery and piece goods ; woollens, consisting of yarn, knitting-wool, piece goods and shawls ; dyes : alizarine, aniline, and synthetic indigo ; hardware : lamps, sewing and knitting machines, rice and flour mills, railway carriages, waggon and locomotives, glass and glass-ware, haberdashery and millinery, paper, liquors, silk goods, toys, salt, earthenware ; and other highly finished goods, all of which can be produced in India or within the British Empire.

No less than 92 per cent. of the enamelled iron-ware that is so largely taking the place of the distinctive Indian vessels of copper and brass were supplied from this source, as also were the chief imports of bars and nails and rivets and washers, also cotton hosiery. Germany sent India 77·8 per cent. of her total import of woollen shawls, and 58·7 per cent. of her requirements in woollen yarns.

Aluminium is a metal of immense importance for the manufacture of airships and aeroplanes, as well as for many other purposes in war as well as in peace. And so, of course, it figures in the above as a product of Germany, which the Germans are able to produce so cheaply that in peace-time they could supply the wants of India ! And yet, it is well known—the officers of the Indian Geological Survey have never ceased to insist upon it—that the rusty-coloured laterite deposits that cover vast areas in India and Burma are identical with the substance known as bauxite, now the chief source of this precious metal. Indeed, aluminium is specially mentioned by the present President of the Mining and Geological Institute of India as one of those industries which—with ferro-manganese and ferrotungsten (both of the first importance for our dockyards and munition works), glass, artificial manures, and coal-tar dyes—ought at once to be undertaken in India ! And

this recommendation was based on the commercial value of the industry, altogether apart from its great national importance! And yet at the outbreak of the war, Germany was in a position to supply India itself with aluminium!

And as it was with aluminium, so it was with manganese and tungsten. The Civil Servants of the Geological Department, when prospecting for tin in Tenasserim, Burma, discovered those magnificent deposits of wolframite from which a considerable part of the world's supply of tungsten has since been derived. The reports of the Geological Survey drew the attention of the world to this important discovery—and of course the officers of the Department could not properly do more. But with what result? Our cosmopolitan British Government, having its "spiritual home" in Germany, had not the heart to forestall Frau Krupp and the dear, good Germans, who, of course, promptly secured for their munition works all the benefits of this notable discovery, so that, when the war broke out, the Germans held in their power our Indian supplies of tungsten!

Mr. Chatterton, now the Director of the Industries and Commerce Department of Mysore, but formerly a Madras officer, had demonstrated by a practical experiment the commercial value of the Indian aluminium industry. But, even so, it was unthinkable that a good Free Trade Government should give its own munition works any "preference" over those of the dear, good Germans—and we have seen the results of this sentimental policy in the trenches in France and elsewhere.

As a matter of fact, a careful examination of the encyclopædic work of Sir George Watt (published by Mr. John Murray) on "The Commercial Products of India," also of Sir Thomas Holland's admirable sketch of "The Mineral Resources of India," also of the periodical Reports of the Geological and Forests and similar scientific Departments of the Indian Civil Service, and of the numerous reports and monographs on cognate subjects that are continually

being issued by the Imperial and the local Governments from the pens of highly skilled experts, will prove that India possesses a wealth of raw materials of every possible kind that is hardly surpassed by all the rest of the world put together.

And the Blue Books show that the Government of India and the local Governments are assiduous, and liberal even to lavishness, in their researches and experiments intended to guide industry into the right channels and for the adoption of up-to-date methods.

Moreover, India is shown to be, industrially and commercially, the exact complement of the United Kingdom, and to a less extent also of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand ; what India has to give, we need—and what we have to give, India needs.

The immense success obtained in somewhat similar circumstances by the Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the West Indies that was arranged by the Royal Commission (of which Lord Islington, now Under-Secretary of State for India, was a distinguished member), and by previous preferential concessions, is abundantly attested by the figures given in the Canada Year Book for 1914, just published. The imports into Canada from the West Indies increased from £400,249 in 1901 to £1,938,771 in 1909, and to £3,129,332 in 1914 ! And the exports from Canada to the West Indies showed a similarly gratifying increase—from £656,422 in 1901 to £1,012,087 in 1909, and to £1,539,433 in 1914 !

Have these figures no lesson for those who would still forcibly prevent the Indian Government from entering into those reciprocal trading agreements within the Empire that are desired by the leaders of Indian public opinion ?

Meanwhile, Canada is happily alive to the possibilities of the Indian trade. Hitherto, much of the trade between Canada and India—especially that in jute, gunnies and other products of jute, and in tea—has been done through the United States, to the great profit of the American middleman. But a few weeks ago Mr.

Macmillan, the Chief Conservator of Forests in British Columbia, who has been deputed by the Dominion Government to travel round the world as a special trade commissioner, was in Calcutta, and is understood to be investigating the possibilities of the direct trade with India under the same system of reciprocity that has been so successful with the West Indies.

To sum up :

(1) India, that has shown such enthusiastic loyalty to the Sovereign and the Empire in this great time of trial, and has sealed her devotion with the blood of so many of her gallant sons, rightfully expects—and has been told by Lord Hardinge and his Finance Minister to expect—fiscal treatment by the Government more in accordance with her known and oft-expressed wishes than she has ever yet obtained.

(2) Her leaders and statesmen are fully aware that so much of this great change of fiscal policy as would involve serious controversy between British parties at Westminster cannot properly be carried out during the war.

(3) But they rightfully expect a full and honourable consideration of their wishes, and of their industrial and commercial needs, as soon as may be after the declaration of peace.

(4) Meanwhile, they rightfully expect from the Government such honourable pledges and guarantees as will enable Indian capital and Indian labour to take advantage of the unique opportunities offered by the circumstances of the war—opportunities that once lost can never recur—with fair security that they will not be thrown to the German and other foreign wolves after the war.

(5) And lastly, their leading public men, both the elected and the official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, have declared that India will be satisfied if she is admitted to an honourable place in the British Empire Commercial Federation of the future, on a fair equality with the other great States of the Empire.

THOUGHTS ABOUT INDIA

It would be absurd to say that India is not affected deeply by the war which is taxing so heavily the energy and resources of the whole Empire. But it is open to question as to whether she is, on the whole, sufficiently affected to realize that her very existence as a homogeneous entity probably rests on the result of the strife. The burden in respect of men is only felt by the fighting sections of her three hundred and fifty million people, which are comparatively insignificant in number ; while the financial burden is scarcely less apparent. Indeed, had the monsoon of 1915 proved even as good as in average years, it is doubtful whether there would have been any appreciable burden at all in this respect. In a land where such a preponderating majority of the population forms the cultivating class, a vast upheaval is necessary before it is seriously perturbed or roused. More especially is this the case in the East, where enormous tracts are not served by railways or newspapers, and where illiteracy is the general rule rather than the exception. India scarcely realizes all she owes to the British Fleet ; and the cost to her of measures for her defence is apparently out of all proportion to the value she derives from having it as her safeguard by sea, and the Army, British and Indian, as her shield by land. The burden of war is felt only by the few ; but to remedy this defect a system of general and heavy taxation would be indefensible.

The Budget for 1916-17, which was placed before the Imperial Legislative Council on March 1, is a masterly attempt to steer a course between the Scylla of over-taxation and the Charybdis of apparent indifference. As a general principle direct taxation is not to be resorted to, and the enhancement of income-tax is only to affect those whose incomes amount to over Rs. 5,000 per annum. Incomes of from this figure to Rs. 10,000 are to pay 7½d. in the pound; between that and Rs. 25,000, 11½d. in the pound; and thence upwards at the rate of 1s. 3d. in the pound. None can say that these rates are excessive, and if only the incomes for assessment can be accurately ascertained there will be no cause for dissatisfaction under this head.

In India, where a vast majority of the population live on very small incomes, direct taxation can only be resorted to in the comparative minority of cases. In the first place, if all were directly taxed, the cost of collecting great numbers of infinitesimal sums might easily be larger than the amount so raised; and, secondly, indirect taxation is felt less by the poorer people. It is but right that those who make most out of the country should pay accordingly for their security and ease.

It is calculated that the new taxation will result in an increase over last year on the credit side of the account of considerably more than £3,000,000, of which it is estimated that £900,000 will be obtained under the heading of income-tax. The increase of a tax of 4 annas per maund (80 pounds) on salt will produce £600,000; while the remainder of the sum is to come from enhanced duties on tea and jute, from the 10 per cent. duty on sugar, and from the increase of the general tariff to 7½ per cent. Tea and jute can easily bear the increased duties. They are staple industries, and both have done extremely well since the war began. The import duty on sugar also is very equitable, since the means of sugar production within Indian limits are plentiful, and in these days of shortage of

ships the import of commodities which can well be produced internally should be discouraged as far as possible. In this connection it may be noted that, whereas exports have remained at about the same level as before the war, the import trade during the past year has declined to the extent of several million pounds. As against the result of this deficit, however, the revenue from railways has increased by nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds, owing chiefly to the fact that railways were used for coal freight rather than private-owned ships.

The deficit in the Budget of 1915-16 proved to be only $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions, for which an increase of military expenditure by something over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions was chiefly responsible. The military expenditure during the financial year 1916-17 is likely to increase rather than otherwise, and for this contingency allowance has been made. The total revenue from all sources is estimated to amount to $82\frac{1}{2}$ millions, while the debit side of the account amounts to $85\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The fresh taxation will more than make good the deficit, and a closing balance of 17 millions should leave the financial state of India in a very satisfactory condition.

It is too early yet to speculate as to what may happen after the war. The Imperial War Debt will doubtless be something very large, and the indemnity payable by Germany will very likely take some years to attain substantial proportions. The debt will, no doubt, be met by the Allies as a whole, and it has been suggested that India should follow the example of Nigeria and take up a share of it. Whether this suggestion will be followed remains to be seen.

The Anglo-Indian community has lately been rejoicing that the privilege of fighting for the Empire has been extended to it. A small mixed force—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—is to be recruited from among its number, at the same rates of pay as obtains in units of the British Army serving in India. It is, of course, too early yet to

judge whether the scheme will prove a success. There is, however, very little doubt that the numbers required will be forthcoming, and every effort is being made to secure the best material available both for the officers and for the rank and file of the force. As to their fighting value when raised and trained, we can only look back on their deeds performed during the dark days of the Mutiny, and hope that the fighting reputation they then made for themselves will be worthily maintained.

The Anglo-Indians—or, as they are more generally called, the Eurasians—form a community which stands out in greater contrast from the two peoples from whom it has sprung than has been the case before in history under similar circumstances. The half-caste population has usually been either assimilated with one or other of its progenital races, or else has itself become a ruling and predominant class. As modern examples of the latter case we have the bulk of the inhabitants of South America, and the Portuguese half-castes (Goanese) in India. For an instance of assimilation we have not to look very far afield, for the half-caste Roman-Briton undoubtedly became a part of the British people when the Romans abandoned their outpost of Empire across the Channel. But the Eurasian has done neither of these things. He stands out as a race apart, and in his apparent isolation resembles the many branches of the Semitic peoples scattered over Europe and Asia. He is to be found chiefly in appointments on the railways, for which he is admirably suited, or employed in offices and shops. But he has long asked to be given the opportunity to be trained to fight in defence of his home, for which he has considered the privilege of service in the Volunteer Corps to be inadequate. Now that he has got his chance, let us see what he will make of it.

“*Le roi est mort. Vive le roi!*” has application to changes of Viceroys equally with changes of Kings. Lord Hardinge has departed from India after passing through a period of office which has been more momentous and more

strenuous than any previous Viceroy of India has been called upon to face—excepting, perhaps, Lord Canning. To say he has “made good” is to fall far short of the mark. He has had to encounter three very difficult questions, and this, too, in the face of criticism such as befell none of his predecessors in office. The Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1911 was alone a sufficient ordeal for any Governor-General; but after it came the immigration trouble in South Africa, and later the outbreak of the war. Lord Hardinge never shrank from the difficulties which beset him on these and on other lesser occasions. He faced them courageously, and showed from his attitude towards them that his outlook was broad and far-seeing. India is not the India of half a century ago. It has progressed out of all proportion to the time taken to do so; and if the progress is in many cases only superficial, this only renders the task of governing the more difficult. Aspirations, legitimately formed, must be encouraged, but undue haste, which would end in disaster, must be curbed. Lord Hardinge’s accomplishments, in the face, too, of the greatest domestic misfortunes which can befall a man, entitle him to rank as one of India’s greatest Viceroys.

In Lord Chelmsford we have a ruler who has had previous experience as such in Australia, which fact gives him the advantage of not having to go through the spade work of his new responsibilities. He begins his term of office at a very difficult time, though it is to be hoped that the most anxious period is over. His great trial will come when the war is finished, and when the world is readjusting itself to changed conditions. Many economic and other urgent questions will then need solution, and unerring judgment will be necessary to decide them. He has had the very unusual opportunity of seeing something of the peoples of India and of its social shibboleths from a lower level than may be obtained from starting an Indian career as the head of the Government, and doubtless this experience will stand him in good stead. He must long ago

have realized that sympathy, patience, and, above all, firmness, are necessary to him who would be Viceroy.

The entry of Portugal into the war on the side of the Allies has not materially affected India, though certain enemy ships interned at Goa should prove a valuable acquisition, as their tonnage is considerable. There were great rejoicings at Bombay, where a large Goanese population exists. The troops maintained by Portugal in India are very few in number, and the result of the Portuguese colonizing ideals is that the Goanese community at Goa practically rules itself. It is in Africa that Portuguese assistance will prove valuable; and apart from the acquisition of the ships, the principal advantage to India lies in the fact that there is now no neutral territory on Indian soil from which the Germans might have opportunity to spread their pernicious propaganda. Formerly our rivals in the East, the Portuguese are now our firm friends, and it is, perhaps, safe to say that neither side loses by the friendship.

H. W.-B.

“SWADÉSHI” AND NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

THERE are two short articles in the *Indian Review* for February which seem to me to be worthy of very careful consideration by the powers that be in India, and their appearance just when Lord Chelmsford, an expert in education, is actually on his way to take charge of that perplexing country, and when a man with a sane judicial mind like Sir C. Sankara Nair is in charge of education, is extraordinarily opportune.

Mr. Gandhi, as might be expected, is perfectly simple and straightforward in expressing his views on that once burning question “Swadéshi,” but very wisely distinguishes it from a “boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge.” If, he says, “we follow the [pure] Swadéshi doctrine, it would be the duty of everyone in India to find out neighbours who can supply our wants, and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to”; and this is the happy result that has been achieved to a considerable extent in the valley of the Tambraparni, where the women, by simply insisting on handloom-woven cloth, restored the weavers to prosperity, while the local mill, situated at the foot of the hills and worked by water power from a perennial stream, provided the weavers with thread and the people with constant work. None of the legislation which Mr. Gandhi hates was required to develop this part of the country; only an energetic man to start the mill nearly forty years ago, and

sensible women to direct his work into the proper channel. The "stiff protective duty" for which even Mr. Gandhi craves was not found necessary at all, and Mr. Harvey, the enterprising owner of that and other mills in the South of India, told me that he had never been able to decide whether Free Trade or Protection was the best for his business, but that he was fairly satisfied with the return he got on his capital—20 to 25 per cent., I believe.

In the following paper Mr. F. Bose effectively disposes of the idea that the country is likely to benefit so enormously by the compulsory education of the masses as the late Mr. Gokhalé thought it would. As he observes, the cultivating classes of India (who form about three-fourths of the population) are by no means "sunk in such ignorance, superstition and squalor as they are often supposed to be"; and though Mr. Gandhi makes out a strong case for education in the vernaculars, there is not only a great deal to be said for English but education in English was inevitable as long as the country is part of the British Empire, just as Urdu was inevitable in the days of the Moguls; and surely it is obvious which is the more useful language in these days. Its only possible rival is, perhaps, Esperanto; and can anyone imagine the Government of India adopting Esperanto as the State language now, or ever?

Mr. Bose would evidently challenge Lady Muir-Mackenzie's dictum that "both men and women in the villages are equally ignorant of both hygiene and sanitary science." He writes as follows:

"It should be observed that the mass of our people, though illiterate, are generally not such numskulls, or sunk in such 'ignorance, superstition and squalor' as they are usually supposed to be. The Government of India, in a recent resolution on sanitation, says: 'The diffusion of sound education will, however, remain the most potent and penetrating instrument of sanitation among a population which still views it with hostility or unconcern.' This is a

charge against our people which has hardly any solid foundation in fact. Colonel King, late Sanitary Commissioner of the Madras Presidency, testifies, in a recent lecture delivered in London*, that 'the Institutes of Vishnu and the Laws of Manu fit in excellently, so far as the subjects touched go, with the bacteriology, parasitology and applied hygiene of the West. The hygiene of food and water, private and public conservancy, disease suppression and prevention, are all carefully dealt with. . . . Nor, if racial prejudices are to be considered, can it be held that either by the teachings of the Koran or the Muhammadan traditions opposition to hygiene can be reasonably expected. Personally, I have found in the South of India, where caste prevails more tenaciously than in most parts of the country, that in dealing with the knotty question of religious festivals it was not difficult to secure the support of leading Hindus to refinements of hygiene that could not be forced by extant laws, by appealing to the fact that my recommendations were fully within the principles recognized by Vishnu and Manu.' Hygienic rules, the results of the experience of untold centuries well adapted to our physical environment and economic condition, have in many cases crystallized into superstitious practices among the vast majority of the Hindus. Their abodes appear to the Western eye as mere hovels, but they are usually clean hovels. The homestead is generally kept as clean as their means would permit, and the kitchen and the utensils for cooking and eating are kept scrupulously clean. In personal cleanliness they are, class for class, more particular than the peoples of the West. In fact, as Elphinstone observed long ago : 'The cleanliness of the Hindus is proverbial.' Away from large towns, where there are streams with sandy beds, they dig holes in the sand, and carefully ladle out the water therefrom for drinking purposes, which shows the importance they attach to wholesome drinking water."

* Before the East India Association.

"The ryots of India," says Sir H. J. S. Cotton, "possess an amount of knowledge and practical skill within their own humble sphere which no expert scientist can ever hope to acquire." "The Indian peasant," observes Sir T. W. Holderness, "though illiterate, is not without knowledge. He has been carefully trained from boyhood in the ritual and religious observances of his forefathers. He hears the ancient epics read in their pithy vernacular form. He is full of lore about crops and soils and birds and beasts."

Dr. Voelcker, a renowned agriculturist, who was some years ago engaged by the Government to report upon the possible directions in which our agriculture might be improved, says, after carefully inspecting nearly every part of India: "I unhesitatingly dispose of the ideas which have been erroneously entertained, that the ryot's cultivation is primitive and backward and say that nearly all the attempts made in the past to teach him have failed because he understands far better than his would-be teachers the particular circumstances under which he has to pursue his calling." The peasants are, as a rule, quite ready to introduce improvements in their cultivation if they are demonstrated to be to their advantage, as is evidenced, among other things, by the recent extension of potato and cotton cultivation, and of garden cultivation where they can afford it, and the almost universal adoption of the Behea sugar-mill, etc. The multitudinous varieties of food-grains and fruits, the mechanical contrivances for irrigation, etc., show that they are not wanting in knowledge. They know very well that the liberal application of manures would give increased outturn. No education is necessary to teach him that. But they are often so poor that they are unable to conserve even all their cowdung for manure, the dearness of fuel compelling them to utilize at least a portion of it for culinary purposes. They are fully aware of the value of pasture-lands, and they have always had such lands attached to every village. They have,

however, now been reduced to the necessity of bringing them under cultivation, to the detriment of their cattle.

Though the mass of our people are not so obtuse or perversely conservative as they are usually supposed to be, education of the right sort, which would secure to them material or moral welfare, or both, would certainly be desirable. But a broad survey of the results of the system of elementary education which has been spreading in India for wellnigh three generations has forced the conviction upon us that it has not subserved these purposes. We shall confine ourselves to the material aspect of the question. We find that this education has not made the cultivators better cultivators, nor the artisans and tradesmen more efficient artisans and tradesmen than before. On the contrary, it has distinctly diminished their efficiency by inculcating in the literate proletariat a strong distaste for their hereditary mode of living and hereditary callings, and an equally strong taste for Brummagem fineries and for occupations of a more or less parasitic nature. They have accelerated rather than retarded the decadence of indigenous industries, and have thus helped to aggravate their own economic difficulties and those of the entire community. The following remarks, which the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills makes in regard to the effect of education on the Lushais, apply also to the major portion of the mass of the people in other parts of India, especially to the aboriginal section of it :

"They are showing a strong tendency to desert agriculture, their hereditary occupation, and live by their wits. They have undoubtedly more money to spend or waste. This is evidenced by the change which is taking place in their dress. Stout homespun cloths are being discarded for foreign apparel, such as shirts, trousers or shorts, coats, caps, etc. Imported yarn is displacing the indigenous article in the manufacture of cloths, and cheap and tawdry articles of personal adornment are becoming very common. Though he may have more money to spend, it is impossible

to say that the Lushai is now better off than he used to be. In his village he had all he wanted, and lived a simple and a happy life. The effect on his moral character has also been far from satisfactory. . . . It is true that a certain number of the Lushais have taken advantage of the openings for improvement so freely provided by Government, and have profited by them ; but on the whole the results are depressing, and are such as to give grounds for anxiety for the future welfare of the race.

"It is very doubtful if the literate peasantry have 'more money to spend or waste' than their unlettered brethren. They generally live far beyond their means ; and if some of them have more money, it is usually obtained, not by the improvements of agriculture or manufacture, but by occupations of an unproductive character, the aspirations of the literate proletariat being to enter some service or live upon their wits. The best patrons of native manufactures are still the illiterate peasantry who have not yet taken to shoddy apparel and 'cheap and tawdry articles of personal adornment'—at least to the extent the literates have. In fact, it is they, especially their women, who have arrested the utter annihilation of indigenous industry."

But I might quote the whole article, and can only advise my readers to read it all for themselves very carefully.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

BIBI SHARABANI*

BY RAFFI

Armenia's National Writer

[Raffi, the Armenian national writer, was born in Azerbejan, Persian Armenia, in 1837, and he died in Tiflis, in the Caucasus, in 1888. It is difficult to compare him to any other writer, but to say he combined the spirit of a Mazzini with the literary talent of a Dickens would, I suppose, be giving the clearest idea of his work. Like Mazzini, he burnt with the spirit of true patriotism and the love of liberty, and like Dickens, although his works were essentially novels with a purpose, he was so much of an artist that they are even more interesting as works of art than as political sermons. The types and characters he created are very numerous, and, like those of Dickens, many of them have become familiar as household words amongst the people who know them.]

The setting in which the characters of Dickens move is sordid and dismal, while those of Raffi live in the wilds of the Armenian mountains. Indeed, Raffi's love of Nature is so great, that the characters he creates seem to grow out of her, and his descriptions of scenery are often typical of the people he is writing about.

Raffi had more influence in forming the spirit of the younger generation of Armenians than anyone else, because his descriptions of Armenian life were so true and so sympathetic that they went to the heart of the people at once. His style is light and often humorous, while one of his principal charms is his way of suggesting detail and local colouring without elaboration. He has left a great many novels, essays, and poems, and much of his work is still unpublished. The little sketch given below is a good example of his short stories, combining as it does imaginative qualities with the terrible facts of everyday life as he knew it.]

A LONELY road, leading in a south-easterly direction from Teheran, brings the traveller to a desert place, where he will notice a large enclosure surrounded by high walls. One who is accustomed to seeing Asiatic towns will at once take it for an enchanted city swallowed up in its ramparts—only

* Translated by "Vartémé"

the walls are to be seen—not even a minaret or a tower is visible from the outside. But where is the entrance ?

This enchanted city has no gate either.

The stories told about it by old people in Persia are fabulous. They say that inside those walls, so calm and silent in the day-time, fearful sounds are to be heard at night ; that myriads of ghosts then hover about the ramparts ; that they never wander far away, but cluster near the walls, where they keep their fiendish revels. But when the dawn approaches everything melts away, stillness reigns, and the silent ramparts are again painted out upon the desert in their gigantic stretches.

The superstitious Persian never approaches these walls, and even in broad daylight there is no trace of any human being to be seen there. Only the great vulture hovers above, describing various curves and circles in the air ; you might almost take him for one of the ghosts that are said to haunt the place.

But see, not far from the ruins there is some smoke rising. Smoke is the sign of a human habitation, and attracts the lonely traveller towards itself with irresistible force.

The smoke is rising from an underground hovel, whose roof is one with the surface of the earth. A narrow entrance without a door leads to the inside of the hovel. It is a lair as damp and dark as a tomb ; only in one corner, where a fireplace has been cut out, a few pieces of wood are burning with a feeble flame, as if the object were just to keep the fire in.

An old half-naked man is seated on a piece of rush-matting near the fire. He is reading a book with deep attention. His outward appearance fills one with pity and reverence. You feel as if the figure before you was the impersonation of misery—a man who has nothing to look forward to on earth, and is only awaiting the fulfilment of God's will.

He is a sage. He is reading the Holy Book—the divine Zend Avesta.

"Peace be with you, Holy Father!" I said, greeting him.

Persecuted everywhere, despised everywhere, this poor priest had spent half a century in his cell. It was the first time that he heard a stranger greet him in a friendly way instead of filling him with fear and trembling as his foot crossed the threshold.

Very slowly and deliberately he closed the book and laid it aside, then stood up to receive his unexpected guest.

The conversation of this Zoroastrian philosopher was gentle and wise. He would tell everything with pleasure to one who looked upon him with a friendly eye. Nothing was such a consolation to him as human sympathy, because no man had ever pitied this unfortunate human being before.

But what I was most interested in knowing was the reason why he had come to live in that desolate and forlorn desert, close to those haunted walls where companies of ghosts were the only beings that wandered about.

When a question was asked concerning this, the sage lifted his fervent eyes to Heaven and pronounced a few words that were incomprehensible to me, amongst which "Bibi Sharabani"* was the one that I caught most distinctly.

"What does that mean?"

"Follow me, good youth," he said, hurrying out of the hovel.

I obeyed; the wall towards which he led me was the one

* Bibi Sharabani is a cemetery surrounded on all sides by high walls, which still exists not very far from Teheran, amongst the ruins of the old town of Ray. Bibi Sharabani was the daughter of King Yezdgard or Hasguert, whom the Persians call Khosrov. He lived during the first century of Muhammadanism in Persia. Persian ecclesiastical history says that Muhammad wrote a letter to Khosrov, who slighted the prophet, and tore it up. At the same time the bowels of the idolatrous King were torn open. Afterwards, in the days of Omar, Hassan, the son of Ali, conquered Khosrov's kingdom and carried his daughter, Bibi Sharabani, away captive as a wife for his brother Hussein. This story is not well founded. It is more probable that Bibi Sharabani, the daughter of Khosrov, was martyred with the rest of the family for not accepting Muhammadanism, and that she was buried in the town of Ray, where the Gabra afterwards built a large cemetery, which they called Bibi Sharabani, to perpetuate the memory of their faithful King's daughter.

I had seen before. He went up to a long ladder that lay near it, and asked me to help him to lift it up.

As soon as I understood what he wanted I fulfilled his wish. He wanted to stand the ladder against the wall, so that I might climb up on to it; and that was just what I wanted myself—to see what there was inside that closed city.

"Look!" said the sage, when we had got on to the wall.

I shall never forget the horror with which the sight filled me. The whole space enclosed within the walls was a forest of human corpses, where thousands of skeletons and partially decomposed bodies stood motionless, and naked as the statue of Truth.

It seemed to me as if it were a spell-bound world that the wizard sage had called up before my eyes, and I was gazing at those hosts of spectres about which they had told me so many wonderful stories.

But what I saw was actual reality. I could see the skeletons distinctly, standing up close together, while not far from me stood many naked corpses around whose heads were flying birds of carrion with savage shrieks. Now and then they would swoop down on a naked body, tear something off with their sharp beaks and claws, then rise up into the air again, carrying off with them the spoil they had seized.

The sage was looking on at this not pleasantest of sights with dreamy eyes. His lips were moving as if in prayer.

I noticed that the faces of all the skeletons and corpses were turned towards the East. But how was it that those dead bodies stood erect in the open air? The secret was revealed to me when I looked closer and noticed that under the arms of each skeleton and corpse were posts driven into the ground, and so arranged as not only to support the figures in an upright posture, but to lift them up, so that even their feet did not touch the ground.

"What is this?" I asked, turning towards the sage, who did not seem to have finished his prayer yet.

"Bibi Sharabani," he answered, still leaving me in dark-

ness as to the meaning of the word. When I told him I did not understand it he explained it to me.

"It is the halting-place of the people."

"Then it is a place of rest—a cemetery?"

"It is."

"Is it not your custom to bury your dead?"

The sage looked at me in surprise, as if he had heard a very foolish remark.

"How can we bury them, good youth—how can we defile the holy earth with the bodies of the dead?" he answered.

"But in this way you defile the air, which is much more dangerous, for from that living people may get diseases."

My words were offensive. The sage showed a little displeasure in answering me.

"You see the holy Mihr," he asked, pointing to the sun. "Under its divine rays all uncleanness is purified, sanctified, and changed from death into a living thing. It is the same Power that causes the decayed grain of corn to sprout again and bear fruit. It also purifies the thousands of skeletons that stand around its altar of holiness and gives them breath and life."

"And that is why you have stood these corpses under its rays?"

"Vormist* commands us to fulfil this Holy Law. Let the wickednesses of Ahriman† be far from you, good youth, let not doubt lead you away from believing in the Holy Word."

To argue against the superstitions of the Zoroastrian priest would not have led me to any profitable conclusion. I wanted to learn more details about this cemetery—about these religious rites and ceremonies. He told me many things. He said that each of these dead bodies leaning on two props, or, rather, swung between two poles, must stay there until its flesh has been made food for the birds and

* Ormurd, the son of Zrvan, the god of light and goodness, the creator of all that is pure and holy.

† Ahriman, also a son of Zrvan, the god of darkness and evil, creator of all that is wicked and unclean.

Bibi Sharabani

its bones begin to get disintegrated and fall away one by one into the hollow dug at the foot of each. And he added that from the length of time that each body takes to decompose the sage watching over the cemetery can foretell its future in the paradise of Vormist. After this he told me some of the things he had observed in connection with the bodies.

"Look at that corpse about ten feet away from us," he said. "You see how that wild jackal is standing up on its hind-legs, stretching out its head and greedily devouring the dead man's hand; that is one of the new corpses in the cemetery. That hand which is now a meal for the jackal is stained with the blood of an innocent person. Not very far from it you see another corpse, on whose left shoulder sits an enormous black raven digging out the dead man's eyes with its beak. Those eyes never had enough of looking at all that was evil. They led unhappy men and women along the road that leads towards the gloom of Ahriman. Into the skull of that skeleton where a revolting owl sits pecking ceaselessly at the skinless crown the word of truth never penetrated. There you see a corpse around whose feet the wild cat is wandering, it is the corpse of a marauder, and a marauding beast is now devouring those feet that were always far from the paths of righteousness."

In this way the Sage made many observations, comparing the past of each body with its present condition, and from the present making calculation as to its future state. He also spoke of some just people, and explained by what signs he knew them to be innocent. But when at last his gaze fell on a skeleton upon whose white bones the sunbeams were playing beautifully he could speak no more, and I noticed how the old man's faded eyes filled with tears, and he shook his head, making a sign to me to go down the ladder.

But what was it that had grieved the poor old heart so bitterly? Why did he say no word to me about that skeleton which had brought the tears into his eyes?

When we got down from the wall we sat at the door of his hovel. The sun was just beginning to bend towards its setting, the heat of the desert was becoming more bearable. But I could not conquer my curiosity as I observed the old man's face, still so sorrowful and melancholy.

After many entreaties on my part he consented to tell me why the sight of that skeleton had plunged him into sadness. I asked his permission to smoke, and prepared to listen to his story. He began as follows :

"I had seen the snows of twice ten winters melt, twice ten springs beautify the desert of Zab,* when I went to quench my mental thirst with the wisest of the wise, in the service of Ybu Ferhad. They called him the 'Fountain of Knowledge'; the Holy Word flowed from the lips of the man of God like milk and honey. The most hidden meaning contained in the holy letters was clear to him, and he knew the deepest secrets that lie in the hearts of the sons of men.

"But gentler than the lily of Shiraz and more beautiful than the rose of Resht† was the sweet Ghamar.‡ She was the daughter of my master.

"A whole paradise was contained in my master's house, where peace and content reigned under the blessings of Heaven. But there is no rose without a thorn, and often the dark whirlwind rushes in with its terrors, and rules over the brightest day. The same thing happened in my master's family.

"On one of those great, solemn festival days, when the Faithful of the Holy City§ greet the Nov-Rouss|| with

* Zab is the name of the far-reaching desert of Persia which begins at the towns of Ghoun and Kashan and extends to Beluchistan.

† If Persia is the home of the rose, then Resht should be considered its birthplace.

‡ *Ghamar* means *moon*. Gabr girls are often called by that name.

§ The Gabrs call Yezd the Sacred City; it is called Yezd Khast, which means pleasing to God.

|| Nov-Rouss means New Day; it is a festival which is kept at the beginning of Spring. All the Asiatic races keep it; even the new religions have not been able to stamp it out.

garlands of flowers, a party of virgins had gathered together on a hill where they used to go and amuse themselves playing games. On that day the Sirdar of the town had gone out hunting, and he happened to pass that way returning home. His eye fell on the group of girls, and Ghamar's beautiful face fascinated him.

"A few days later, messengers came from the Sirdar's fort to say that the beauty of Ghamar had captivated His Highness's heart, and that he wished to have her for his wife.

"The lightning stroke with which Vormist drives out the devils of Ahriman could not be more terrible than these words which my master heard from the lips of the Sirdar's messenger. At first he was altogether petrified, then, by God's help, taking a little heart, he answered that he could not give his daughter to wife to one who did not worship the faith of Vormist. The messenger reported this answer to the Sirdar, whose evil heart was filled with the poison of revenge.

"Vengeance was not long in coming. A few days later the Holy City was filled with blood and tears.

"The persecution of the poor Gabrs* at the hands of the Turks has always been easy. They are very clever in exciting their people against us. To circulate a few false reports about us that touch their religious feelings is enough to inflame the whole population against us, and rouse them to savage revenge.

"That was what happened then.

"A sinister rumour ran through the town that the Gabrs had defiled a Muhammadan shrine that was an object of great adoration to them and to which the whole population resorted in pilgrimages. They accused the Gabrs of having thrown a dead dog into this shrine by night—an entirely false accusation.

"Libellous as this was, it aroused their savagery. In

* The old sun-worshippers in Persia are called Giabrs. It is the word *jafr*, or, as the Turks call it, *giasur*, which means "unbeliever."

such cases they never inquire into the truth or falseness of a charge, especially when the person who instigates it is the Sirdar himself, and is backed up by some of the principal mullahs.

"It was night—one of those black nights that Ahriman prepares for his hosts of dark officials. In a few moments the streets in which the Gabrs lived were filled with wild crowds of the Turks. Ruthlessly the sword and fire began to slaughter the innocent offspring of the Sacred People.

"At that fearful hour I thought of Ghamar. I began to run like a madman towards the house of my master. The town would have been enveloped in the darkness of night if the light of the burning houses had not illuminated it with the brightness of daylight. I know not what divine power it was that conducted me safely to the house of my master, which I found in flames. My eye caught sight of my master lying dead in a pool of his own blood near the threshold. But I took no notice of it, because I was looking for Ghamar.

"The bitter cries of women and girls who were being dragged into captivity rang on my ears, but Ghamar's voice was not one of them.

"I found her in the hands of a Ferrash, who was dragging her limp and unconscious towards the Sirdar's castle. One thrust of my dagger laid the villain low, and I seized the precious spoil that he had been dragging away.

"Till this day I cannot tell how I managed to save her. I can only remember recovering consciousness in a plain some miles away from the city, one morning as the sun was just beginning to rise. I felt then that I was wounded in several places, but when I received those wounds, or from whom, I have no recollection. I was going to bandage them when I saw that Ghamar was still unconscious, so I concentrated all my attention on the task of bringing her back to life again.

"The story is long, gentle youth—it is long, and I should find it very difficult to tell you everything at once, even though every detail of it is indelibly written in my old head, and oblivion has not succeeded in effacing any of those sad memories. Imagine the state of a poor fugitive obliged to spend whole months in traversing lonely desert countries, always avoiding human habitations, having for a companion a fragile girl overcome with hunger and the fatigues of the journey.

"The Gabrs are considered unclean, they are persecuted everywhere, and all the Turks despise and avoid them; we were even deprived of the hospitality of the shepherds, at whose table all travellers are welcome. In the daytime we hid ourselves under the shrubs, and at night continued our journey. Our food was the manna* of the desert, and we occasionally received alms and shelter at the hands of the kind Armenians and Davoudis,† they don't persecute the Gabrs.

"In this way we passed the towns of Jspahan, Ghoum, and Kashan. We had no animals to ride, for they are only an extra burden to fugitives—one has always to think of hiding them. At first the maiden was brave and could follow me easily, but gradually her strength began to fail, and then I was obliged to carry the precious burden on my back. She found this harder still, and I often heard sobs from her lips, 'Oh when will God call my soul away, that I may no longer be such a trouble to you.'

"We were going to Teheran, with the intention of kissing the dust under the Shah's feet, and begging him to be gracious and avenge us. But the poor girl's weakness increased from day to day, and at last a very strong

* Two sorts of manna exist in Persia: one is called *serkhesht*, and the other *gaz* or *gasan-gabs*.

† Davoudis, a tribe whose religion very much resembles that of the Jews; perhaps it was taken from Jewish captives brought home in the olden days.

fever set in. I did all in my power. I applied all the remedies that I had read of in books, but it was no good—the vitality had already burnt itself out.

“Only a few days’ march lay between us and Teheran. We had camped for the night in the cornfields near a village. It was night, the moon glided gently over the blue sky. A deathly stillness reigned over the whole world, the maiden lay with her head on my knee in terrible suffering; I looked down at her sorrowfully. Suddenly she turned towards me, and said with eyes full of gratitude, ‘I am dying, Hazguerd, pray for me!’

“Those were her last words.

“I have fulfilled the sacred trust, gentle youth—it is half a century since that day, and I am still praying beside her tomb—praying day and night, although she was as pure as the rays of the sun, as spotless as his light.

“She loved me. . . .”

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE INDIAN WORKMAN, WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT

By S. M. DIKSHIT, B.A., LL.B.

ONE of the fundamental assumptions of the Science of Sociology is that war and peace, trade and conquest, art and religion, and the migration of peoples and races through the decline of economic resources, are some of the diverse ways in which the historic process works out a fusion of ideas on fundamental questions affecting society and government among men and nations.

The great war now raging on the battlefields of Europe is in its higher aspects an exhibition of that process on the most colossal scale ever known to humanity. It has impregnated the world of moral ideas with new conceptions, and has shaken the unseen foundations of society.

All change involves a loss, and the greater the extent of the change, and the larger the number of men it affects, the greater the amount of sacrifice it entails on humanity at large. Suffering is the penalty which men and nations pay for their ignorance, and the extent of sacrifice which precedes any new change in the moral ideas of mankind depends entirely on the mass of ignorance and evil which society tolerates with a guilty conscience. Nature is a great scavenger. Her methods are summary and ruthless. "So careful of the *type* she seems, so careless of the *single*

life." When Nature is busy in her workshop with a new type of humanity she will never send us back to learn our lesson again. She teaches us through suffering.

Let us hope that this war will serve to elevate mankind to a higher plane of moral consciousness, and virtually eliminate points of friction among countries and nations, governments and peoples, and promote a widespread feeling of likemindedness and mutual satisfaction among the great sections of mankind.

But, apart from the untold human suffering and the carnage of precious lives it involves, this war has also revealed to us the nobler side of human nature which asserts its moral strength in moments of grave calamity. It has demonstrated the strength of national feeling and the sentiment of loyalty to great moral principles which bind together the component parts of a great empire. A national empire is the living personification of a great moral idea which animates the corporate life of a large section of mankind.

The British Empire is a vast fabric reared up by the genius of successive generations of statesmen, warriors, financiers, and educationists, and its crowning merit is the great and unique success it has achieved in combining diverse elements of races and creeds in bonds of mutual sympathy and fellow-feeling, and in a common sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the throne and person of His Majesty the King-Emperor. It has its roots deep down in the moral faith of a vast population, which looks to it for help and guidance in working out its political destiny within limits imposed by its political supremacy and guardianship.

All governments in the world are good in proportion as they satisfy the legitimate needs and aspirations of the people whose resources they organize in the general interest of civilization. "Whate'er is best administered is best!" The machinery of government has only an instrumental value. It is subject to frequent changes suited to

the growing capacity of a vast population. Its function is mainly educational. It is a contrivance for accelerating the process of human evolution. A government reflects and moulds the temper of its people, which is rooted in tradition and tendency, and is subject to under-currents of social and communal life.

British rule in India has an important function to fulfil in the scheme of Providence for elevating the people to a higher plane of moral and spiritual consciousness. India has long remained in a state of comparative isolation from the main currents of the world's economic and social activities. The *raison d'être* of British rule in India is to facilitate its transition to a more efficient and economic type of civilization, and to bring it into living sympathy with the great current of the world. If the whole of Europe *minus* Russia had one government and a common system of administration, its history would no doubt have been entirely different. A political feat which is impossible for the combined genius of the nations of Europe has worked with marvellous success in a country as large as Europe *minus* Russia through the alchemy of British genius. British India has nine provinces, each differing from the other in economic and ethnic conditions, and about 687 states of Indian Chiefs, occupying a third of its territory and a fifth of its population. In the absence of British rule these provinces might have been separate units, with perhaps a history of their own not very different from what it was in the period immediately preceding the consolidation of British supremacy in India.

A population so vast and varied as that of India has been held together in bonds of sympathy and mutual trustfulness between the governors and the governed. The government of the many by the few must always be a government by opinion, and the peaceful progress of British rule in India is the most eloquent testimony to the solid appreciation by the mass of its population of the benefits it confers on all ranks and conditions of men in the country.

But the question of paramount importance in the immediate future, both for the Government and the people, is to devise some means which would help public opinion in India to be better organized, and brought into more active and sympathetic co-operation with the machinery of administration.

The study of the economic condition of the population of India is a task which requires active co-operation between the Government and the people. It is a subject which affects the well-being of the largest portion of the population of the country, and any government in the position of the Government of India would need the most active and sympathetic co-operation from people who enjoy better opportunities of studying the social life and the conditions of living in a population so varied and complex in its composition and structure.

The study of workmen's budgets and the condition of the workmen is an important branch of the general study of the economic condition of a country; and the results of detailed inquiries made in Germany, France, England and the United States are to be found in the works of Dr. Engel, Le Play, Rowntree and Booth. The object of the inquiry is to collect statistics based on an intimate acquaintance with the lives of poor people with a view to arriving at data which would help a proper tabulation of figures relating to, (1) cost of living, (2) standard of living, and (3) conditions of living. A mass of literature has grown up round the study of the social condition of the poorer classes in the principal countries of Europe and America, and it is quite independent of any departmental inquiry conducted by Government. It is purely the result of the philanthropic efforts of men like Booth, Rowntree, Le Play and Engel, who devoted their lives to the study of problems of poverty from a Christian sense of duty and neighbourly love for their fellow-creatures.

The study of workmen's budgets is an inquiry into the

sources of income of each member of the family, and the general heads of expenditure in which it is usually distributed. Any information carefully tabulated ought to throw considerable light on a number of topics on which our general knowledge is extremely meagre. Any accurate and reliable statistics would greatly facilitate the work of constructive legislation. We have the census reports in India which tabulate results of census operations held every ten years, and they furnish us with useful data for arriving at a correct estimate of the general economic condition of the people. Statistics of occupations help in a considerable way to arrive at a fair knowledge of the general material condition of the people; but statistics of *expenditure* help us to estimate the standard of living prevailing in different grades of working-class people. Social statistics of each country help us to understand the general progress of different nations towards "civilization and economic independence." They have also an important bearing on the incidence of indirect taxation.

Statistical data with regard to income and expenditure of the working classes are collected either by the intensive method of studying the life of a single typical family for a number of years (which was Le Play's method), or of taking a number of select families in a given area and tabulating information under certain recognized headings—a method which was largely adopted by Dr. Engel. These methods are complementary to each other. Each has its merits and defects.

In his introduction to "Wage-Earner's Budgets," a study of standards and cost of living in New York City, by Louise Bolard More, Mr. F. H. Giddings observes that "a presentation of daily lives must reveal facts bearing on the whole question of labour and wages, housing conditions, cost of living, economies and extravagances of the poor." The author of "Wage-Earner's Budgets" observes that "investigations of Le Play, Engel, Booth and Rowntree have furnished important

and valuable data on the subject of the incomes and cost of living of wage-earners in France, Germany, England and the United States, but they don't furnish the results of an intimate and personal neighbourly study of the lives of the people in their daily social, economic and industrial relations."

In another place the same author observes that one of the district workers, entrusted with the collection of statistics, found that "a cooking-class afforded the means of friendly discussion of—

- "1. Prices paid for food in the neighbourhood.
- "2. Methods of marketing and cooking.
- "3. Nutritive value of different foods.
- "4. Essentials of adequate diet.
- "5. General cost of living.
- "6. The attitude of families (in the neighbourhood) towards dress, recreation, the pawn-shop, instalment system, Church and funeral expenses."

Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" describes the primary object of studying workmen's budgets to be "to give a picture of the condition of the working classes and to compare its well-being among different nations and at different periods in the same nation." Its secondary object is to provide data for a theory of consumption by measuring expenditure in different directions and to note "variations due to differing sizes of income and family." It further says "that practical use may be made in estimating the burden of taxation on different classes and in considering the possibility of excluding women and children from factories."

From his study of these budgets of wage-earners in England, France, Germany and America, Dr. Engel arrives at certain general conclusions, which are set out briefly in the following words :

1. "That the greater the income the smaller the relative percentage of outlay for subsistence."
2. "That the percentage of outlay for clothing is approximately the same, whatever the income."

3. "That the percentage of outlay for lodging or rent and for fuel and light is invariably the same, whatever the income."

4. "That, as the income increases in amount, the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater."*

Now it may be asked whether it would not be desirable to undertake a similar inquiry in India with a view to arriving at reliable statistics of expenditure among the poorer working classes in the country. It is a work beset with many and grave difficulties, especially when one remembers how vast is the population to be dealt with and how very varied and complex its social and economic structure.

The ordinary citizen, ignorant of the purpose of such an inquiry, would resent any scrutiny into the details of his private and family expenditure, and yet the importance of the inquiry in grappling with the problem of the poverty of the working classes in India cannot be over-estimated.

Every measure of taxation is liable to be assailed in a bitter spirit of hostility owing to the absence of accurate data which may help the Government and the people to see where the burden really falls. The absence of reliable social statistics based on an intimate acquaintance with the social life of each caste and community would handicap both the Government and the critics of Government, and increase points of friction between them.

It requires a tactful and sympathetic handling of the whole question; and Government agency, however capable, tactful, and sympathetic, would in the first place be enormously costly, and would not be able to elicit correct and satisfactory answers from people who cannot easily be made to appreciate its beneficial results.

It is a work which might well be entrusted to volunteers under the guidance of an expert Government officer in each province, who might formulate the rules of procedure both as to the nature of the information to be elicited and the method of tabulating it. Its indirect result would be to

* Bliss's "Encyclopædia of Social Reform."

infuse in the minds of really willing workers the spirit of social work which has created so many social agencies in England and America during the last quarter of a century.

It would besides be a great opportunity for the Social Reformer in India to work out his propaganda with every prospect of success. India is a country in which the bulk of the population is yet under the grip of custom and tradition, and statistics of expenditure give a most reliable test of the extent to which custom and tradition dominate the lives of the common people.

The publication of such statistics for each district would serve as an eye-opener to the whole population, and its effect in minimizing the evils arising from blind obedience to customs would be simply magical.

There is, however, a still higher point of view which lends considerable weight and importance to the study of workmen's budgets.

The sociological value of the family and the home is found to be far greater and more vital than we are under ordinary circumstances prepared to concede. We are living in an over-individualistic age which is paying its penalty in the shape of grave national perils, which have rudely shaken the unseen foundations of society. The swing of the pendulum now is towards a larger and a more solid appreciation of collectivism.

Leading writers on sociology have come to think that the family and the home are the true basis of the State, and any government which ignores the importance of the family as the source of its true vitality and permanence is weakening its moral foundations. The study of the problems of poverty in cities and villages in India is at bottom a study of the normal conditions which would help to maintain the integrity and the moral vitality of the family. Nothing handicaps a family so much in the race of life as hopeless poverty.

A writer in Bliss's "*Encyclopædia of Social Reform*"

observes that "the family controls (both) heredity and environment during the formative period of life." "The best way to become good," it has been said, "is to be born good." Out of 5,511 convicts at Elmira Reformatory, 38 per cent. had parents known to be intemperate, and 13 per cent. more of doubtful habits; 81 per cent. had parents not possessing property; 44 per cent. had parents of little or no education. The power of home in childhood is equally evident. Of the same 5,511 convicts, 54 per cent. came from bad homes; 38 per cent. more from homes only fair; not more than 6 per cent. came from homes that were good; 42 per cent. were homeless when committed; 97 per cent. came from bad associations.

If social statistics in India were collected on lines which might help us to judge of the extent to which crime is due to disintegration of the family arising from hopeless poverty, we should be in a better position to suggest measures for remodelling the life and opinions of the general population on a more stable basis. The dictum of Auguste Comte that "it is hopeless to reconstruct political institutions without remodelling life and opinion" is nowhere so true as in India.

The poverty and general indebtedness of the agricultural population of India is proverbially known to be acute as compared with the general condition of people of the same class in countries of Europe and America. The statistics given on p. 57 of the consumption of food per head of population in Europe and America, and the consequent industrial efficiency of its working population, would help us to compare the broad gulf that separates the Indian workman from the average workman of Europe and America.

The industrial efficiency of the average workman in Europe and America is due to high wages, which make it possible for him to spend more money on food and on the general comforts of life. Men of wealth who run large manufacturing concerns have discovered that high wages lead to cheap production, and have a tendency to improve the

**FOOD EATEN BY DIFFERENT NATIONS.
POUNDS PER INHABITANT.**

Country.	Grain.	Meat.	Sugar.	Butter and Cheese.	Potatoes.	Tee, Coffee, Cocoa.
United Kingdom	378	109	75	19	380	91
France ...	540	77	20	8	570	66
Germany ...	550	64	18	8	1,020	78
Russia ...	635	51	11	5	180	6
Austria ...	460	61	18	7	560	28
Italy ...	400	26	8	4	50	20
Spain ...	480	71	6	3	20	6
Portugal ...	500	49	12	3	40	18
Sweden ...	560	62	22	11	500	112
Norway ...	440	78	13	24	500	144
Denmark ...	560	64	22	22	410	140
Holland ...	560	57	35	15	820	240
Belgium ...	590	65	27	15	1,050	142
Switzerland ...	440	62	26	11	140	110
Rumania ...	400	82	4	9	80	8
Servia ...	400	84	4	9	80	8
United States ...	370	150	53	20	170	162
Canada ...	400	90	45	22	600	72
Australasia ...	377	233	105	21	268	123

moral and material condition of the workman. The better-paid workman is, as a rule, more efficient in his work and requires less superintendence, and is, on the whole, less inclined to drink.

The general poverty of the working classes in India is a problem that needs the immediate attention of the Government and the leaders of public opinion in India. The report of the census of 1911 contains the following observations on the proportion of the population living on agricultural pursuits :

“ As already pointed out, India is pre-eminently an agricultural country. Of its total population, 72 per cent. are engaged in pasture and agriculture—viz., 69 per cent. in ordinary cultivation, and 3 per cent. in market-gardening, the growth of special products, forestry and the raising of farm stock and small animals. The 217 millions supported by ordinary cultivation comprise nearly eight million landlords, 167 million cultivators of their own or rented land,

over forty-one million farm servants and field labourers, and less than a million estate agents and managers and their employés."

A great mass of literature has grown up round the poverty of the working population of India, especially the portion depending on agriculture.

The causes of their poverty have been sought to be explained from different points of view by critics who have ranged themselves in different camps.

The problem of poverty in India requires to be approached from two different sides (probably not yet fully investigated) with a view to arriving at more reliable data for further investigation, and, if necessary, constructive legislation. The study of the expenditure of the poorer classes has both a sociological and an economic aspect. Systematic inquiry based on an intensive study of typical families in different areas, or an extensive study of a group of families, has not been undertaken on lines recommended in the works of Le Play, Engel, Rowntree, Booth and Bolard More.

Professor A. G. Warner, of America, has made a scientific inquiry and valuation of different causes of poverty (principally in America), and his conclusions agree in substance with those of Charles Booth in the general analysis of the causes of poverty and the greater preponderance of the one over the other. The sum total of the whole inquiry is described in the following words: "It will be seen that the chief single cause of poverty is sickness and deaths in the families of the poor. Lack of work stands second. Drink stands third." Causes indicating misconduct average only 21·3 per cent., while causes indicating misfortune average 74·4, or over three times as much. Misfortune is shown to be four times as much the cause of poverty as misconduct. "Dr. Charles Booth counts up twenty-three principal causes of pauperism." He says "that as causes, old age stands first, sickness next, and then comes drink."*

* Quoted in Bliss's "Encyclopædia of Social Reform."

This analysis of the general causes of poverty in Europe and America is capable of a far wider and more general application, though it is based on inquiries made in a restricted area. A study of the causes of poverty in India would ultimately lead to the same conclusions, though, of course, the share of custom and tradition and social control in keeping the lives of people in rigid compartments would occupy a much larger space than in the case of any other country of equal area and population.

The general tendency of critics and social reformers in India is to fix their attention on causes which are more or less secondary. The relation of poverty to crime, the effect of social customs, early marriage and joint family system, rigid caste rules intensifying poverty occupy a much larger share of the attention of social reformers and heads of district administration in India than the primary causes which lie at the root of national decadence.

The temperance movement would naturally attach great importance to miseries arising from widespread intemperance. The order of causes is misfortune, lack of work and drink. Behind them all lies the want of a general system of education which is the predisposing cause of these troubles. It is found after a most thorough inquiry into the causes of intemperance and crime and poverty that good education and the normal efficiency of family and home life help to minimize most of the troubles which create embarrassing difficulties in the administration of a country.

I must now conclude this paper, which of necessity had to go into a rambling inquiry into questions of which the connection will perhaps appear to superficial observers to be rather far-fetched and over-strained.

There are certain moral and psychological aspects of the administration of such a vast country as India which often escape the attention of even well-meaning critics.

Firstly, it requires no unusual stretch of imagination to concede that *any* government in the position of the Govern-

ment of India would be always anxious to become acquainted with the most up-to-date public opinion, whenever and wherever possible. It cannot afford to neglect it or despise it. The Government of India would therefore naturally encourage the free expression of honest and well-meant criticism, provided it proceeds from a proper appreciation of the difficulties of a government which is foreign in theory, but must be taken to be *indigenous* in spirit and intention by every native of India who loves his country and wants to work for its present and future well-being.

The Government of India is the only agency which can help us to carry on our work in uplifting the masses. Any citizen of India who works for his country without due faith in the good intentions of the Government is sure to land his countrymen in hopeless disaster. It is far more advisable to blurt out your indignation in the presence of some responsible member of Government at a private interview than to pour out your bile into the columns of a newspaper, where it is sure to be misunderstood and is liable to mislead ignorant readers.

The second point, which is of equally great importance, is our attitude towards Anglo-Indian officers, whether retired or in service. Intemperate remarks used with regard to their motives and intentions serves no good or useful purpose. In them there is no salvation. Honest and well-meant criticism of administrative measures or of the conduct of individual officers can easily be accepted at its true worth by anybody who has the least insight into human nature. But when criticism of official measures transgresses the limits prescribed by moderation and good sense it only results in creating bad blood on both sides.

A fact which is not often noticed is that the majority of the members of the Civil Service who spend thirty years of the best part of their life in India carry with them a genuine love for the country in which they have lived long and earned their livelihood. This is human nature. The attitude of mind generated by familiar intercourse

with a people alien in character and tradition is naturally one of sympathy. This would be invariably true of the people of any race or nationality who live long and serve in a foreign country. Such is the contagion of human sympathy and neighbourly relations.

The third and the last point, which is of greater importance than the first two, is that nearly every sane native of India, whether England-returned or others, has a most abiding faith in the justice of British rule. Any Anglo-Indian gentleman who seeks to dispute the truth of this remark is sinning against God and man.

To-day the real strength of British rule in India is the moral faith which all the people in the country, of whatever race or creed, or whatever age or sex, have in the power of the Government to guide its destiny and to lead it on in the path of progress and happiness.

It was "Darwin's dictum that those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best."

The future of India rests largely on the extent to which both the Government and the people try to increase mutual sympathy and co-operation. Mutual understanding promotes mutual sympathy, and mutual sympathy develops a strength which is proof against all the misfortunes that can ever befall a people here or hereafter.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Wednesday, April 26, 1916, a paper by the late Mr. S. M. Dikshit, B.A., LL.B., entitled "The Economic Condition of the Indian Workman, with Suggestions for its Improvement," was read by Mr. J. B. Pennington. Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following among others were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Lely, Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Williams Owens Clark, Sir Daniel Hamilton, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. and Mrs. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. S. G. Gayatonde, Mr. Guiry, Mr. I. S. Haji, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. Walton, Mrs. E. F. Kinneir-Tarte, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Griffiths Thomas, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. Haji Alam, Mrs. Palmer, Mr. S. V. Swami, Mr. F. De Monte, Mr. R. Gupte, Mr. R. Sewell, Miss Prendergast, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss Murphy, Mr. Coghlan, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Collis, Mr. F. C. Channing, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Miss A. A. Smith, Miss Lowe, Miss Stephenson, Miss Dove, Mr. J. M. Pollen, Miss Wade, Mr. Bahadur, Miss Ashworth, Mr. S. Nissim, Syed Erfan Ali, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The HON. SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here this evening to hear a paper by the late Mr. Dikshit. Mr. Dikshit had hoped to be able to read this paper to us himself in January last, but he was called away and had to hurry back to India, and he sailed on Boxing Day in the ill-fated *Persia*, and perished when the ship was torpedoed. Mr. Pennington has kindly consented to read the paper, and Sir Murray Hammick has favoured us by consenting to preside.

The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps before we begin, as there may be some ladies and gentlemen here who did not know Mr. Dikshit, I may tell you that he had considerable qualifications for writing such a paper as this, in that he had travelled a great deal in India. I had not the pleasure of his acquaintance myself, but I understand that he saw Bombay and Madras and Rangoon, and he was in Rajputana in a political appointment for some

time, and he then became a pleader in Bombay, where I believe he won golden opinions from all who practised in the courts there; and he then came here for the purpose of studying the relations between England and India, and I am told that all who met him were struck with his gentleness, sympathy and great knowledge of many subjects connected with the economics of India. I am sure it must be for us a matter of great regret that his career was ended so suddenly in such an awful way, and I may express on your behalf the sympathy which this Society feels for his widow, who, I understand, is left in India with a family of young children. It will probably be of some comfort to her to read in our proceedings that we have not forgotten the family whom he left behind him in India.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is of great importance, at this time especially, that men of his class should come to England and see what English life and English culture is, and I understand that one of his chief objects in going back to India was to represent as far as he could to his people the real character of the better classes of England, and especially the women of England. His whole life was more or less that of a missionary, and in carrying out that object he was surely acting for the best interests of both England and India; for it is only by a really sympathetic understanding of the two peoples that we can expect our progress in India to be what we hope it will be in the future (Hear, hear.) I will now call upon Mr Pennington to read the paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with applause) said: It is, of course, difficult to criticize a paper of this kind, because, besides dealing with an enormously big subject, it is really a paper in which the writer rather suggested, I take it, than formulated any definite teaching. I take it that his idea was that there was a comparative absence in India of the study of economics, which I suppose we all agree with; that is to say, that the Indian talent and intellect has not been directed so much in the direction of economics as it has in the direction of philosophy, religion and so on. Speaking for myself of the region of Southern India, I remember reading with great interest years ago a wonderful book, "Buchanan's Tour in Mysore," etc., written, I believe, in 1800. It is a mass of statistical information at that time of the life of the ryot as he found it. From that date down to 1900 or 1902, when Srinivasa Ayangar wrote his "Forty Years' Progress in the Madras Presidency" which is a wonderful store of statistical knowledge as regards life in India, I do not think anyone attempted, outside the Settlement Reports, to bring into the light of day the real economic facts as regards the wage-earner or the ryots of India. That is sufficient to make us agree with the writer of the paper that there has been a neglect of this subject in India, but in the last four or five years there has been a distinct effort made to direct the thoughts of the young Indian in this direction rather than in that of politics. We have now in most of the Indian Universities a Professor of Economics. It was a startling omission when the University staffs were first formed in India that, whilst we provided for almost every other conceivable subject, we omitted in almost all the Universities a Professorship of Economics.

Then, if we begin to criticize the conclusions which the writer has come to, we might sit here for a very long time. With regard to the first, "that the greater the income, the smaller the relative percentage of outlay for subsistence," that is, I suppose, quite true. The second is "That the percentage of outlay for clothing is approximately the same, whatever the income." I do not think anyone who knows India would suggest that was true as regards the Indian. As regards the third, "that the percentage of outlay for lodging or rent and for fuel and light is invariably the same, whatever the income," is hardly true of Indian conditions, and "That, as the income increases in amount, the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater," is not the case in India. Of course, it may be a little greater, but I should say the rich Indian certainly does not spend much more in sundries whether he has a lakh a year or 12,000 rupees. His expenditure on jewellery, perhaps, for the ladies of his family may be more, but I should not think that on sundries for himself he spends much more as his income increases. If he include his family probably it does. Then there are several other points which I will not worry you with here. The statistics as to gaols are very interesting, but there again I should doubt whether actual poverty has half the results in driving people into gaols in India as it has in this country, for instance. India is a very poor country, but to my mind the poverty of India is not the ugly, cruel, revolting poverty that you see in Europe. The poverty of India lies chiefly in the fact that there are, comparatively speaking, few rich people, but, on the other hand, I do not think there is anything like the individual grinding poverty in India that one sees in the City of London, for instance, and certainly not as you may see in Dublin, Liverpool, or other large cities.

I do not think I need say anything more, and I will now leave other people to speak on the subject. I think we ought to express our sincere thanks to him who wrote the paper, for having put forward a paper which really does suggest a course of study which has been sadly neglected in India up to date. It is a subject of importance to the Government of India in a country where the mental distances between the Government and the governed is so great. We look at things from different angles, we cannot help it. One comes from the West and one from the East, and any study which really brings facts about the economic conditions of India before the Government cannot but be of the greatest use to all parties, as tending to the knowledge which leads to that sympathy by which we all expect India to be governed. (Hear, hear)

SIR ANDREW FRASER said that he came with a desire to see some friendly faces and to hear the paper, but that he had had no intention of saying anything. However, he could not resist the kind invitation of the Chairman. He entirely joined in the hearty appreciation of the paper, and he thought he was expressing the mind of all present when he stated his deep regret that the writer had been taken from their midst so suddenly. They would have been glad to have tendered him their thanks, for it was good to think of a man like him going out to India to do such good work as he would have done. The great point in the paper seemed to him to

be that the difficulties of the question were fully realized by the writer, and especially the difficulties of conducting such an inquiry in India. He would like to emphasize the fact that the writer was proposing an inquiry, and was not dogmatically asserting anything. Take, for example, the statement by Dr Engel, to which the Chairman had referred. After setting forth that statement, the writer went on to say "Now, it may be asked whether it would not be desirable to undertake a similar inquiry in India with a view to arriving at reliable statistics of expenditure among the poorer working classes in the country." What the writer was aiming at was having such an inquiry, and he did not think anyone would disagree with him that it might have the highest and the best results. Among the good points in the paper was the evidence of thorough and painstaking study of the question as far as material was available. Such material was not to be found in India in papers available to the ordinary student. But the writer had studied it elsewhere, and he proposed that he, or others, should go on and study it in India. Another good point was the writer's very clear thinking. The wonderful power of our Indian fellow-subjects to grasp our lines of thought, and to make our ways of expression their own, was remarkable, the paper would have done great credit to any Englishman. Another thing was the spirit which characterized the paper. It was a good thing for an Anglo-Indian official to find there were non-official Indians of education and weight who believed that they, (the officials), had really tried to do their duty and had come away from India with a very great love for India and for its peoples. If the advice of the writer were taken by all the reformers in India the path of reform would be very much smoother. He had recently been reading a book by Professor Matthal, of Madras in which he discussed the whole matter of village government and cognate questions. The Professor finds the material for a splendid disquisition on these subjects in papers which are entirely hidden from ordinary people. He had no doubt that similar information existed regarding the subject of this paper, and if they could get men to go into the records and dig out all the treasures that he hidden in them and make these treasures available to all interested inquirers he had not the slightest doubt that they would be of enormous advantage. Anyone who had done Settlement work knew how interesting such inquiries were, and there was no doubt a great deal of valuable information collected. If they could get men possessed, like the writer of this paper, with a real belief in the desire on the part of the Government to do justice and righteousness, to exploit this information, he believed it would be of great advantage. At the end of many years' service in India, it was with great pride that he had seen throughout the whole of India a testimony to the belief of her peoples in the righteousness of the Government and in the great policy which the British Government had carried out in India. (Hear, hear)

SIR FREDERICK LELY said he did not propose to discuss the paper at all, but he thought it was his duty to express his personal appreciation of the author, he had been intimately connected for many years with the author's home, and knew the members of his family. His untimely death

was a sad loss to his family and to his country, and, as the paper showed by its lofty tone, a loss also to the Empire. He would suggest that they should express the feeling of great regret of the Association at his death in some concrete form which might be sent to his friends and relatives in India.

Mr HAJI said It is indeed an irony of fate that so peace-loving, so learned, and so intellectually great a man as our late lamented friend, Mr Dikshit, should be a victim of the most shameful device and method of warfare of the Huns of the time in the blue Mediterranean.

As one of his friends I may be permitted to say, and I am sure many other friends too will join me, that the East India Association has earned the gratitude of the Indian community of this country particularly and Indians generally, for the posthumous honour which the Association most appropriately bestowed on the memory of our friend whose paper on this most important subject has been allowed to be read and discussed among this congregation of varied nationalities.

In these days of shocks which many a family has the honour to suffer for our King and country, the shock which we have felt for Mr. Dikshit's departure from this material world is a unique one. In him we found a true and sincere friend. His interest in the problems of education and economics in India is due to his personal and practical experience. Had the mighty hand of death—not to say the treacherous torpedo of the enemy—spared our gifted friend, we should have seen him also as the author of various treatises on educational and economical questions. Surely there are no words to express our deep sorrow more adequately, for words are inefficient to represent the feelings fully.

His paper you all have heard with great interest. I have no wish to criticize his paper by way of disagreement, so I have little to say as a supplement to his sound suggestion and shall endeavour to be particularly brief.

There are questions to be raised whether economic progress in India should be on Western line or on the Eastern. To those who say that India must have economical organizations on the Eastern line, I say most emphatically, without hesitation, that they are proposing to walk in the wilderness. To those who declare that it ought to be on the Western line, I say that they think wrongly of India and its people. As to the former, my reasons are that, properly speaking, the economic principles which are called Eastern are no less hard to be defined than difficult to be practised in these days of science and civilization. By various acts and enactments and the deterioration of the force of custom, the village community which formed the marked system of economical production and distribution in India is on the threshold of annihilation. The village community can by no means now be called the economic unit. As to the second, it is *ab initio* wrong to apply the principles of the West to India. That is evident from the different nature of the administration. In this country the watchword is liberty, while it is not so in India. No principle of whatever kind takes root unless it is freely proposed and freely practised. In short principles prevailing under certain circumstances

cannot be said, *mutatis mutandis*, to be adaptable under other circumstances of quite diverse nature

The principles which India and its true lovers should have for its economic progress are those of compromise between the Eastern and Western method. It is by understanding the masses that we shall arrive at a compromise. Those who understand the masses are the educated classes of India. They are actually the channel through which the rulers understand the ruled. To this class we have to look as the fountain of economic principles and institutions for Indian workmen. This is what I call my primary suggestion.

The second suggestion is of extreme importance. It pertains to the education of the masses. Education is the *primum mobile* of all progress. I look to the past and present industrial histories of this or any country on the Continent. We find that education and economic progress have synchronized. To avoid one is to lose both. To propose economic progress without education is like putting the cart before the horse. Instead of solving the problem there is every likelihood of making it more complex. Educational in India, being non compulsory, is at the outset hopeless. Education is the only security against the servitude not of working men only but of the masses at large.

In the recent Budget at Simla, I am sure the Indian textile manufacturers and the mill hands equally must have been disappointed in not seeing an export duty placed on raw cotton, in order to enable them to compete more successfully with Japanese textiles which flood the Indian market. The only reason that can be given is that Japan is our ally in this world wide war, but to me it appears a most trifling reason. We are thereby belittling the cause for which Japan has entered into the war, which is that of defending small nationalities, and not of making dollars and exchanging munitions with economical privileges in India, with the effect of oppressing economically the Indian workmen with unspeakable poverty. Wages, the social amelioration and general happiness of the Indian working classes, depend entirely on the healthy condition of Indian industries and manufactures, and on them the future of the Indian Empire depends.

SIR ARUNDELL ARUNDELL desired to share in the expressions of regret at the untimely death of Mr. Dikshit. He fully agreed with the writer's suggestion that the study of economics should be encouraged in India, but one ought not to forget that the conditions in India are totally different to those of England or America, where economics had been studied for so long, and with regard to populations long amalgamated under settled rule. For example, Dr. Charles Booth says that, among twenty three principal causes of pauperism, 'old age stands first, sickness next, and then comes drink.' In the speaker's opinion, the failure of even one monsoon in any province of India had a vastly greater effect than all those causes put together. With regard to drink, he should say the mischief done by drink in India was almost infinitesimal as compared with Great Britain. As to statistics of crime, it must be remembered that there are some sections of the population in India who are by hereditary descent definitely connected

with the practice of crimes of theft and robbery with violence. In one Presidency of India the head of a very extensive caste of this character is an intelligent and well educated man whose personal desires are for loyal service to Government. Such strange conditions of society make one realise how radically the conditions in India differ from those in England.

The study of economics should be pursued in India, but it has been well for India that for the last three quarters of a century the British Government had been doing greatly more important work in devoting themselves, in connection with settled government, to the amelioration of the conditions of the people by irrigation works and railways, which have brought about a marvellous improvement in the condition of the population in India, making the supply of food far less dependent on the produce of small local areas. Education was another ameliorating influence increasing year by year. Again, great progress had been made by the creation of village co operative societies, advocated at the end of last century by Sir Fredenck Nicholson. These would, he believed, produce as remarkable effects among the agricultural population, provided that the danger arising from the unlimited liability of the shareholders was carefully guarded against by a Government audit of the financial accounts of the societies. Another important matter was the recent appointment of the Indian Economic Commission, of which that very distinguished and able expert, Sir Thomas Holland, is the Chairman. He believed this Commission would be the means of bringing about the development of greatly better conditions for the people of India. In conclusion, he wished to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, Sir Murray Hanmick, for his kindness in taking the chair, and to Mr Pennington for reading the paper.

Mr. R. GUPTA, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that he had come into very close contact with Mr Dikshit, who as a matter of fact had personally asked him to attend this meeting and report to him the impression made by his paper, and from the remarks that had been made he thought it had been very much appreciated, and he thanked the audience on Mr Dikshit's behalf. With regard to the questions dealt with in the paper, there were two schools of thought—one always said the country was rich, and the other always said the country was poor. In that there was no confusion of thought, but only confusion of language. He had had a serious warning, as to the discussion of politics, by reading Professor Sheldon Amos's book on the Science of Politics, which warns speakers as to the use of terms and language, when one said "India was rich," they knew what was meant—he meant the country. One came along and said "the country was poor," but of course he meant the people were poor. That is, India is a rich country, but Indians are a poor people. The fact that a man had to "go without" did not prove that his wants were few. The Marwadi was an extreme case, and is the Hindus' laughing stalk. On the other hand, there were certain people who had a large amount of wealth and did not know what to do with it. Professor Bowley in his latest work says that to find out the poverty of a given people we must define society, nationhood, families, and individuals, in the order of

their prosperity. Nationality is nowadays defined on an economic basis, while the divergence of economic conditions in India was complicated by caste, which politically does not cause a difficulty at all

Mr Dikshit was a person who had had "tremendous practical experience" all over India. He was Prime Minister of a Native State, and was in touch with the political thought in the country. Statistics was his special subject. He had told him that his mission in India was, to the best of his ability, to follow in the footsteps of Mr Gokhale. On the other hand, Mr. Dikshit was a reasoning Conservative in "social reform" matters, whereas he, the speaker, was a reasoning Radical. Statistics were Mr Dikshit's great subject as well as economics.

Dr. J. Pollen said that he had been asked by Sir Daniel Hamilton and Sir Andrew Fraser to say that they had wished to support the vote of thanks to the Chairman, but they had been obliged to hurry away to another meeting, and had requested him to do so on their behalf.

The Chairman suitably replied, and the proceedings terminated

LORD KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

"As Chief of the Staff, Berthier had no superior," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "but he was not fit to command five hundred men." The great man was a good judge of men, and he knew that administrative and executive capacity are but rarely to be found combined in the same individual. When they are so combined, their combination makes a great General, as in the case of Cromwell, Marlborough, and Wellington, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon. The latter knew well that good and able service on the staff was no qualification for command in the field, but our military authorities think they know better, and consider good service on the staff as the one and only qualification for the successful leading of troops. To this cause perhaps may be attributed our failures at Maiwand, at Majuba Hill, at Colenso, and in other and more recent instances. The qualities which make an official useful in time of peace are not the same as those which command success in war.

The late lamented Lord Kitchener was one of those exceptional spirits who combine administrative ability with the executive faculty, and thus unite in one personality the attributes of a great captain; and, like Clive and Frederick the Great, he possessed in addition to his military talents the characteristics which go to the making of a great states-

man. As a leader of armies in the field, as an organizer of the military forces of the nation, and as a ruler of a great dependency of the Empire, he was equally capable and equally successful. His untimely loss at this time of national stress and peril, is felt by the whole British Empire as a dire calamity.

Earl Kitchener was sixty-five years of age when he was cut off by a violent death in the height of his activities and at the zenith of his popularity. He entered the corps of Royal Engineers as Second Lieutenant at the age of twenty-one, and it is said that while waiting for his commission he visited France and served as a volunteer with Gambetta's hastily levied armies against the German invaders—an escapade which might have cost him his commission had it come to the notice of the military authorities. This service to the cause of France did not, however, save him from virulent attacks on his conduct and character by the French newspaper Press during the time of the Fashoda incident and the Boer War—a circumstance that may serve to remind us of the fleeting nature of the sympathies and antipathies evoked by the accidents of international diplomacy and the ebullitions of popular sentiment. His first tour of foreign service was in a foreign land; he was selected to serve on the Survey of Palestine undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and thus began his long and intimate acquaintance with the East, with the lands of Islam, and the shores of the Levant. For the next forty years his strenuous career was pursued amid Asiatic and African surroundings. His earliest experiences of the East were gained in Cyprus and in the Holy Land; and in 1879 he was appointed one of the military Consuls whom Lord Beaconsfield intended to be the harbingers of the British influence which that astute statesman had resolved to exert over the Turkish Empire. The policy, though astute, was mistaken, and doomed to failure in the long run; for the aspirations of the Christian peoples of the Balkans and of Armenia for a greater measure of freedom could not be for ever repressed, and the Turkish rule

was doomed to perish through its own rottenness. Mr. Gladstone had the sentiments of the majority of the British nation with him when he reversed Lord Beaconsfield's policy, and abandoned the rôle of protector of the Turk to the Cabinet of Berlin, which eagerly availed itself of an unlooked-for opportunity. Lieutenant Kitchener lost his job, but he was soon compensated by being made Director of the Survey in Cyprus, where he remained till the revolution engineered by the reactionary party in Egypt in the name of Arabi Pasha, and the abolition of the Dual Control, threw the government of that country into British hands. Kitchener, who was now promoted to the rank of Captain, and had done no military duty for nine years, now saw his opportunity, and joined the new Egyptian Army, which was in process of organization by the Sirdar,* Sir Evelyn Wood. The next twenty-five years of his life were spent with that small but most efficient army, and for its efficiency Kitchener was largely responsible. He at first served with the cavalry, rose rapidly to the command of a brigade of infantry, took part in all the fighting with the forces of Mahdism on the frontiers, was severely wounded, became a Brevet-Colonel and a Pasha, and Governor of the Red Sea littoral, and finally succeeded to the post of Sirdar or Chief Commander of the Army. He then planned and carried out the reconquest of the Sudan with consummate ability and complete success, defeating the Dervishes in two decisive battles on the Atbara and at Omdurman, and completely destroying their power. Honours and rewards were now showered upon him: he was created Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, and received the Grand Cross of the Bath, the thanks of Parliament, and a donation of £30,000. Soon afterwards he was summoned from Egypt to the other end of Africa to act as Chief of the Staff to the veteran Lord Roberts. His attempt to storm Cronje's laager at Paardeburg was a

* The word "Sirdar," which in India is applied to every military officer in the Turkish Empire denotes an independent command.

failure; the Boers were better marksmen than the Khalifa's *Jehádiya*, and their surrender was only enforced by more tedious methods. The infirmity of advancing age compelled the old Field-Marshal to resign the command to Lord Kitchener, and the guerilla warfare which followed the fall of Pretoria and the flight of President Kruger lasted for more than a year. French military critics were very sarcastic over the failure of Lord Kitchener with a quarter of a million of British soldiers to bring fifty thousand Boers to book, but they forgot that their own Marshals with the same number of men could never subdue the Spanish guerillas, who were as active and as numerous in 1813 as they were in 1808. Lord Kitchener, by a system of block houses and mobile columns, finally succeeded in wearing down the resistance of the Boers and compelling their surrender. For these services he was made a Viscount and received the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George and a money grant of £50,000.

He was not long left unemployed, but was soon appointed to the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India. There were many doubts and misgivings expressed by old Indian officers as to the wisdom of appointing to such a post an officer who had no previous experience of India and of its native soldiery, and, indeed, this lack of experience sometimes resulted in amusing misunderstandings. Shortly after Lord Kitchener's arrival in India he had occasion to inspect a crack regiment of Indian cavalry. The Colonel conducted him through the regimental lines, in which the rows of picketed horses alternate with the rows of huts in which the men live, two men to each hut. After going through the lines, Lord Kitchener turned to the Colonel and said to him. "And now show me your barracks, show me where your men live." The astonished Colonel told him that he saw their quarters before him. Lord Kitchener, accustomed to Egypt, where the native soldiers are lodged in barracks as in Europe, had taken the men's huts for saddle-rooms. The Egyptian

conscript army, recruited from men of one race and of one religion, presented no complex problems like the voluntary Indian army, with all the peculiarities of diverse castes and jarring creeds. It would be idle to say that Lord Kitchener's régime was popular among the Indian soldiery; he worked them harder than they liked, and the changes of the numerical and local titles of their regiments were displeasing to the men, though their loyalty prevented any overt manifestation of their displeasure. These changes had, indeed, been initiated and planned before Lord Kitchener's assumption of office, but they were carried out under his direction. It is enough to say that he left the Indian Army more efficient, and better organized for war, than he found it, without going into further detail.

In the course of his reforms he came into collision with Lord Curzon. Both the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were men of strong character and of unbending wills. A conflict between them was from the first almost inevitable. Such conflicts between the supreme civil and military authorities had happened before in India, notably between Lord Dalhousie and Sir Charles Napier. The latter was worsted, and resigned in dudgeon, but the great Mutiny of the Bengal Army a few years later avenged his memory. In India there was a Military Member of Council who was the mouthpiece of the Army at the Viceregal Council-Chamber. His functions were, in fact, similar to those of the Secretary of State for War in England, who was the mouthpiece of the British Army in Parliament. But after the death of the Duke of Wellington and the Crimean War, the Secretary for War gradually usurped more and more of the powers of the Commander-in-Chief, and at last superseded that functionary altogether. Mr. Balfour was vexed by Lord Roberts' insistence on the need for increased military efficiency, and to silence him abolished the office of Commander-in-Chief, and placed a civilian and a party politician at the head of the Army. In India a similar process was already in progress. The Military Member of

Council, who had the ear of the Viceroy and his civilian colleagues, was gradually usurping the functions of the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Kitchener would not stand any interference with his authority : Lord Curzon supported the views of his subordinate. One or other of them had to go, and the Home Government supported Lord Kitchener—probably more on grounds of party than of public policy, though their decision was no doubt the right one, on the merits of the case. Lord Kitchener maintained his position as worthily on the social as on the military side in India. He entertained frequently and hospitably in Simla, and inspired esteem among all who knew him, and affection and devotion in all those who were intimately acquainted with him.

After relinquishing the command in India Lord Kitchener visited Japan and Australasia, and gave sage counsel to Australia and New Zealand in the matter of national defence. On his return home he was offered by the Government the post of Inspector-General of the Forces in the Mediterranean—a well-paid sinecure, lately established for no obvious reason, but perhaps to serve as a reward for political partisanship. He declined the offer, and was soon after made British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, where his rule was as popular as it was strong and beneficent. But it lasted only three years. The outbreak of the great European War recalled him, now an Earl and a Field-Marshal, to the management of military affairs at home. The gas-bags and place-hunters who were good enough as chiefs of the British Army in time of peace were replaced at the War Office by a real soldier. Here Earl Kitchener achieved the crowning success of his successful career.

Hampered by the errors of his predecessors and the ignorance of his colleagues, he, like his great French prototype, Carnot, became an organizer of victory. He created new armies that are called, and will always be called, by his name. His achievements are too fresh in the minds of

his countrymen to need recapitulation here, even if we had space to recapitulate them.

And now he is taken from us when our need is at its sorest. But his work remains with us, and our fervent prayer is that our King may find worthy successors to Lord Kitchener to carry it on, and bring it to a triumphant conclusion.

THE GALLANT SERBIANS

BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE

THE celebration throughout Great Britain of the anniversary of Kossovo has again focussed our attention upon the Serbians, who have virtues and a nobleness of manhood which all the world admires.

Their enemies, who were numerically superior, have compelled them to fall and kiss their Mother Earth, but they possess a power of recuperation and capacity of action that will enable them to rise strengthened by the embrace. When the 150,000 Serbian soldiers who were saved by France, England, and Italy, go forth into the battlefield with the Franco-British forces, under Prince Alexander, they will not be long in establishing this fact.

It is the hope of all the friends of the Serbians that this war will result in the establishment of a United States of Yugoslavia. *The Times* says that to the realization of this ideal, to the liberation of his whole race, Prince Alexander is entitled to look forward. In his endeavour to achieve it, he may count upon the support of all that is best in British, French, Russian, and Italian opinion. In the accomplishment of Southern Slav union Italy is, indeed, as vitally interested as are England, France, and Russia; for only in close agreement with a united Yugoslav State—which cannot menace her justified supremacy in the Adriatic—can Italy securely withstand the pressure of the Austro-

German group. Only so can she be sure that her eastern flank and the path to the Balkans will be guarded by a race whose devotion to the cause of European and Balkan freedom is no longer open to any shadow of doubt.

A careful survey of the existing political subdivisions will not only reveal the trickery of Austria, but the impossibility of Serbia ever remaining on friendly terms with a country which both hampers and threatens her economic independence. The unity of the Serbian race, which numbers nearly twelve millions, would defeat the intrigues of Austria, dispel the spectre of Russian Pan-Slavism, and help to bring about that disentanglement for which all honest men so earnestly pray.

The Balkan wars were wars of nations who have been cruelly torn asunder by the Powers that watched with grim satisfaction the bloody struggle of each fragment as it tried to substitute itself for the others.

The failure of Austria's assimilative efforts were completely exposed by the enthusiasm displayed in the Southern Slav provinces at the victories of the Allies in the first Balkan War, and the violent outbursts of anger when Austria forced Serbia to abandon her long-cherished hope for a port on the Adriatic, and insisted on Albania being created an independent State. The bitter hatred of the Southern Slav youth should be a monumental warning to the Powers, for unless something is done to bring about the consolidation of the Serbs, who will never become loyal subjects of a foreign Power, there will be no peace in the Balkans.

The Serbians, who have been called "the French of the Balkans," are a simple, poetic, democratic race, 90 per cent. of whom are agriculturalists. It amazed me to see the crops of wheat, barley, and oats, which the Serbian farmers were able to get from their land with their limited knowledge and lack of modern implements. Prior to the war, agricultural associations were being formed with the object of helping the farmers to purchase seed and implements,

and experts were to give them practical lessons in modern methods.

It is a great delight to visit the Serbians in their homes, for they are the very soul of hospitality. The moment you are seated, a tray containing a jar of preserves, a spoon-stand, and two or three glasses of water, is brought in by the hostess or a lady member of the household, and you are expected to take a spoonful of preserve, place the spoon in the empty compartment, and drink at least half a glass of water. This is followed almost immediately by another tray containing cups of coffee and more glasses of water, over which you enjoy a little chat upon such subjects as are mutually interesting.

The Serbians rarely ever entertain each other except on the day of their *Slava* and one or two other anniversaries. I called on Monsieur Patchitch, the Prime Minister, on the day of his *Slava*, and was inundated with toothsome delicacies by his charming wife and daughters, who, after a little persuasion, spoke to me in English. Monsieur Patchitch is a patriarchal-looking old gentleman to whom nothing is alien. He knows the world as few practical men do, and not only its outer, but its inner life. Insight has led him farther than experience leads the majority, and as I talked with him on a variety of subjects I could not help thinking of Schopenhauer, who said that Nature is intensely aristocratic with regard to the distribution of intellect. The demarcations she has laid down are far greater than those of birth, rank, wealth, or caste in any country, and in Nature's aristocracy, as in any other, we find a thousand plebeians to one noble, many millions to one prince, the far greater proportion consisting of mere *Pöbel, canaille, mob*.

Monsieur Patchitch lives outside the restricted little world of self; and, instead of being interested in things only as they immediately affect his own will, he is interested in the larger, wider life of thought and humanity.

Education in Serbia prospers in a most invigorating

atmosphere. Serbians are becoming alert to the fact that self-culture is the highest duty of man, and that it has many good results, but none that are more sure than the sense of power and self-reliance with which it invests its possessor. We may not know the exact use a man will make of it, but we may rest assured that whatever be the circumstances into which he is thrown, he will be capable of far more, and enjoy far more, if he has had its advantages; and, although education is a large subject, and one worthy of all the wisdom of a nation to deal with, yet every thoughtful man or woman can do something to promote it. Whenever we share what we know with others, whenever we arouse curiosity in a child or answer his questions intelligently, whenever we dispel a prejudice or clear up a doubt, or set a single mind to thinking for itself, we, to that extent, remove the obstacle of ignorance and aid in the grand cause of education.

The national literature of Serbia, which is divided into three periods—ancient, medieval, and modern—is a most instructive study, worthy of the greatest care and attention. The ancient period, ranging from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, is comprised of religious works written principally by monks in the Slav language. The medieval is written in the Serbian language, and, with few exceptions, is the work of laymen. The ancient literature is prose, and quite Byzantine; while the medieval is poetry, with a faint smattering of prose, and distinctly Italian. The literature of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries was written in a hybrid language, and it took Vuk Karadjitch many years to bring about that literary reformation which made these Russo-Slav writings intelligible to the Serbian people. A distinct improvement is shown in the literature of the last half-century.

It has been truly said that it is the heroic spirit breathing in the poems of Serbia that has fanned and kept alive the spark of liberty and patriotism in this people, crushed though it has been through four dark centuries of Turkish

oppression. Many of the epics are devoted to the deeds of Serbian heroes, of whom the greatest and most popular is the "King's son, Marco," whose doings and daring, if not vouched for by history, at any rate lives immortal in innumerable ballads. The historical poems of Serbia seem to date from the great Battle of Kossovo, but their lyrical poetry carries one æons back to the dim and hidden past. These delicate and graceful poems, in which the passions are so openly declared, are mostly composed and sung by women.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE FAR EAST

THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT IN CHINA By P. Y. Saeki, Professor at the Waseda University, Tokyo (*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*) Price 10s 6d. net.

There have been many attempts to throw further light upon this interesting monument since the twentieth century opened, amongst which may perhaps be mentioned the present critic's own modest effort in the *Dublin Review* of October, 1902. The same number published an able article upon the Magi, by Dr L. C. Casartelli, St. Bede's College, Manchester, then Professor of Ancient Persian at the University of Louvain, but that year created, to his professional sorrow, Lord Bishop of Salford. The learned and most reverend author, in a manuscript note to a complimentary author's copy of his paper, referring to the first-mentioned article, independently settles the question which had, unknown to him, already puzzled the minds of Chavannes and Devéria as to the identity of the Chinese *muh hu pah* with the Persian *magubad* (Parsi *moghlu pash*), or "chiefs of the Magi"—a very important matter since treated of more at length by Chavannes and Pelliot in "Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine" (Imprimerie Nationale, 1913), describing evidences buried in the desert caves for 1,000 years.

It would seem, from the zeal with which Professor Saeki defends Christian rights and interests from the historical point of view, that he himself is a Christian, and this seems the more probable in that the Rev. Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil contributes an encouraging introductory note and the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce a preface, whilst, as above shown the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has gallantly undertaken the printing of the work. Nor must the assistance of the Hon. Mrs. Gordon (author of the "World Healers") be forgotten, especially as this generous Irish lady had already ordered a replica of the monument to be made, conveyed to Japan, and erected on the summit of Kôya San (the Holy Mount of Japan, see "Murray's Handbook," p. 351).

It seems evident, from the quaint and artless locutions that peep out here and there, that a considerable portion of the English text is, or was originally, of Professor Saeki's own composition, in which case he may be heartily congratulated upon his mastery of our eccentric language. On the other hand, there are passages, pages, and even "chapters" (were the book divided off into such at all) of a firmness and decisiveness that suggest a more downright supervising author or a more sensitive printer's reader. Half the book is introduction, the other half translation of the monument text, with notes and original Chinese *pieces justificatives*. The index is scanty, and might with advantage have been amplified. The arrangement of the book is irregular, not to say confusing. As to its general objects, Lord Wilham, in his introductory note of recommendation, says "It opens up a new view of the origin of much of the Far Eastern civilization. Perhaps we may not agree with all the author says about Nestorianism." Professor Sayce observes, in his preface, that "it is the work of a Japanese scholar who, needless to say, is able to understand and sympathize with Chinese thought, speech and literature, in a way that no European scholar can ever hope to do, and who at the same time is thoroughly acquainted with the latest results of European scholarship and criticism" and for the first time (*sic*) the story it (the monument) has to tell is fully revealed to us. One of the most interesting of Professor Saeki's suggestions is that in the Chinese secret society called Chin tan Chiao we have the descendants of the Chinese Nestorians. The author, in his own preface, alludes to Dr Takakusu's epoch making discovery of 1896, that the Persian or Syrian priest Adam who composed the inscription was the same person as the King tsing mentioned at the head of the inscription, who assisted the Indian monk Prajña in translating other works from the Syrian. A Chinese named Lu Siu yen did the calligraphy part. Professor Saeki regrets that Max Muller's old colleague Dr. Takakusu, "never pushed his investigation further" as he had promised. He also regrets that Dr Kuwabara, Professor of Chinese (classics and Oriental History at Tokyo, who actually saw the monument *in situ* in 1907, "did not go beyond the external description" perhaps he wished to avoid entering into the textual criticism. Perhaps both gentlemen were prudent and wise. The late Father Havret, S.J. in his monumental work upon the Nestorian tablet ("Variétés Sinologiques," Nos 7 and 12, of 1895 and 1897), really exhausted all there was to be said about the monument, including full details of Dr Takakusu's all important discovery, but his labours were made available only in the French language, and, moreover, the entire absence of any index (a besetting sin with many French *savants*) renders it difficult to follow out the arguments and convolutions in all their complicated dates and details but it was all the same, a wise and *safe* study, in which full justice was done to all previous workers, Catholics or Protestants, hostile or friendly. It cannot be denied that Professor Saeki has "pushed the investigation," especially in so far as regards the history of the Assyrian Church and hitherto inaccessible details about the early Nestorian doings in Syria and Persia. In this he owes many debts to Dr E. A. W. Budge and his "Historia Monastica"

(Book of Governors), also to Dr Wright and his "Short History of Syrian Literature" It would be presumptuous for the present critic, whose humble speciality is Chinese, to express any opinion in this direction On the other hand, Professor Sayce and Lord William Cecil may be trusted to see to it that Professor Saeki's understanding of and sympathy with Assyriology and the Christian religion from his Sino-Japanese point of view do not run him into unexpected and unfamiliar labyrinths from a Western point of view

There is so much "fine confused feeding" to be assimilated that, having once run through the whole, the writer of these lines must reserve his maturer judgment for more careful study in detail Meanwhile there are one or two points on which at least, from a sinological and common sense point of view, an opinion may be hazarded

1 On p. 47 we are suddenly told that 2,000 or 3,000 monks and nuns, "Nestorians and *Muhufu* (Mohammedans)," were ordered by the Emperor, in A.D. 845, to return to private life In the next paragraph the italicized word is written *Muhufa* On p. 88 it is "monks from *Mu hu fu*," as though a place name were meant I here is not a single word of justification, either previous or subsequent, for translating the word as "Mohammedans," and the heresy is hereby rejected without qualification *totus teres atque rotundus* (always providing that "heresy" can be fitted with a masculine adjective) At the same time, a charitable suggestion is offered as to how Professor Saeki may possibly have fallen into this strange blunder The uxorious Emperor K'ien lung, after his conquest of Kashgar, constructed at Peking in 1764 a mosque for the benefit of a beautiful Kashgarian girl he had added to his harem In describing the whys and wherefores of all this upon a memorial tablet he mistook the *moni* of the Manicheans for the *mollas* of Islam One unfortunate result of this mistake was that in 1897 Chavannes published a pamphlet adopting the view that the *moni* of Chinese history were Mohammedans, apparently taking it for granted that the most learned of modern Chinese monarchs must be right The following year Devéria, in a moderately worded counterblast, entitled "*Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois*," clearly pointed out the grave error into which Chavannes had been led, and ever since then (as already shown at the head of this notice) it has been universally accepted by "those who know" that *muhufa* stands for the Manichean and Mazdean *maqābad*, just as *mu an-la* stands for the *mollas* of the Jews and of Islam (being a word of Turkish provenance meaning "administrator")

2 The multitude of his well-wishers, assistants, and advisers has got Professor Saeki into a terrible muddle of speculation, misquotation, and even mistranslation as regards the connection between Nestorians, Mohammedans, and modern Christians—such a muddle that it is difficult even to define it, let alone to extract him from it unbesmirched To put it tersely—without adducing any real evidence, he doubles or even quadruples the Mussulman population of China as estimated by the China Inland Mission, by the d'Ollone Mission, and by the latest English and French sinological authorities, then he proceeds to develop a strange suggestion made by the

Rev Timothy Richard that the Kin tan Kiao, or Golden Elixir Teaching, as developed by Lu Yen in the eighth century, may have some connection with the Nestorians then in China, and that Lu Siu-yen, who did the calligraphy, may be the same man as the Lu Yen mentioned by Dr. Richard; next he proceeds to assume that the Nestorians, who disappeared so suddenly after the persecution of 845, really did not disappear at all, but for protection's sake went to swell the numbers of the Mussulmans, and, finally, he quotes Dr Richard's statement that 15,000 of the Kin-tan Kiao believers in 1891 were massacred by the Government under the false charge of being rebels, "if we are to credit good men who were living in the midst of the troubles"—a very vague reference indeed.

Now the question of Mussulman population is, of course, one of specific evidence. to accept 20,000,000, or even more with Professor Saeki, would be to admit that every twentieth man, woman, or child in the whole realm of China is a Mussulman. Apart from (1) the scattered sea-coming early Arab settlements at Canton, Zaitun (roughly Amoy), Hangchow, etc., whose very small shadow still remains at those places, and (2) the specially-accounted for "Panthays" of Yun Nan, the modern Chinese Mussulmans, whether Turki, Ulgan, or Chinese by origin, may be said to be conterminous with the provinces and regions producing mutton and millet (or wheat). It is well known that sheep will not thrive or even live in 75 per cent of the Chinese provinces, the Kaiser was thus not far wrong, from the *über Alles* point of view, when he conceived the characteristically Prussian idea of driving in the pigs in order to drive out the Mussulmans from his African colonies. The published Manchu annals up to 1908 (*Tsun hwa Iuh*) give a full account of the well known Tsai ts secret society rebellion of 1891-1892, and specially mention that it was anti missionary, chiefly anti Catholic, the word *Kin tan* does not seem to occur at all. Dr Richard was writing able articles in the *Chinese Recorder* at the time, but says nothing of either the rebellion or the *Kin tan*, whilst the editor himself curtly records that the rebels were being crushed, the area involved, though Mongol in population, was really the extra-mural parts of Chih Li province, where the present writer himself has roamed. Lu Yen simply developed the Golden Elixir theories of the Taoist mystic Koh Hung, otherwise known as Pao pu tsz, a list of Elixir authors from his time (fourth century) to A.D. 1100 is given in the "literary chapter" of the Sung dynasty history, the term *Kin-tan Men* (= School) or *Kin-tan Tao* (= Principles) is also used as well as *Kin tan Kiao*. In order to fit Lu Yen to Lu Siu yen, Professor Saeki substitutes for the former's invariable name (written with a mountain over "three mouths") the character used in the latter's invariable name (written with a mountain over "severe"), it is as though a patriotic Scotchman (regardless of evidentiary documents) should eagerly trace the founders of the Allan line to Admiral Sir Thomas Allen of Charles II. times. Moreover, the "King of the Sons of God," from whom Lu Yen (p. 54) received his mystic formula, is an absurd mistranslation for "Philosopher of Due South" (because he was born in a summer month), while his "real name, which does not seem to be given" (but which is given on p. 54), is not "The Warning Bell which does not

trust physical force," but "Power Chung li," *Power* standing for what we should call his Christian name, and *Chung li* being one of the still-existing double family names (or surnames as we say in English). Either Dr. Richard or Professor Saeki has been copying a wrong character from Mayers, *i.e.*, *wing* for *ch'eng*, "king" for "strught."

Lord William Cecil's old personal acquaintance Twanfang (the able Viceroy who was murdered in January, 1912, during the revolution) would be startled if he read the translation of his stone inscription (p. 258), a rubbing from which, we are told, can be seen in the Uyeno Museum, Tokyō "the various Synan principalities is translated "tribes of Tibet, Ephraim, and other countries," whilst the important allusion (after the seven missing Chinese characters in the original, p. 271) to the action of Her Majesty the Dowager Empress Wu Ts'ch'ien is quietly slurred over and omitted, having evidently been misunderstood by the translator. It is impossible to believe that the genial Dr. Takakusu (known in a friendly and familiar way to his Lancashire hosts and admirers as "Tacks"), or the learned historian Dr. Kuwabara could possibly approve of their names being associated with such ill digested work as this.

There is, however, much in Professor Saeki's book that, if properly sifted and translated, might be of the greatest value. But as matters now stand it would be better for the reputations of all concerned to recall, revise, and republish it, for the points above enumerated are only a fraction of those requiring grave reconsideration.

E. H. PARFEE

MIDDLE EAST

TWO VIEWS ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION By F. R. SCATCHERD

I

There is a refreshing definiteness about American opinions and pronouncements which is sometimes disconcerting to minds steeped in the conventional culture and traditions of the older schools of thought.

When American opinion is erroneous it is generally very much in error, but when on the right track it frequently gets very close to the central heart of the matter in question. In either case, it has no hesitation about flinging its convictions to the four winds of heaven, regardless of consequences or contradictions, and is ready to abandon the most cherished conclusions once it perceives them to be wrong.

Hence the growing impatience that characterizes an increasing number of the American public at what it considers to be a weak kneed, shuffling, temporizing policy on the part of those in authority with regard to questions that vitally affect the interests of the New World almost as much as the Old.

American thought is too rapid to deal in circumlocutions, half truths, or side issues. It goes for the bull's eye every time, and generally hits the target. The only trouble is that it may select the wrong target. On the other hand, the British mind is slow to form an opinion, still slower in abandoning it when once formed. Rarely, indeed, will it reconsider its premises, or argue

from effects back to causes. It fights shy of the inductive method all the time, and needs a catastrophe to compel attention to the fact that, where results are disastrous, they must be the outcome of precedent facts or causes which should be abandoned or modified.

II

These diverse attitudes of mind are strikingly illustrated by two little volumes on Armenia which have recently come to my notice.

Dr Herbert Adams Gibbons has just issued a small work* which should be in the hands of every friend and foe of Armenia. No one can claim lack of time to acquaint himself with facts on which to pass judgment, for they are placed before him in some seventy pages of clear type the contents of which could be mastered in an hour.

Dr Gibbons has gone straight to the point, foreseen objections, and scored on every issue. Having ascertained the facts and fixed the responsibilities, he unhesitatingly passes judgment.

Here are his own words:

It is because the Armenian massacres in Turkey are clearly established, because responsibilities can be definitely fixed, and because an appeal to humanity can be made on behalf of the remnant of the Armenian race in the Ottoman Empire without the slightest suspicion of political interest, that I feel it advisable *and imperative* at this moment to call attention to what is undoubtedly the blackest page in modern history, to set forth the facts, and to point out the responsibilities.

Lest it should be objected that the author is incompetent or prejudiced, Dr Gibbons tells us that he went to Turkey in the first month of the new regime, and that he remained in Asia Minor and Constantinople until after the disastrous war with the Balkan Powers. He took part in the fetes to celebrate the new order at Smyrna, Constantinople, and Beirut, and was at Adana before, during, and after the massacre of April, 1909.

He makes these personal references with reluctance, in order, as he says:

That I may anticipate exception to my statements on the ground that I am "not acquainted with the problem," and that "it is impossible for an outsider to form a judgment on these matters." For I have always found that the Turk *and his friends*, when you speak to them on the Armenian question, flatly deny your facts and challenge the competency of your judgment.

I venture to suggest that others have shared the experience of Dr Gibbons in these respects.

What are the facts? That in the spring of 1915 a carefully prepared plan for the extermination of the Armenian race was put into execution, so diabolical in its skilfulness that nearly a million Armenians were put to death in six months in a manner that is unparalleled in modern history.

* "The Blackest Page of Modern History: Armenian Events of 1915," by Herbert Adams Gibbons, PH.D. G. F. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Price 75 cents net.

And Dr Gibbons regards Germany as the chief criminal, for Germany, who alone among European nations had the power to stop these atrocities, not only refrained from doing so, but actually encouraged them

Dr Gibbons puts this question in his conclusion

Have neutral nations any responsibility in regard to the Armenians?

He points out that in common with French, British, Germans, and Italians, the American and Swiss have helped in the education and advance of the Armenian people

*Were they seeking out victims to deck with garlands for the sacrifice?
Were they fattening the calf for the slaughter?* Do not say no! For the practical result of their efforts to elevate the Armenian race is that long journey from home to the valley of the Euphrates—now become the Valley of Death

Let us think hard And then for God's sake, let us act!

III

Captain Dixon Johnson has had the advantage of extensive travel in the Mediterranean, and may be deemed to have first hand knowledge of the Turk His opinions, therefore, are deserving of careful attention But his book* must have proved a grievous disappointment to his best friends, Moslem and Christian alike

Of the good qualities of some and particularly of the un Germanized old Turks, there can be little doubt, and such may well pray Allah to defend them from a friend who apologizes for and justifies conduct which some of them would rather die than sanction Witness the heroic protest, sealed with his life, of a Kurdish Moslem mullah at the village of Azvout, near Mouch, recorded by Henry Barby in *Le Journal* of June 15 of this year

The assassins, having set apart the youngest and most beautiful of the Armenian women, assembled all the others, with their children, in one house They were so closely packed that they had to stand upright one against the other The executioners then prepared to set the house on fire Just then a Kurdish Moslem mullah intervened "There is no religion, Moslem or Christian, which permits the burning alive of women and little children" he declared, and, hoping to prevent the crime, he shut himself up in the house His intervention only provoked laughter, the house was fired, and the priest perished with the unfortunates he had endeavoured to protect.

Captain Dixon Johnson's notions of historical proportion are odd He gives the history of the Armenians before they were really a nation, properly speaking, skips all mention of the glorious and imperishable epoch when they became a learned and enlightened people, and jumps thus from A.D. 430 to 1079, when the Seljuks swept through the land.

And this is true of the majority of Turcophiles, who, in the innocence of

* "The Armenians," by C F Dixon Johnson. George Toutoum and Sons, Northgate, Blackburn Price 6d



LORD KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM

With permission of the Khedive

their hearts, attribute their own meaning to terms used by their Turkish friends.

When Captain Dixon-Johnson and others assure us that the Armenians massacred were mostly men, the women and children being *kindly treated*, and only deported on account of political necessity, some of us know by bitter experience the probable sense of those terms.

These miserable victims were treated with kindness from the official Turkish point of view, just as were the dogs of Constantinople, where I was staying at the time. Hearing of their impending doom, I went to plead for them. Mavrocordat Bey, then Minister of Agriculture, received me courteously, assuring me no harm should befall them, and that they would be treated with all possible kindness. I left Constantinople happy in that belief. His Excellency kept his word. The poor canines were neither mercifully killed nor poisoned. They were, as everyone knows, deported to a barren island, given food enough for one day, and died raving mad with hunger, thirst, and disease.

His knowledge of the psychology of the Turk leaves much to be desired. It is perfectly true that the Turkish soldier is the only gentleman among the Central Powers and their allies, and all the Entente Powers gladly admit the fact. The Turk is always courteous and gentlemanly to those whom he regards as his equals. But the whole record of Ottoman rule goes to show that it will be an unspeakable crime to thrust the Christian races of the Near East back under the dominion of those who have so misused their power in the past.

Statements are made which suggest ideas the reverse of the truth. He speaks of Lord Bryce and the "friends of Armenia" appealing for funds to equip the Armenian volunteers, and suggests that these Russian Armenian volunteers were being undoubtedly armed by Russia in order to foment a revolution. He is not sure of himself, and relies mainly on quotations from other writers to support his contentions.

Sir Mark Sykes's, "*The Caliph's Last Heritage*," is drawn upon largely for this purpose, and Sir Mark Sykes's comment upon the use made of his work may fitly close this already too long reference to a work which it is difficult to believe the author himself takes seriously.

Writing to *The Times* on April 20 of this year, Sir Mark Sykes says

SIR,

It appears that certain persons have thought it worth the expense to circularize the members of the House of Commons with a sixpenny pamphlet entitled "*The Armenians*," by C. F. Dixon-Johnson. In the pamphlet are several quotations from books of mine, and in the preface is the following sentence: "The writer desires to thank those authors and travellers whose works he has so freely quoted, and upon whose information he has relied for the historical and geographical notes, as well as Professor Henry Leon, Mr. Robert Fraser, and other friends who have afforded him their most valuable assistance." I find that this sentence has been construed by some of my friends as meaning that I am in some way connected with the work, or at least in sympathy with the underlying

ideas which inspire its author or authors. I therefore take this opportunity of stating that I have the very deepest sympathy with unfortunate Armenian peoples whose millennium of martyrdom is, I hope and believe, reaching its final stage, and that the horrible sufferings which they are now enduring are but a part of that profound darkness of the dying Eastern night which heralds the sudden and glorious dawn.

I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

MARA SYKES

INDIA

MRS BESANT'S VIEWS ON HOME RULE

INDIA A NATION A PLEA FOR INDIAN SELF GOVERNMENT By
Annie Besant (London *T C and F C Jack*) Price 6d And
HOW INDIA WROUGHT FOR FREEDOM (*T P S*, London) Price
4s 6d

Mrs Besant has done good service in collecting into this small and handy volume ("India A Nation") the materials of the case against the Government of India and though of course it is only the case for the prosecution stated with considerable forensic skill, it is still a formidable indictment and demands very careful attention.

We all agree that the masses in India are lamentably poor, and some of us would even agree that labour there, as in most other countries, has never received its fair share of the produce of labour (except, perhaps, where it is, or has been, paid in kind, as under the old Hindu system which still prevails in many parts of the country) and no one who knows anything about the revenue administration of any presidency would deny that the assessment is often unequal and does in many cases trench on the means of subsistence, even though it may be as low as it well could be. Mrs Besant, however, insists that our taxation of the land as a whole is "crushing" (though it certainly does not amount on the whole to 5 per cent of the gross produce) and gives instances from some Bombay villages where the average assessment amounts to as much as Rs 5 1 6 per acre, and Rs 8 1 2 per head and (quoting Mr Dutt), asserts that in certain selected cases, which must obviously be quite exceptional, the assessment amounted to as much as 96 per cent of the produce. Now, in the village where I lived fifty years ago, where the cultivation is the finest I have ever seen anywhere and the people were certainly as prosperous as farmers usually are, the *average* assessment before it was revised by the Settlement Department was 26 *rupees an acre*, reduced by Mr Puckle to 20 rupees for a period of thirty years. But then the land had the advantage of an unflinching supply of water, and produced two equally valuable crops every year without fear of failure. What the acreage and population of Shermadevi then and now may be I cannot remember, but it is obvious that the enormous increase of population, in spite of the enormous mortality which Mrs Besant so properly deplors, must alone account for a great deal of the extra pressure on the soil which is one of the most serious difficulties created by our comparatively peaceful rule.

Parenthetically even Mrs Besant admits that other causes besides "crushing taxation," such as child parentage and the frightful struggle for existence, "contribute to the low vitality of the working population."

It is impossible in a short review to discuss as they ought to be discussed all the economic problems with which Mrs Besant deals so cleverly in one short chapter of fifteen pages. I should have to repeat the great bulk of what has been said as tersely as possible by many writers on the other side in the volume entitled "Truths about India," which is now being re-issued as a single volume with a fairly comprehensive and most useful index. My chief complaint against Mrs Besant is her obvious bias against the British Government, and that she never seems to consider fairly and squarely the alternative to British rule. It is quite possible that, even from the imperial point of view, as Sir M. E. Grant Duff used to say, "the interference in the affairs of India by Great Britain was the greatest blunder ever committed by any nation", but what is the use of saying that now? We have become the rulers of India far more by the inexorable course of events than by deliberate design. "British rule itself was a haphazard, unpremeditated thing,"* and it is not easy to see how we could at once divest ourselves of the burden or glory, whichever it may be with safety to ourselves or the extremely heterogeneous, not to say inharmonious, peoples of the Indian continent. Surely the only fair question for our critics is whether any other nation would have done better than we have done. To speak of India as a nation, as if it was even yet in any sense homogeneous or even united in its aims, is, *pace* Mrs Besant and Mr Radhakumud Mukerji (p. iv), surely premature. At least, so think a vast number of old Indians, who are no less devoted to the country than Mrs Besant herself, but who cannot see that India under any conceivable system is at all fit now for complete self-government as apparently advocated by her. That is not to say that the present system is perfect—far from it. It only means that we cannot see how India could stand alone without a considerable European army, and we have to admit that as long as England, or any other foreign Government, is responsible for its safety, some drain of wealth is unavoidable. As to this point Mrs Besant, who does not even allow "Truths about India" a place in her bibliography ("How India wrought for freedom," p. 707), let alone Mr. McMinn's monumental paper, does not, I think, refer to the enormous flow of gold *into* India for many years past. India was, no doubt, in the good old times—shall we say one thousand years ago?—a wealthy and in many parts, comparatively speaking, well governed country, but was there ever a time when she absorbed gold (if that is wealth) more copiously than she has done for years past?† And when Mrs Besant speaks of "self government for five thousand years," does she include the last one thousand since the Muhammadan invasions began? It is quite true, as I have said elsewhere in this *Review* (p. 267 of the number for April), that the villages have always managed their own affairs to a certain extent, but that is not the kind of "self

* "Education and Statesmanship in India," by H. R. James p. 6 1911

† See p. 268 of this *Review* for April, 1916

government" Mrs Besant is clamouring for. As a very minor point, only of importance as showing her bias against the existing Government and her desire to make the worst of it, she rakes up the old cotton excise duty, which can be no grievance except to a few well-to-do manufacturers, and is essentially as fair a tax as the countervailing duty on bounty fed sugar. She says that "an Indian Government would place heavy duties on" (all?) "incoming products until the infant industries could hold their own." This would clearly be taxing the poor for the benefit of certain manufacturers who appear to "hold their own" very well as it is (see Mr Samuel Smith, pp. 138, 139 of "Truths about India"). What did the late Mr. Harvey say? Did he ever ask for "Government help" or "Protection" in establishing his many prosperous mills in the south? (see the discussion on Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper, p. 374 of this *Review* for April, 1913) "Up to the middle of the eighteenth century England was almost exclusively an agricultural country"* India was then the great manufacturing country, and we had to learn from her, but, as Mrs Besant herself admits, "the influx of machine-made goods" (in other words, the invention of machinery) "must inevitably have brought about widespread changes," though, true to her principle of losing no opportunity of depreciating the British Government and people, she adds that "a system of government which had sought India's prosperity instead of Britain's enrichment would have made possible a transition instead of a destruction." Not a word to show that in those days England had little or no responsibility for the government of India, and that the East India Company were merely a company of merchants trading to the East. We may well ask why India was defeated so completely when machinery was invented. Mr Ellis Barker would say it was her "apathy" and perhaps "luxury". As he says, "Necessity is not only the mother of invention, but of exertion . . . Hence we find that civilization has developed most powerfully in those countries where life is hard."†

Having said so much in criticism of Mrs Besant, it is necessary to make it quite clear that I agree with her so far in thinking that the time has come for a really serious advance in the direction of improving the position, or what might be called the status, of Indians in the administration of their own country, especially in the army, but I cannot now discuss the details of the various schemes that have been suggested by experienced officials like Sir Walter Lawrence and Mr. Smeaton, though a good deal might be said for both of them.

J. B. PLUNNINGTON (I.C.S., ret.)

THE TALE OF THE TULSI PLANT AND OTHER STUDIES By C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S. (*D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay.*)

This is a well written booklet dealing with many subjects of Indian history and mythology, mostly connected with the country of the Mah-

rattas There are two articles on the Bakhars—family histories—of the Dabhades and the Gaikwads, now rulers of Baroda The latter family name means, as the author points out, not "cowherd," as is usually supposed, but "cow door," and he gives the origin, which was that Nandaji, the founder of the family, opened a door (*lavad*) in the fort wall, and saved some cows (*gai*) from the Musalman butcher The history of the Peshwas lives again in this volume We read of Sakvarbai's forced *Sati* "She met her fate like a high born Maratha lady, and just before the end had the fortitude to give Balaji her jewelled earrings and her blessing," and many other tragic old tales, such as the forgotten battle field of Talegaon, where an English army surrendered in 1779, and the stirring story of the foit of Sholapur, most of the buildings of which were founded on a human sacrifice The writer is equally at home whether he writes on historical facts—he identifies Akbar's Christian wife as the Portuguese Maria Mascarenhas, whose sister married in 1560 the first of the Indian Bourbons—or on quaint stories of the gods of the Hindus We can here read the history of the three plants the Tulsi, the Shamu tree, and the Bel, and he winds up by charming essays on the proverbs of Western India, giving us the sayings of Kathiawar, the Deccan, the Parsees, and the Musalmans—a rich field of philosophical savings A F S

THE PERMANENT HISTORY OF BHARATA VARSHA Vol I By K Narayana Tyer, B A (*The Bhadrara Press, Tirutandrum*)

In a preface, somewhat difficult to follow, the writer tells us that he has, in this book, "no original plan to vindicate, no new theory to propound, no fresh commentary to offer" in his strictures on the great works, the Ramayana and the Maha Bharata He excuses his slight knowledge of Sanscrit—which seems to the ignorant reviewer profound enough!—and tilts with some strenuousness and success at the "higher criticism" of the two epics he deals with and the Puranas Not without truth does he refer disparagingly to one school—"I refer to the sect that preaches Hinduism, admires Buddhism, and believes in several other isms There are greater chances for an educated Hindu to fall into the errors of this theosophical creed, as the English language, in which the theories of this sect are expressed, especially under the garb of reasoning is likely to appeal to him better than his own mother tongue" He opposes this, and this commentary is the result, and its learned notes on the two great portions of the Itihasas cannot be without interest and value to other seekers after truth within the Hindu fold

ASIRPAIASTAN AND NIRANGASTAN Translated by Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara, M A (*The British India Press, Masagan, Bombay.*)

This handsome volume contains, as the title page tells us at length, the Code of the Holy Doctorship and the Code of the Divine Service, portions of the Great Huparam Nask on the order, the ministry, offices, and equipment of the divines of the Church of Zarathustra, translated from

Pahlavi and in a manner approved of by the Pahlavi scholars Shams-ul-Olama Dastur, Darab Peshotan Sanjana, and Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria. It is collated with pious care with the basal Avestan text, and with rare studiousness the translator has specially indicated which of the glosses and emendations are his own. He says that no edition of the work is post Sassanian, and that "it may be even said that there is not the least sign of any such edition after the time of Chosroe the Great", and he considers that the basal matter belonged to the same period as the Avesta. His introduction gives an essay on the ministry of the Zarathustrian Church, and one on its Grand Ritual. In the first he identifies them with the Magi, and describes them as "the most sapient of sages, most profound of philosophers, and most holy of adepts," whose vision "led them to the infant Christ, and foretold the blessings of His mission to mankind." Their selection, instruction, initiation, and orders, are all described, and as a sequence the ritual they officiated in and administered. This ritual included the sacred drink, the sacrifice of animals (which seems to have been a symbolic rite), and other rites of "the Eternal Spirits and Ideals which aim at a union with the Holy Idea of Perfection and the Most Excellent Good Mind." Students of ritual of all religions will find much to interest them in this scholarly exposition of the ecclesiastical offices of the Zarathustrian priesthood.

THE HINDU PHILOSOPHY OF CONDUCT By M. Rangacharya, M.A. Rao Bahadur Vol. I (Madras *The Law Printing House.*)

This large volume on the Bhagavadgita consists of a series of class lectures which took two years for the author, who was formerly Professor of Sanscrit at the Presidency College, Madras, to deliver. He, like many others, has felt that modern Indian education has "had to be so largely European in spirit and aim, it has inevitably produced a yawning gulf between the imported new thought" and the indigenous historic life with its traditions and sacred beliefs. He knew that this gulf should be bridged securely and soon, and an attempt ought to be again made to fuse the old thought of the East with the new thought of the West "into one wisdom", and the outcome of this desire were the lectures on the Bhagavadgita, which are here reprinted in a revised form. They are dedicated to the writer's former master, the late Principal of the Madras Christian College, from whom he "derived much guidance and inspiration in early life," and who thus helped to build the bridge between East and West. In a comment on one of the *Slokas* there is an interesting essay on caste, and there are many other texts which call for weighty emendations showing their value and connecting them with Western thought. A good review of this book, like that of all books of its class, to be useful would need to be of many pages. We will only now in our short space say that it is learned—as one would expect from its author—thoughtful, and conscientious, and presents the Hindu rule of life and conduct to the Western reader in a very favourable way.

THE NEAR EAST

FORTY YEARS IN CONSTANTINOPLE THE RECOLLECTIONS OF SIR EDWIN PEARLS, 1873-1915. With 16 illustrations (*Published by Herbert Jenkins, Ltd., Arundel Place, Haymarket*)

SIR EDWIN PEARLS in his interesting book records with singular knowledge the various political phases that Turkey has undergone during the last four decades of her history. The narrative he gives us of the intercourse he had with high Turkish officials, and above all with the Shâik ul Islam Sahib Mollah, who had proved himself a man, during the perturbed reign of the Sultan Abdul Hamid, are as characteristic as they are entertaining, and we cannot but marvel at his unflinching memory, which enabled the author to remember so many good stories and "bon mots" without the help of his notebooks or memoranda. For, as Sir Edwin tells us in his preface, he had to leave these behind, when compelled to leave after Turkey's declaration of war. We must certainly give him the credit of having gained an invaluable insight into the entangled affairs of Turkey, and, what is more, to have exercised from the start a beneficial influence. As correspondent of the *Daily News*, he was the first to disclose the truth about the Bulgarian atrocities to an incredulous Europe. When Sir Edwin Pears arrived in Constantinople in 1873, his first impression was that the glamour of the Crimean War was still on the British community. From Sir Henry Paget, the then British Ambassador, downwards, they were all Turcophiles, and thought it their duty to be so. It was Gladstone alone who subsequently stood up for the massacred Christians, whilst Disraeli, then Prime Minister, thought it the correct policy to treat the matter lightly.

Close upon it followed the Russo-Turkish War. And with reference to it the author quotes a statement which Sir William White, at the time the English Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, had made to him on good authority—namely, that at the time of this conflict Bismarck seems to have been the only man who knew of the secret arrangement with Austria, by which Russia was permitted to cross the Balkans in consideration of Austria having the right to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bismarck also knew that Austria was making arrangements for mobilizing her army, because Russian troops had pushed on to San Stefano. Nor was this shrewd diplomatist ignorant of the preparations of the British Fleet. In fact, he telegraphed to the Emperor of Austria, advising him to do nothing, that "England will do our business." The result was that Austria did not mobilize. The English Fleet, arriving at Besika Bay in the nick of time, thus obtained the credit, or the odium, as the author puts it, of having saved Turkey from the Russian occupation of its capital.

SIR EDWIN seems to have been on terms of personal friendship with the long line of Ambassadors who were at Constantinople during the forty years of his residence in Turkey. He speaks with high appreciation of Lord Goschen, who was sent on a special mission, and of Lord Dufferin, who handled so ably the Egyptian Question.

He pays great tribute, and rightly so, to the American missionaries Washburn and Long, and the educational work they did among the Armenians and Bulgarians with the excellent schools they instituted for them. In connection with his characterization of Abdul Hamid, he narrates how the Armenian massacres came about at the instigation of this worst of all Turkish Sultans, and under the very eyes of Europe! How this assassin on the throne had to abdicate at last is one of the most interesting chapters of the book. The masterly way Abdul Hamid was disposed of and his successor appointed without bloodshed and revolution will ever be considered a glorious act effectuated by those worthier Osmanlis who really had the good of their country at heart. That such men existed amid so many intriguers was a surprise to Europe, who had long given up Turkey as the sick man for whom there was no remedy. That there have since been relapses, alas! is only too true, and one proof, nor the only one, are the repeated massacres in Armenia. Yet we must take into consideration that those massacres, perpetrated from time to time until again quite recently, are chiefly being done, not by Turks, but by Kurds, a nomad race which has remained on the same level for centuries, whilst their kinsmen the Osmanlis have developed into the nation they are now. These Kurds are for the greater part subjects of the Persians and of the Osmanlis respectively, who are both unable to control them, they live by cruelly plundering and slaughtering their thrifty Armenian neighbours.

The criticism that Sir Edwin exercises on Turkey in general, and especially on its recent anti English policy, is that of a friend. Nor can anyone do otherwise who has lived so long as he has done amongst a people who, besides well known faults, have many amiable qualities, and have, after all, had a great past.—L. M. R.

DOMESTIC LIFE IN ROUMANIA. By Dorothea Kirke. (*John Lane*) 6s. net.

"It was not long before I learned that the kindly regard for English folk you find among the upper classes of Russia is to be traced direct to the influence exercised in the nursery by spare figured English governesses." So John Foster Fraser. "Millie Ormonde" writes to her male friend in England from the house of a Roumanian family in which she is governess. That she lived up to the standard set by the great traveller we have no sort of doubt. And what is more—at any rate for the reader—she gives a most readable account of the happenings in an intérieur in Bucharest. Her employers are of Jewish origin, but we are well assured more Roumanian than the Roumanians themselves—or, if not, she has, at any rate, made them and their children very interesting. The epistles to Edmund are, however, not all from the Paris of the Balkans: Sinai and Constantinople are amongst the places visited. The great bridge across the Danube, it may be added, was a Roumanian national undertaking, and not built by foreign engineers.

GREECE TRIUMPHANT. By Captain Trapmann. (London: Forster Groom and Co.)

The above is a very enthusiastic account of the part played by the Greeks in the first and second Balkan Wars, given with a wealth of detail which we have failed to find elsewhere. The author shows a quiet humour which makes his book very readable—in fact, in spite of the mass of facts with which he has had to deal, there is not a dull page in the whole book. It is well illustrated, and furnished with some excellent maps.

APERÇU SUR L'ÉTAT DE L'INDIANISME. Par Godfroy de Bloney. (*Attinger Frères*: Editeurs, Neuchâtel.)

This learned Essay has been compiled by its author to be read at the inauguration of an Indian Chair founded in December, 1915, at Neuchâtel. It has been sent to us, and it certainly deserves a notice in our columns. M. de Bloney has succeeded in giving us a complete survey of Indian history from the time when that now almost forgotten traveller, Scylax of Karanda, a delegate of King Darius, investigated the course of the Indus, to the time when Vasco de Gama's ship cast anchor at "Calicut." He dwells on the ambition of Alexander and his campaign to India, and how he succeeded in linking together two civilizations. It is one of those far-reaching incidents in the history of nations which has brought about that phase of Indo-Greek statuary and coins which have proved of late of so much interest to the students of Oriental art.

M. de Bloney gives us moreover a concise and lucid description of Indian intellectual life—the philosophy of Brahminism and Buddhism; nor does he neglect to dwell upon those oldest literary monuments "the Vedas," which flashed upon us suddenly like sudden dawn.

The authorities to whom M. de Bloney refers are surprisingly numerous, and show the extensive studies which have been made in this field. He alludes—to name only the most important—to Sven Hedin, Stein, Petrowski, and many others. Yet there is one authority whom he has omitted, and he certainly ought to have named it when he ends up with the assiduous linguistic studies which have been carried on in this and the last century in Sanscrit, Urdu, Hindustani, and other Indian dialects, on which one of the greatest linguists of our time, Dr. G. W. Leitner, has written extensively.

He is, however, best known as the explorer of Dardistan, a region in the north-west of Kashmir, which he in his book on "Dardistan" describes as being inhabited by an Arvan tribe speaking a Sanscritic tongue intermingled with Persian: "The Languages and Races of Dardistan," by G. W. Leitner, LL.D., etc. Taking into consideration the prescribed brevity necessitated no doubt by the occasion for which this admirably written essay has been compiled, we cannot but heartily congratulate M. de Bloney for having availed himself so ably of his arduous task.

L. M. R.

AFRICA

BOTHA'S GREAT DRIVE

1. **HOW BOTHA AND SMUTS CONQUERED GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.** By W S Rayner and W. W O'Shaughnessy Cape Town Issued by Leo Wainthal, F R G S, Chief Editor of the *African World* (London Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd) 2s. net
2. **WITH BOTHA'S ARMY.** By J. P Kay Robinson (London George Allen and Unwin.) 3s 6d net

The campaign for the conquest of South-West Africa began in earnest about the middle of September, 1914, with the occupation of Ludentzucht, and was brought to its close on July 9, 1915, by the signature of the terms of surrender "at kilo 500 on the railway line between Otavi and Kharib." Within this period of ten months, Germany's first colony (six times the size of England), which for the year ending March, 1914, had enjoyed a military subsidy from Berlin of £737,782, which entirely overshadowed all the other items of the Budget, was cleared of all hostile forces.

Of the two volumes before us, that issued by the *African World*, "in aid of the Fund for the New Colonial Wing of the Union Jack Club, the Governor General's Fund of South Africa, and the *African World* Red Cross Work," is by far the more important, being written by two Reuter's special war correspondents from official information. It contains a connected and very readable account of the operations, with excellent photographs, a map, appendices, casualty lists, etc. It is a grand story of tremendous difficulties triumphantly overcome, and should be read by every citizen of the Empire. The casualty totals shows the large part played by men of Dutch descent. Especial attention should be drawn to the appendices, which contain, amongst other valuable data, the official correspondence between the Imperial and Union Governments, the debate on the campaign in the Union Parliament, the "Maritz" affair, and the terms of the German surrender.

Mr Robinson's book is a record of personal experiences in the campaign, and gives an inkling of what the men had to go through where, in some cases, they fought the elements first and the Germans afterwards. It is prefaced by a short introductory letter by Louis Botha.

SCIENCE

- YEAR-BOOK OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY AND TELEPHONY, 1916**
(Wireless Press, Ltd, Marconi House, Strand, London, W.C.)
3s 6d net

The Year-Book of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony is one of those rare volumes which make an equal appeal to the general and technical reader. It marks a distinct epoch in the advancement of the practical application of a new science that such a work should be called for, and should experience an ever-increasing demand for each succeeding annual

issue. The present is the fourth occasion of its appearance, and the volume has been produced under all the disadvantageous conditions imposed by world wide war. So much the greater credit to the editor and his collaborators.

Standard information, like the "Progress of Radio Telegraphy," chronologically arranged, lists and particulars of ship and land stations, laws and regulations of the various countries in which radio telegraphy is developed, etc., have all been—as far as possible—carefully revised and brought up to date. The text of the International Radio Convention of July, 1912, and the "Safety of Life at Sea" Convention of 1914, are both reprinted. An important addition has, however, been made to the summarized laws and regulations laid down in the various countries. This addition consists of a well planned index immensely facilitating ready reference to the sections covered by it. The alphabetical list of call letters allotted to land and ship stations contributes similar valuable aid to ready reference for its own important division of the book.

The practical worker and experimenter have been even more adequately catered for than in former editions of the same work. The Dictionary (in five languages) and Glossary of Technical Terms is this year supplemented by a reprint of the Report of the Committee on Standardization which sets forth a list of definitions indicating the sense in which the various terms are employed upon the other side of the Atlantic. A large amount of useful data, selected in accordance with the unique wireless experience possessed by the Marconi Company, figure in the volume, and it is not insignificant of the unstinted care bestowed upon the matter here printed that the pages devoted to "Useful Formula and Equations" have been revised and brought up to date by no less an authority than Dr J. Erskine Murray.

For the general reader, a large proportion of the interest is centred round the admirable series of essays upon those branches of wireless telegraphy which most arouse current interest. These vary in each edition of the Year Book. The present volume contains a delightful comparison between past and present methods of naval war tactics as governed by means of communication. This essay, which figures under the title of "Intelligence in Naval Warfare," has been specially contributed by Mr. Archibald Hurd, the well known expert writer on such subjects. The article which Colonel Maude supplies "The Allies Strategy in 1915," is written in his customary breezy and optimistic manner. His optimism is not the cheap and airy buoyancy of a superficial journalist, but the well reasoned exposition of a genuine military critic of approved ability. Amongst these essays will be found a number of technical papers. Dr J. A. Fleming discourses with all the charm of his accustomed lucidity upon the subject of "Photo Electric Phenomena," whilst Dr W. H. Eccles takes as his subject "Capacitance, Inductance, and Wave Lengths of Antennae," accompanying his text with an original series of abacs of extreme interest and utility. Two of the technical articles come from the United States, and deal, one with the "Progress of Radio Telephony in the U.S.A. during 1915," and the other with the "Measurement of

Signal Intensity." The latter is from the pen of Mr John L. Hogan junior, Vice President of the Institute of Radio Engineers.

Many other articles which here find a place will appeal to quite a wide circle of readers. A résumé of some of the exploits of wireless, anecdotally narrated, appears under the title of "Wireless Waves in the World's War." The paper on "Problems of Interference" will prove highly informative to anyone with the most elementary idea of the general principles of radio telegraphy. The possibilities and limitations of "jamming," besides other obstacles, intentional and unintentional, to the correct transmission and reading of messages, find here a sober and authoritative elucidation.

The reputation of Mr Archibald Hurd, the *Daily Telegraph* naval expert, and author of many works on sea warfare, is well established, and his essay contrasting the main features of British naval strategy under the old methods of transmitting instructions, and the new, is worthy to rank amongst his best efforts.

Colonel Maude's review of the Allies' strategy is written in his well known breezy and optimistic strain. The critics who appear to have found favour just lately belong to the lugubrious school, and it forms a refreshing tonic to read the well reasoned exposition of a genuine authority who fulfils the conditions of the eulogium passed by the Senate of Ancient Rome upon one of their own generals, that "he had never lost hope in the destinies of the Republic."

POETRY

SHEIKH HAROUN ABDULLAH, TURKISH POET AND MYSTIC With a Translation of many of his Works. By Henri M. Léon, M.A., LL.D., PHIL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Grand Officer of the Imperial Orders of the Osmanic and Medjidie, Médailles d'Imtiaz (or et argent), Médaille des Beaux-Arts, Constantinople, etc., etc., le Secrétaire Général de la Société Internationale de Philologie, Sciences, et Beaux Arts (1916). Published for La Société Internationale de Philologie, Sciences, et Beaux Arts, by *George Toulmin and Sons, Ltd.*, Blackburn.)

This is a delightful little work, and reflects the highest credit on the gifted author. Not only is the story of the Turkish poet mystic's life and poetic career most interesting in itself, but the translations of his poems have been so admirably rendered that the reader might well mistake them for original poetic effusions in English. As Professor Léon says, it is unfortunately true that very little Turkish literature has been translated into English. He vouches for it that this literature contains a rich wealth of genius, and he says it is particularly true of Osmanli poetry that

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear,
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air"

In his introduction Dr Léon gives us a brief but deeply interesting sketch of the mysticism of Turkey and of the principles underlying the

system of the various Sufi and Dervish orders, and adds some valuable information about the "Mevlevi" (or dancing Dervishes), in particular, and describes their ecstatic raptures or holy inspirations. To this order of the "Mevlevi" the poet mystic Sheikh Haroun Abdullah himself belonged. From his youth upwards the poet seems to have been endowed with a marvellous memory, and as a mystic he led a life free from blame, and devoted to his religion. His shorter poems are mostly songs and hymns written in the spirit of the Song of Solomon, but he seems to have composed one grand Epic, "Mahomed ben Casim," and several miscellaneous and popular poems. One of these latter, "The Ever Closed Door," shows a striking analogy to some of the quatrains of Omar Khayyam, and as the Sheikh was a Persian scholar, and as Persian poetry was popular in Turkey, it is quite possible he was influenced by Persian writers. He seems to have produced few poems of an amorous nature, but his sonnet to his beloved wife, Habeeba (as translated by Dr H. Le on), is a gem. That the poet could be roused to wrath divine and could lash the sins of the great and denounce Turkish brutality is shown by the scorn and bitterness with which he attacked the Caliph Walid. He seems to have feared neither lord nor king. The very fine poem called "The Cuckoo," which he wrote in his eighty fourth year, was composed with the hopeful heart of a boy, and well deserves to be "set in gold and placed in the Imperial Library," as the Sultan commanded.

His last poem of all, "Sleep and his brother Death," deserves to be set side by side with Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar."

As we have said at the opening of this brief notice, the author (Professor Henri D. Le on) deserves the highest credit for bringing these poems to the public notice and we congratulate him most heartily on the scholarly skill and the veritable poetic gift with which he has rendered the Turkish poet into English.—J. P.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

OUR FAR EASTERN ALLY

The May issue of the *Far East* exposes the activities of German propagandists in Japan. The latest manifestation appears to be "an Indian Buddhist's appeal," which is in effect a violent though screened attack on the British authorities in India. We understand that a watchful correspondent of the *Far East* has translated it from the vernacular, and he effectively shows the clumsiness of this far fetched enemy agitation.

SHAKESPEARE IN JAPAN.

The same periodical announces that the Tokyo Amateur Dramatic Club presented "The Winter's Tale" on the last three nights of May at the Imperial Theatre. On the first night the performance was honoured by the presence of members of the Imperial Family. It has the patronage of the British Ambassador and Lady Lily Greene, and the profits are earmarked for the British Red Cross funds.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

The Japan Magazine (June)

"The appointment of Baron Sakatani as head of Japan's delegation to the Economic Conference of the Allies to meet in Paris is welcomed in Japan as an indication of the nation's desire to be well represented on that important occasion. As a former Finance Minister of the Imperial Cabinet, and for some years the popular and successful Mayor of Tokyo, Baron Sakatani has shown his ability as an administrator and financier, and while he was Japan's financial representative in London he won the confidence of Englishmen as an authoritative agent of his country."

CHINA AND JAPAN

The Jiji Shimpō deprecates any tendency towards a change of Japanese policy in China, holding that Japan has a fixed policy towards that country, which involves the maintenance of China's integrity and the equality of opportunity for all nations within Chinese territory. It is to the interest of both Japan and China that peace should be restored there and order established as soon as possible. Japan will never deviate from this line of policy, no matter what turn the Chinese situation may take. It is quite immaterial to Japan what form of government prevails in China, or who is at the head of it. Such subjects pertain to the internal affairs of China with which she cannot interfere. The Chinese themselves should undertake the reorganization of their whole system of administration. Japan might in emergency be compelled to take measures for the protection of her nationals in China, but the hope is that such a move may not be necessary.

RUSSIA

The Current Opinion for June in its pen-picture of M. de Sturmer

"He was brought up in a great country house that had been in his family for generations. Turgeneff had the Sturmer type in mind when he described what he styles 'gentlefolks's nests'—the kind of house in Central Russia that hides itself amid trees on a river bank. It was the lot of Sturmer to be born in such a paradise, with its flower beds, its artificial lakes. He was not merely the son of a landowner who by right belonged to the gentry. His father was a Russian noble in the Czar's service, whose estate served as a retreat from the cares of official life. Sturmer enjoyed the culture afforded by a family portrait gallery, a well stocked library, dignified ease. He has carried on that family tradition, that family life. He belongs to the Russian world that is so remote from the alien world. Those who know him best avoid taking a walk with him, for he can do several miles on his legs before breakfast at a pace that would leave an ordinary pedestrian exhausted in half an hour. He is said to have a theory that the degenerate men of our period use their arms too much and their legs too little. Once a man has given his word, M. de Sturmer is fond of affirming, nothing should induce him to break it. He got this principle

from the Czar whose memory he so reveres—Alexander III. M. de Sturmer has another trait characteristic of the bureaucrats of his period. He believes in speaking the truth, no matter how disagreeable it may prove to the hearer. Nicholas II. understands this propensity so well that when his former master of ceremonies persisted in lingering one night at the palace for the obvious purpose of imparting information privately, the Czar remarked to a Grand Duke: 'We cannot get rid of this man until he has told me his bad news.'

AMERICAN INTEREST IN INDIA

The *Modern Review* (May), under "India in America," by Lala Lajpat Rai, writes

"Some friends connected with the University of California have constituted themselves into an India Society for the purpose of studying Indian literature and Indian questions, and creating interest in India among Americans. Professor Pope, of the University of California, has been elected its first President, and Dr. David Starr Jordan, the great scientist and scholar, Chancellor of Stanford University, Mr. Edwin Markham, the poet, Mr. Winston Churchill, the great novelist, have consented to be its Vice Presidents. It is hoped that the society may stimulate interest in Indian matters in America, and be a source of friendly exchange of ideas between the two great countries of the East and the West. Indian publishers and Indian publicists would do well to send them their publications for notice and study.'

A WELL-KNOWN TRAVELLER

MR H CHARLES WOODS, who held a commission in the Grenadier Guards, and who is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, is a well known traveller and writer who has studied the Near East with a thoroughness that few can claim.

During the autumn of 1905 he spent some months in the Ottoman Empire. Not being content to obtain his knowledge of the Turks by a mere visit to Constantinople, and anxious as he was to gain an insight into some of the military problems which affected and still affect the situation in the Balkan Peninsula, he made two extended journeys into the interior. The first of these took him from Rodosto on the Sea of Marmora to Adrianople, the great military stronghold of the Empire. After spending sufficient time there to acquire a knowledge of the importance of this great entrenched camp he travelled by the Maritza railway, which was handed over last year to Bulgaria by the Turks, as far as Gumulgina. Thence he took the great military road which was then in course of construction and traversed the Rhodope Balkans, approaching the main line from Sofia to Constantinople at the town of Haskovo in Bulgaria. This road, which has since been completed, and which is now passable for all kinds of vehicles, including motor-cars, is one of the most important means of communication between the Aegean coast and the interior of Old Bulgaria.

Being seriously fascinated with the life and peoples of the East, Lieut Woods again spent the greater part of his regimental leave in the Balkan Peninsula in the year 1906. On that occasion he made a tour in Southern Macedonia and in the Mesta Valley district, thus visiting areas then policed by the Macedonian gendarmerie and now destined to play a prominent rôle in any future fighting which takes place on the Græco-Bulgarian frontier.

During the same autumn Mr Woods attended the Bulgarian and Rumanian manoeuvres and also made an extended tour in Asia Minor, thus traversing some of the roads which must be utilized by any army desirous of advancing from Asia Minor towards the Ottoman capital. In the same year he made an excursion to the Peninsula of Gallipoli, visiting the town of that name, investigating the most suitable landing places on the Peninsula and exploring the high ground which commands the forts

which defend the Narrows of the Dardanelles—high ground, the possession of which was never secured during the Dardanelles campaign.

After his resignation from the army, under such exceptional circumstances that they were well known at the time, Mr Woods decided to continue his study of the Near Eastern problem and to take up a literary career. His first book, "Washed by Four Seas: An English Officer's Travels in the Near East," was published in July, 1908. In the autumn of that year, and, therefore, during the European crisis which arose as a result of the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Bulgarian declaration of independence, Mr Woods visited the Annexed Provinces, the Principality of Montenegro, and the Kingdoms of Serbia and Bulgaria. As a result of that tour he wrote series of articles, including two which were published in the *United Service Magazine*, articles respectively devoted to the organization of the Serbian and Bulgarian armies.

In the autumn of 1909 and early in 1910 Mr Woods made still another tour in the East, visiting Athens during the military revolution in Greece, spending some time in Crete during one of the numerous annexation crises, and making a long journey by road through the heart of Northern Macedonia. In the former year, too, he drove by way of the great military road from Uzun Kupru to Gallipoli—a road which passes through the lines of Bulair, and which forms the principal means of land communication between the Peninsula of Gallipoli and the remainder of Turkey in Europe.

During the autumn of 1909 he also visited Adana, there investigating the causes and results of the terrible massacre of Armenians—a massacre which had resulted in the death of so many loyal subjects of the Sultan in the previous spring. His articles then published in the *Westminster Gazette* upon this subject were practically the only authoritative accounts which appeared in the British Press upon atrocities which, if they were not actually carried out by the instructions of the Ottoman Government, were certainly countenanced by the so-called Young Turkish patriots who have now dashed their country to ruin.

Mr Woods's second book, "The Danger Zone of Europe," was published early in 1911, and republished in Paris as "*La Turquie et ses Voisins*" later in the same year. Immediately prior to the appearance of that work, and when it was already in the press, Mr Woods was appointed Vice-Consul at Adana in Asia Minor. Owing to a variety of private reasons, the most important of which was that the holding of that appointment would have prevented the publication of his book, Mr Woods was unfortunately unable to take up his duties at Adana.

During the Turco-Italian War Mr Woods visited the Near East as the Special Correspondent of *The Times*. On that occasion he spent some time at Belgrade, at Sofia, at Salonika, and at Cetinje. The most interesting part of his journey, however, took him by road from Santa Quaranta in Southern Albania to Yanina and thence again by road to Monastir. This excursion, which led him along the most important route in Southern Albania and through a district, the ownership of which is still in dispute, enabled Mr Woods to grasp the nature of the Southern

Albanian question—a question which must in the future once more play its rôle in European politics

In the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 Mr Woods acted as War Expert of the *Evening News*. Anxious to study the new conditions prevailing in the East, he at once decided as soon as these wars were over again to visit the Balkans. In the autumn of the latter year he therefore went to Belgrade, to Serajevo, and to Cetinje. But as the Albanian question, and the appointment of a future ruler of that country, were then engrossing the attention of all Europe he made a very extended tour which took him by road through the very heart of and practically from north to south of Europe's youngest Principality. He was then able to study and to write about problems which proved the deathblow to the régime of the Prince of Wied—a deathblow, the advent of which was absolutely obvious to those who knew the nature of those problems and the lack of honest endeavour which was made to overcome them.

At the outbreak of the present war Mr Woods became Military and Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Weekly Dispatch* and the *Evening News*, on the staff of which latter paper he remained for more than a year. Amongst his almost daily signed articles many of the most interesting were devoted to subjects connected with the Near East. In 1915 he published a booklet entitled "War and Diplomacy in the Balkans," and delivered several important lectures upon those questions. By far the most interesting and important of these lectures is that entitled "Communications in the Balkans," delivered before the Royal Geographical Society early this year. Extensive extracts from this lecture were published in the *Asiatic Review* for April.

It is obvious that with such a list of travels to his credit Mr Woods is personally acquainted with all the most prominent Balkan statesmen who are now playing their rôle for or against the cause of the Allies. Of the Serbian Prime Minister, of Mr Iake Jonescu, of many of the most important of the Young Turks, as of some of the political and military leaders in Bulgaria, he has many entertaining stories to recount. But perhaps the most interesting conversations of which he spoke to me are his first with M Venezelos, of a long interview with Ahmed Djemal Pasha, who is now the reported leader of the so-called Turkish army intended for an advance upon Egypt, and of an audience with the Crown Prince of Serbia.

It was in Crete that Mr Woods first met M Venezelos. "He came to see me," said Mr Woods, "early one morning, at my hotel. As I then knew very little about the Cretan question personally, I almost hoped that His Excellency would impose upon me his views. Much to my astonishment and to my temporary disappointment, however, this serious, keen-eyed statesman absolutely refused to discuss with me the problems which were of such vital importance to his almost mother island. He merely said that he would forward me copies of certain diplomatic correspondence which had just taken place, and that I could judge for myself the merits of the Cretan 'Case.' 'I will not prejudice you,' he said, 'but to-morrow, when you have had the opportunity of forming your own view, I shall be delighted to discuss the question with you.' I knew at once that M Venezelos was

Greece's greatest man, and it was not long before he was called to Athens, there to demonstrate the magnitude of his ability."

"Ahmed Djemal Pasha, then Governor of Adana, used often to come to see me during my stay in that city. One night he arrived about 8 p.m., and remained until 3 or 4 a.m. We discussed the local and general situation in Turkey over countless cups of coffee. The point of the conversation was, however, that I only asked His Excellency one question, and that I repeated it at intervals of approximately half an hour. I never elicited an answer, for it was never expected or intended that I should do so. The result, however, was that we exchanged a great deal of information and a great many ideas, and that we parted far better friends than before we had met that night. I heard afterwards that the Governor thought that I was predetermined to condemn his policy—a thought which must undoubtedly have vanished from his mind when subsequently he saw in print that I had formed a most favourable impression of a regime which he had established under circumstances of the utmost difficulty."

As Mr Woods has the advantage of knowing the Turkish language—he obtained a certificate for proficiency in it from the Civil Service Commissioners—it is obvious that he is able to go to and fro without those restrictions which usually encumber the movements of the ordinary traveller. He is also able to understand and to get into touch with the inhabitants, and to realize not only the nature of the international problems connected with the Balkans, but to grasp the points of those who are the centre of those problems. Thus, as he said when I called on him the other day, when he crossed the Taurus Mountains and followed the line which has now been taken by the Baghdad Railway, he was able himself to explain to the inhabitants that he was not a German engineer but merely an English traveller. "The result," said he, "was that instead of being received with the cold civility which would have been meted out to a German, I was accepted as an Englishman, and therefore well received by the Turkish inhabitants, who believe in the honesty of this country be the policy of their Government what it may."

Again in Albania Mr. Woods, who was unaccompanied by any Western dragoman, was, so to speak, able to run his own show. He tells how he stayed in the houses of and conversed with the highest officials of the State, and in the huts of the wild warriors of the mountains. "Sitting round an open log fire these people would discuss with me their ideas as to the immediate possibility of travelling from end to end of their country in aeroplanes, none of which they had ever seen. The Albanians told me, too, of their desire to send their sons to be educated in England, and of their wish that they should be ruled by a Prince of the British Royal House."

On one occasion when Mr Woods had been assured that his gendarmerie escort was in a position to guide him safely to Elbasan, he found that late in the evening when the sun was already set the whole cavalcade were lost in the stony bed of what seemed to be a never-ending river. "All of a sudden in the inky darkness my faithful pony stopped short with his fore feet upon the very edge of a bank, close beneath which I could see the

waters of the River Skumbi tearing towards the sea. To ford a river of unknown depth and width in the darkness was out of the question. To return whither the cavalcade had come was equally impossible, for the track, almost imperceptible in the deep twilight, was completely invisible in the intense darkness, in which it was only with difficulty that one saw the outline of the horse which immediately preceded one's own. All seemed hopeful," said Mr. Woods, "when we came to a low bank, up which the gendarme led his horse. Suddenly, as I followed close behind—the horse-owners being afraid to risk their animals—there was a shriek of 'Dour mumkin deyil' (Stop, it is impossible). To my horror we were on the edge of yet another, but this time, fortunately, a side stream into which the cavalcade had all but fallen.

"After some hours of momentary expectation that we should all get a river-bath, which would have completely destroyed my kit and numerous films, I succeeded in reaching Elbasan—a town which should have been chosen as the capital of Albania. Thus ended what was at the time an extremely unpleasant experience—an experience not rendered more pleasant by the fact that every dog of the neighbouring villages sallied forth with the idea of biting us, and by the fact that having no lanterns, we were compelled to follow a sort of path by means of lighted matches which were immediately blown out by a biting wind e'er they had been hardly lighted."

"One of the pleasantest and most interesting hours which I ever passed in the Balkans," said Mr. Woods, "was that spent as the result of an audience graciously granted to me by His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Serbia. Prince Alexander, who had then just passed through the hardships of two Balkan wars, received me with just that charm which becomes Royalty. As it was expressly understood that I had not come for an *interview* I regret that I cannot tell you even the gist of the greater part of the conversation, but I am sure that I am permitted to say that His Royal Highness greatly impressed me with his practical knowledge of military affairs, and of the situation as it then existed in the Near East."

"And of the statesmen of Bulgaria—can you tell me anything?" I asked. To this Mr. Woods replied "I think that one of the greatest difficulties always to be overcome in Bulgaria has been due to the fact that there are far too many educated men and far too few matured statesmen for the size of the population.

"Among those whom I have met, I think that M. Gushoff—ex Prime Minister—is the most far-seeing and the most moderate. Educated largely in England, His Excellency, who is one of the richest men in Bulgaria, is able to take a far broader view of the international and of the Balkan situations than is the ordinary Bulgarian. In my opinion the Bulgarians will do well once more to turn to him to steer their ship of State."



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE Imperial Institute has bulked more largely than usual in the public view of late. There has been the Act of Parliament which transfers control to the Colonial Office and the announcement of the members of the new executive council. In addition, Professor Wyndham Dunstan's lecture before the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section), postponed twice through stress of work, was concerned with the work of the Imperial Institute for India. The responsibility of the Imperial Government for the management of the Institute dates from 1903; the Institute passed then to the control of the Board of Trade, and Professor Dunstan became director. His paper was packed with valuable information and important statistics concerning India, covering the period from 1903 to the present time. Professor Dunstan pointed out that in recent years the Indian collections have been completely reorganized and rendered intelligible to the public. Their value cannot be over-estimated; in furnishing material for research to the scientific investigator and information for industrial purposes to the commercial man they have rendered great service; each year nearly a quarter of a million people visit the public galleries, and schools have recognized the value of this unique representation of India in connection with the teaching of geography and history; the superintendent of the section has conducted many parties from schools through the galleries and explained the exhibits. In addition to the galleries the scientific and research department and the technical information bureau do important work. The former investigates the economic products and raw materials of the Empire with a view to their utilization in industries and commerce, and the latter has come to be regarded as a clearing house for collated and critically examined information on the subject. The Institute has established relations with manufacturers and users of all classes of raw material who also render assistance in discovering new industrial openings. The director emphasized the importance of interesting Indian exporting firms to do all that is possible to develop enterprise

in India, and he hoped that Chambers of Commerce and Directors Industry would render considerable assistance, as there has been a general awakening to the importance of using, as far as possible, the products of the Empire for the Empire's industries. He spoke highly of the development of scientific agricultural institutes in India, and stated that the provincial departments of agriculture are now in direct communication with the Imperial Institute. Some striking illustrations were given of the almost exclusive utilization by foreign countries, especially Germany, of certain Indian raw materials: oil seeds to the value of several millions annually have gone from India to Germany and other foreign countries, also hides and skins for tanning, and medicinal plants for the manufacture of drugs. The Institute has shown recently that thymol, a valuable drug hitherto produced in Germany, can be easily obtained from the ajowan seed of India, which had been sent to Germany for that purpose, it is now manufactured in this country. The lecturer considered that India should supply all the opium required for medicinal purposes in Europe and the United States. He dealt with the question of finding a market in the British Empire for many Indian products: fibres, minerals, especially hornum, ground nuts, oils, copra, beans, wax, potash, drugs, shank, and mussel shells, etc., and stated that India should be able to extend her pulp and paper manufacturing industry for the supply of her own needs and the development of an export paper trade with China and Japan. The Institute, said Professor Dunstan, is entering upon its third stage of existence which, it may be hoped, will see further development of its usefulness to India. In addition to the four members representing India on the executive council, it is understood that there will be a special Indian committee of the council. "It is the earnest desire of all associated with the operations of the Imperial Institute," he observed, "that it should become, even more than it has been, a centre of intelligence and research in this country for all the raw materials of the Indian Empire."

Lord Ishington, who presided at the meeting, declared that practically every raw product necessary for manufacture and use is to be found in the British Empire, great inconvenience had been felt owing to the war, because some of those products had been sent to other countries and we were dependent upon them for the supply of the manufactured article. To avoid this inconvenience in the future, he urged that every possible encouragement and assistance should be given to manufacturers throughout the Empire, and he indicated the necessity of considering with an open mind, and with the experience of the war in view, the fiscal system of the Empire. The overwhelming and commanding necessity of to-day was to employ the best possible scientific means. He agreed that there should be research in the country of origin, but that a central institution, such as the Imperial Institute, was necessary at the heart of the Empire. In the course of the discussion, in which Colonel C. E. Yate, M.P., Colonel Hendley, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Mr. W. Cockstream, Sir Frederick Robertson, and others, took part, it was urged that India should have fuller representation in the administration of the Institute, in view of her import-

ance and interests, and contributions to its establishment, it was hoped that experienced Indian gentlemen would be appointed to the Indian committee

There was a great gathering to welcome Sir Aurel Stein when he gave the Royal Geographical Society an account of his third journey of exploration in Central Asia. Lord Hardinge, who took a keen interest in the journey from its inception, was unfortunately prevented from attending owing to ill health, but the Secretary of State for India was present and made a short speech of appreciation of Sir Aurel's achievement. The explorer told his hearers that "it was not the mere 'call of the desert' but the combined fascination of geographical problems and interesting archaeological tasks which drew me back to the regions where ruined sites, long ago abandoned to the desert, have preserved for us relics of an ancient civilization developed under the joint influences of Buddhist India, China, and the Hellenized Near East," and added that he was anxious to continue his work of exploration while retaining the health and vigour needed successfully to face the inevitable difficulties and hardships. The admirable lantern slides, shown as illustrations to the lecture, helped the audience to realize something of the "difficulties and hardships" successfully overcome. Imposing mountain ranges, snow covered passes, rocks and torrents, which had to be negotiated in the earlier part of the journey, gave place afterwards to stretches of illimitable sand, occasional oases, and remarkable finds of the ancient civilization which the desert has had so long in its keeping. Groups of the leader and his companions added vitality to the story, and Sir Aurel paid high tribute to the splendid work of his Indian surveyors and other helpers, including "that excellent Dogra Rajput, Mian Jasvant Singh, who had accompanied every survey party taken by me to Central Asia and who, in spite of advancing years, agreed to act once more as the Rai Sahib's cook, and to face all the familiar hardships of windy deserts and windswept high mountains. At one point, near the beginning of his story, Sir Aurel stated that in spite of his fifty-one years, his trusted old companion, Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, Sub-Assistant Superintendent of the Survey of India, had lost none of his old zeal and vigour, for "through his devoted exertions a fortnight's hard travel sufficed to map some 1,200 square miles (in the Indus-Gilgit district) of ground which had never been surveyed or even seen by European eyes. Later on Sir Aurel mentioned that the Rai Bahadur's excellent work made it possible for the explorer to realize his hope of getting the Indian triangulation system extended from the snowy Kuen Lun to the Tien Shan range. It was this same trusted companion who brought the 182 cases of treasures safely back to India at the end of the journey while Sir Aurel was exploring in Persia and adjacent lands.

From time to time Sir Aurel found himself on the track of the Chinese pilgrim and trade routes to the West, on the way down from Darel he was able to identify at Phoguch the site of an ancient Buddhist sanctuary mentioned by the pilgrims on account of its wonder-working colossal image of Maitreya Buddha. Later, on leaving Sankol for Kashgar and following the caravan route through the mountains, he found himself on

the track of Hsuan tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim-traveller "Ever since my first journey," said the lecturer, "I have claimed him as my patron saint, so it was a special satisfaction when, on crossing the high plateau of the Chichiklik already under fresh snow, I found conclusive evidence that a badly decayed enclosure, now worshipped as a sacred site by Muhammadans and used as a burial-place for unfortunate wayfarers, represents the remains of an ancient hospice which Hsuan tsang described as a place connected with a sacred Buddhist legend."

Sir Aurel's stories of his discoveries of the long hidden civilization were both amazing and fascinating. After leaving Khotan on his long journey eastwards to Lop nor, he revisited the sand buried settlement near the pilgrimage place of Iman Jafar Sadik, abandoned to the desert since the third century A.D. In the ruined dwellings furniture and household implements were found, also a further collection of Kharoshthi documents on wood, written in the Indian language and script which had prevailed in official and Buddhist ecclesiastical use from Khotan to Lop-nor during the first centuries of this era.

On ground wholly untouched by human feet for many centuries, and near what he conjectured to have been the line of the earliest Chinese route, leading into the Tarim basin, from the extreme west of China proper, a series of grave pits was found, which yielded a rich antiquarian haul. "Mixed up with human bones and fragments of coffins there emerged household implements of all sorts, objects of personal use, such as decorated bronze mirrors, wooden models of arms, Chinese records on paper and wood, and a wonderful variety of fabrics, among them beautifully coloured silks, pieces of rich brocade and embroidery, fragments of fine pile carpets in abundance by the side of coarse fabrics in wool and felts. I could not," said the explorer, "have wished for a more representative exhibition of that ancient Chinese silk trade which we know to have been a chief factor in the opening up of this earliest route for China's direct intercourse with Central Asia and the distant West, and which had passed along here for centuries." These relics dated from the second century B.C. "There was no time then to examine the wealth of beautiful designs and colours making a feast for my eyes. But I felt that in this utter desolation of the wind eroded clay desert, where nature was wholly dead and even the very soil was being reduced, as it were, to the condition of a skeleton, there had opened up a new and fascinating chapter in the history of textile art. It will take years to read it in full clearness."

In the Tarim basin an old fort of the aboriginal Lou-lan people was examined. "Here," said Sir Aurel, "were graves, in which we found the bodies of men and women, probably members of the old chief's family, in a truly wonderful state of preservation, due, no doubt, to the absolute dryness of the climate and the safe elevation of their resting places. The peaked felt caps of the men decorated with big feathers and other trophies of the chase, the arrow shafts by their side, the simple but strong woollen garments, fastened with pins of hard wood, the neatly woven small baskets holding the food for the dead, etc., all indicated a race of semi-nomadic hunters and herdsmen, just as the Chinese describe them. It was a

strange sensation to look down on figures which, but for the parched skin, seemed like those of men asleep, and to feel brought face to face with people who inhabited, and no doubt liked, this dreary Lop nor region in the first centuries A D

The Government of India granted £3,000 to the cost of the exploration, and reserved an exclusive claim to the archaeological results, which are destined for the Museum of Indian Art and Ethnography at Delhi. Expert help will be required in the elucidation of the antiquities, Sir Aurel's visit to this country is for the purpose of organizing the work of his future collaborators in England and in France, when the materials for specialist research and examination are temporarily brought here. The President, Mr Douglas Freshfield, summing up the discussion, in the course of which it had been urged that Europe should not be altogether denied the results of Sir Aurel's discoveries, described the explorer as one of the greatest travellers of modern days and expressed gratitude to him for going to the ugly places—disregarding the temptation of the beautiful—in the interests of geographical, archaeological, and ethnographical knowledge

Mr Charles Roberts, M P, ex Under Secretary of State for India, presented the Royal Asiatic Society's Public Schools medal and prizes on June 6. The subject of the essay this year was the Emperor Baber, and the winner of the gold medal was Mr J R Hassell, of Denstone College, who also received a beautifully bound copy of "The Sword of Islam." Other competitors, who received a copy of the book were Mr Scott, of Eton, Mr Ratcliffe, of Haileybury, and Mr Burge, of Shrewsbury. Mr Roberts referred to the excellent idea of a few Indian rulers who desired to encourage a study of Indian history in this country, and to their generosity in providing funds for the annual medal and prizes, he congratulated the society on the success of the scheme under their administration and the competitors on the high standard of their work. He considered it fitting at this time that the attention of boys should be drawn to a great man in history belonging to another race. It was also important to bring before them the work of our fellow countrymen in India and of those who work with them in helping to bridge the gulf of differences of religion and custom. He suggested that the life of Baber should be studied in the Persian manuscripts and paintings in the British Museum. In spite of the gap of four hundred years, it was possible to see what he looked like and to become acquainted with the details of his life. Baber was a great ruler, a great soldier, and a great man but the records of his life showed no trace of genius for civil administration. Mr Roberts wondered whether the present military system in India left sufficient scope for the development of initiative among Indians. He concluded by hoping that Mr. Hassell would carry still further his study of India, past and present.

Lord Reay, President of the Society, in a short speech from the chair, pointed out that a knowledge of Indian history is absolutely essential to the generation now growing up, he urged that museums as well as books should be studied, and that historic records should find their way to the cinema.

The news of the tragic death of Lord Kitchener had been received just

before the meeting Lord Reay and Mr. Roberts paid tribute to him as a man of independence of mind, indomitable energy, and devotion to the welfare of the Empire

At the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society the President, Lord Reay, said that even a learned Society cannot expect to escape the effects of the war. There was the toll of life taken—he mentioned Major Morton and Captain Binsteed, who have been killed in action, two other members met their death when the *Persia* was sunk. Major Horace Hayman Wilson, who was on his way to take up an appointment in Egypt, and Mr. R. V. Russell, who was returning to his post in India after completing his work on "The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces." Other losses by death, apart from the war, were—Sir Claude MacDonald, Mr. Christopher Gardner, a Chinese scholar, Dr. J. E. Marks, a veteran missionary in Burma, and H. H. Kerala Varma, for many years guardian of the Travancore princesses. The Society has not escaped financial loss owing to the war, but the deficit only amounted to £5, the grant from the India Office had been reduced by one half, and members' subscriptions had inevitably decreased. On the other hand, the sale of the *Journal* had brought in the useful sum of £100, which is considerably higher than usual. Several important books have been published during the year, among them one on "The Himalayan Dialects"—which are dying out—by Mr. Graham Bailey. Dr. Codrington has rendered the Society a great service by preparing a catalogue of its treasures.

The way in which the ancient stories of India form part of the life of the people was brought home to a Western audience on May 30, when, at a meeting of the Union of East and West, Mr. Edmund Russell told the story of King Harischandra, as he had seen it given in the temple of the Maharaja of Kashmir and also at Benares. He spoke of how the audiences follow the representation for hours and even days, and how everyone, rich and poor, old and young, know the ancient stories as a great influence in their lives. In comparing ancient Indian drama with Shakespeare's plays, Mr. Russell spoke of their intense human interest and their diversity, and pointed out that there is an element of comedy as a relief to the tragic part of the story. The fool, wise in his fooling, often accompanies exiles and proves faithful and helpful in all adversity. It was, indeed, a tragic story which Mr. Russell told of Harischandra—the human being whom the gods hear is more perfect than Indra himself, one who never breaks his word. The story turns on the effort of Visvamitra, disguised as a mortal, to make the King break his word after he had extracted a promise of the bestowal of his kingdom and a large sum of money. Stripped of jewels and power, degraded even to the office of executioner, the Queen and Prince sold into slavery, the Prince stung to death by a serpent, the Queen condemned to be executed for failing to burn her son's body, and the King called upon to carry out the sentence which he is prepared to do even when he discovers the victim to be the Queen—who expresses her willingness to die and reminds the King of his duty—could a severer test

be made? Just as Harischandra prepares to strike the fatal blow, a voice cries "Enough!" and the gods acclaim him a perfect man. The delightful studio of Mr. Leonard Merrifield, well known as a sculptor in this country and beyond, was an appropriate setting for this tragic and moving story, and Mr. Merrifield's interest in the work of the Union is spreading in new directions a keen desire to know more of the art and philosophy and literature of India.

In connection with the story of Harischandra, it is to be noted that the King, whose virtue and constancy are enshrined in the story told by Mr. Russell, is also a famous figure in the still earlier Vedic literature. He plays a part in the most significant of Indian narratives, that of Sunasepha, the Cynosure, who was bound to the sacrificial post in fulfilment of a vow made by Harischandra in respect of his own son. In this extremity Sunasepha, by hymns and praises, won the favour of the greatest gods and was at last released and adopted as Visvamitra's son. He became the originator of the chief sacred institutions of the Aryan Indians. The story, with the Vedic hymns in full and a very instructive commentary, is fully reproduced in Mr. W. H. Robinson's poetic version, entitled "*The Golden Legend of India*," the fruit, it may be mentioned, of many years' devotion under pathetic circumstances to Indian thought, and highly original in expounding the true import of the legend, and its employment as a guide to Kings at the time of their coronation. It appeared in 1911, the year of the coronation of King George V, and was published by Messrs. Luzac, London. (8s. 6d.)

It is, we think, well known that London University made arrangements to welcome Russian, Polish, and Belgian students whose studies in Belgium and other countries had been interrupted by the war, and to afford assistance and facilities for them to continue their courses of medicine, engineering, and philosophy, at King's College and University College. For nearly two years a number of young men and a sprinkling of ladies have been working under London professors, many with good success, and their British fellow-students are accustomed to the sound of resonant Slavonic conversations in the corridors. During an interesting concert with Russian dances arranged by the King's College Russian Society—in connection with the Slavonic School—early in June last, a deputation of Russian students came forward and read an address, handsomely illuminated, to the genial principal, Dr. Montague Burrows. The students expressed their deep gratitude to London University for the generous welcome and advantages afforded them, and great esteem for the kindness and guidance received from the Principal, which they would ever remember. In accepting the address, Dr. Burrows, who spoke with emotion, returned thanks, and emphasized the great satisfaction of the University authorities at their presence, and the friendship and sympathy felt by their British fellow students. He urged them in future happier days, when fulfilling professional careers in their native lands, never to forget their sojourn at London University. It would be well if they formed a kind of club or union for mutual intercourse, so that

associations formed here might never be forgotten. At any time of their lives, when on a visit to this country, Dr. Burrows assured our foreign guests that they would always meet with a cordial welcome at London University.

On May 24, at the International Club (for Psychical Research), 22A, Regent Street, Mrs Copeland Barkworth (Fanny S Copeland) delivered a lecture on "Women of Serbia in Tradition and History." Major-General Sir Alfred Turner, KCB, acted as chairman, and introduced the lecturer in a strong speech, calling attention to the unparalleled sufferings of Serbia at the hands of her persecutors, the Germans and Austrians, and their helpers the Bulgars, with "their unspeakable King, who combines the semblance of a vulture with the instincts of a burglar." Mrs Copeland Barkworth prefaced her lecture by remarking that from the nature of her own work she would have to approach her subject from the literary standpoint. After giving a short and graphic outline of the history of Serbia and the whole Southern Slav nation and pointing out their territorial and linguistic unity and common hopes and aspirations, the lecturer entertained her listeners with brief sketches of some of the most notable women in Serbian and Southern Slav traditions and history, from Jevrossima, the mother of Kraljevic Marko, and Tsaritsa Milica, Lazar's widow, to Katharina Zrinska, and—in more recent times—Ljubica, the wife of Miloš Obrenovic, not omitting to mention several notable women of our own day. Mrs Copeland Barkworth added a few interesting remarks on the lives of Serbian and Croatian peasant women, and concluded with a picture of Serbian womanhood during the present war.

After the lecture Sir Alfred Turner spoke again, appealing most earnestly to all present to give all the practical help to Serbia that it might be in their power to render, and Dr Svetozar Grgić replied by cordially thanking both Sir Alfred Turner and Mrs Copeland for their sympathy. Miss Ratchiff Hoare proposed the vote of thanks, which was seconded by Miss Felicia Scatterd, and most heartily responded to by the audience, which had shown its appreciation throughout by close and sympathetic attention. Several prominent members of the Serbian colony were present.

Sir George REID, M P, presided at the celebration of Empire Day organized by the Union of East and West, and pointed out that the day was specially associated with India, as May 24 was the anniversary of the birthday of the first Empress of India. The great empires of the past, he said, had died because they were childless; the British Empire had many children, and it would be the glory of the British race that its aim was to bring the oppressed to the same level of freedom. The war was a struggle to preserve free races and free institutions, changes in the constitution of the British Empire must come after the war, and they would have to be worked out with infinite care. Mr. A Yusuf Ali declared that the re-organization which must follow the war would be a conscious partnership on terms of equality and fellowship, and that India would never shirk the

responsibilities such a partnership would involve. He suggested that the new word "Anzac" should include an "i," making it "Anziac," to show the inclusion of India, and he hoped that the word "Dependency," as applied to India, would become as obsolete as the word "Colonies," as applied to the British Dominions Overseas.

Miss E. J. Beck, hon. secretary for many years of the National Indian Association, has returned to London after her visit of eight months in India, during which time she journeyed 13,000 miles, and visited the branches of the Association, she interested herself also in educational and social work, and was accorded warm hospitality everywhere. Indian friends, who valued the help given through Miss Beck and the Association during their student days in this country, spared no effort to show their appreciation and gratitude by making her visit to India interesting and enjoyable. A welcome home party was given to Miss Beck soon after her arrival, and friends are anticipating with pleasure opportunities to hear details of her experiences in India. To Miss Dora Dove, who undertook Miss Beck's work during her absence, a party was also given at which the Association, through Sir Charles Lyall, and the Indian students, through several spokesmen, expressed their hearty appreciation of her devoted services. The students presented an illuminated address and flowers to Miss Dove in token of their gratitude for her interest, help, and unflinching kindness. An interesting visit was paid by the Association last month to Miss Margaret McMillan's Open Air and Camp Schools at Deptford, and those who are preparing to devote themselves to educational work in India found many features of special practical value.

In a lecture on Russian poetry, delivered by Mr. Alexis Aladin before the Poetry Circle of the Lyceum Club, Russia was declared to be the most eastern of western nations and most receptive to eastern forms of thought. Mr. Aladin pointed out that in Russia there are no crowds, but almost illimitable forest and wilderness, and these conditions of life find expression in Russian poetry; he also maintained that Russians are a sea-loving people, and that some of their best poets write of the sea. He gave interesting quotations to illustrate his remarks.

The Women's Freedom League organized a "Russia in England Day" to help the understanding between the two countries. Russian music and drama were well represented, and short addresses given on Russian life. Miss Vengerova said that there was no "Woman's Question" in Russia because man and woman stood together in all efforts for progress and liberty; there was no sex differentiation.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

The Right Honourable Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed Mr. John Wilson to be his Assistant Private Secretary in succession to Mr. J. C. Walton, who has joined His Majesty's Forces.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue Department, Simla, 9th June, 1916.—The following is a summary of the monsoon forecast. The outlook for the general monsoon rainfall of India is on the whole somewhat unfavourable, and the rain fall is likely to be in slight or moderate defect, at any rate in the earlier part of the season. As regards geographical distribution, apart from Lower Burma, Assam and Malabar, the only region where conditions appear favourable is to the south-east of Madras. The deficiency which is anticipated in general elsewhere is likely to be most marked in the north-west part of India.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue Department, Simla, dated 21st June, 1916.—The rainfall has been scanty during the week in the Punjab, south-west Kashmir, Baluchistan, Rajputana (west), Mysore and Madras Deccan; fair in Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces (east), Bombay Deccan, and Hyderabad (north); normal in Burma, Assam, Orissa, Punjab (east and north), Guzerat, Central India (east), Konkan, Malabar, and north coast of Madras, and in excess elsewhere. The immediate prospects are normal.

LONDON THEATRES

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND THE DRAMA

BY F. R. SCATCHELD

I

"Just when we are safest, there's a sunset touch
 A fancy from a flower tell, someone's death,
 A chorus en ling from Euripides—
 And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
 To rap an i knock and enter in our soul."

BROWNING

"THE BARTON MYSTERY," now being played at the Savoy Theatre, marks an epoch in the history of modern drama with regard to psychology on the stage. Subjects taken from the realm sacred to the psychical researcher have been dealt with before, but mostly from the farcical point of view. Now we have a careful study of real mediumship, distorted and disfigured it is true by weaknesses and defects, but these latter, regrettable as they may be in themselves, no more destroy the fact of the possession of psychical gifts than does a tendency to violent temper annihilate mathematical or musical genius.

Indeed, the "irritability," using the term in a technical sense, which in bad environment tends to alcoholic or other excess in one case or to violent passion in the other, may be just the necessary condition for the production of the rare and valuable contributions made by these highly endowed natures to the sum of human knowledge and experience. In a more enlightened social order, these sensitive beings would be carefully cherished and shielded, so that the best in them could be forthcoming. To-day they are persecuted and prosecuted, insulted and scorned, even by those who profit most by the exercise of their unusual faculty.

The author of "The Barton Mystery," Mr. Walter Hackett, is alleged to have met the original of Beverley in Atlantic City. Mr. Hackett's friend, Broadhurst, who had just written his successful play, "Bought and Paid for," was with him. The American actor and producer, Mr. John Mason, had arranged to produce the piece and to play in it. The Atlantic

City psychic said Mason would not play his part, and gave the name of the actor who would replace him. This prediction was realized, and Mr Hackett, the creator of Beverley, wrote his drama, in which true psychic faculty is given the prominent position which it actually occupies in daily life.

II

"The Barton Mystery" as a play is admirably conceived, and rivets attention all the way through. The 'mystery' as to the murderer of the unfortunate man who gives his name to the drama remains unsolved almost to the end.

It has been called a one man play. This is not exactly true. A conception such as "Beverley," carried out by an actor like H. B. Irving, must create an enthralling centre of interest round which the other characters group themselves with the inevitableness of living sequence. But these others are presentments of live people whom many of us have met. Each exists as part of a vivid balanced whole, forming an essential and therefore integral factor in the outworking of the plot.

As in Shakespeare and in everyday life, tragedy and comedy are so interblended that a fine humour relieves the otherwise unbearable tension. Sir Everard and Lady Marshall are delightful creations, especially the former, and Holman Hunt and Mark Illingworth leave little or nothing to be desired in their respective interpretations.

Sir Everard and Lady Marshall are types respectively of what the late Professor William James termed the "scientific academic" mind and the "feminine mystical mind." It is in line with the curious ironies of mundane existence that two such types should have become man and wife, since, as Professor James puts it:

'They shy from each other's facts just as they fly from each other's tears and spirit. Facts are there only for those who have a mental affinity with them.'

What opened-eyed student of psychical matters has not met many Sir Everards even in the exalted ranks of the Society for Psychical Research, men credulous in their incredulity, who rejecting genuine evidence, fall a victim to "faked phenomena" because, forsooth, the latter complied with conditions laid down by themselves in their colossal ignorance of the laws governing those unexplored fields of knowledge. But having been led into the truth by false evidence, having "seen the light," Sir Everard Marshall becomes a staunch and courageous pioneer, and thus illustrates and justifies Professor James's contention as to the superior capacity of the scientific mind over the mystical one in dealing with ascertained facts. The wild advocacy of the sentimental Lady Marshall, who adopted a new religion every few months and deemed it her duty to convert her much tried husband, is a case in point. Her deliberate "helping out of the phenomena," in her anxiety to convince her husband, evinces a disregard for truth and a lack of conscientiousness of which the scientific mind is rarely guilty, but which is not infrequently displayed by over-zealous propagandists of various religious schools of thought.

And Richard Standish, M.P. (powerfully portrayed by Mr H. V. Esmond), who, in his agony of anxiety to save the life of an innocent man—against reason, against common sense, against all that such a man stands for—clutches at the proverbial straw, and consents to consult a “weird” being whom he regards as eccentric and absurd—is he not multiplied amongst us to-day by the thousand—nay, by the million—in the crushed and grief-stricken men and women who find no consolation in orthodox religion, no answer from official science to the problems that threaten to overwhelm the very citadels of reason—nay, of life itself? Hard hearted science and soft headed religion drive them in crowds to Beverley and his like, and be it said in all seriousness and admitted with thankfulness that these much-sinned-against members of the human family, against whom all doors are shut, to whom all justice is denied, these men and women possessing the “sixth sense” do often prove a tower of strength in weakness and despair, and a source of guidance and enlightenment in bewilderment and perplexity when everything else has proved of no avail.

A criticism levelled against the play is that the dream scene is not clearly enough indicated to be a dream. Most spectators seeing it for the first time have no notion that they are witnessing a dream. This so called defect is really a triumph of artistic suggestion. It is afterwards realized how stupid one was not to have seen that it was a dream! As a spectacle, the intense interest with which the dream scene is followed would be lessened and the glad relief of discovering that the good Richard Standish is a murderer in dream life only would vanish completely were one conscious that it was only a dream from which the sleeper would soon awaken. The psychological problems raised by the dream itself are of paramount interest, but cannot be dealt with here.

III

Psychometry is ‘the faculty possessed by certain persons of placing themselves in relation either spontaneously or for the most part through the intermediary of some object with unknown and often very distant things and people.’

Forthwith the medium perceives not only the person in question in his physical appearance, his character, his habits, his interests, his taste, his wealth, but also in a series of swift and changing visions which follow one another like the pictures of a cinematograph sees and describes exactly that person’s environment, his surrounding country, the rooms in which he lives, the people who live with him and who wish him well or ill.

The object, having absorbed like a sponge a portion of the spirit of the person who touched it, remains in constant communication with him; or, more fully, it serves to track out among the prodigious throng of human beings the one who impregnated it with his fluid, even as the dog employed by the police—at least so we are told—when given an article of clothing to smell are able to distinguish among innumerable cross trails that of the man who used to wear the garment in question. MAURICE MAFLEN, *LYNCK*, in *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*, March, 1916.

The above quotation, taken from the programme of “The Barton Mystery,” gives the clue to the author’s intention in writing his drama—the demonstration of the existence of this faculty of psychometry and the recognition of its value, not only to science, but in the affairs of everyday life.

Beverley may be an "imperturbable trickster," but he is a gifted human being of genuine if eccentric genius. The more one studies the character the stronger becomes one's admiration of Mr. H. B. Irving's interpretation of Mr. Hackett's masterpiece.

Beverley drinks too much whisky and pockets his host's cigars. He is not scrupulous as to means for the attainment of a desired end. He knows certain things are true, and under pressure does not hesitate to lie on behalf of that truth. Society forces this upon him, since he has to live by its suffrages, and it cannot understand that his "powers" control him. He does not, cannot, control his powers.

And is not this true of genius and inspiration in all their varied and transcendent manifestations? The mood is not always at command. "The spirit bloweth where it listeth." Terror and ecstasy clutch at our heartstrings and hurl us into the abyss or waft us to the Empyrean most effectively, most surely, when we are off our guard, when for a moment the objective self is quiescent under the spell of some great emotion, some overmastering sense of awe and wonder, of love or hate, of joy or sorrow, of life or death.

Humanity has ever treated its most gifted children, its poets and seers, its prophets and mediums, with senseless cruelty and crude stupidity, hence the Laureate's manufactured verse and the sensitive's "faked" phenomena.

The medium, like the scientist, knows that there are laws governing the seemingly erratic realm in which he functions. His knowledge is purely empirical, but it is knowledge as far as it goes. He expresses this truth in his own quaint fashion by saying he must have certain "conditions."

"My dear! Your Prince of Mystery is quailing before a true scientific test!" exclaims Sir Everard to his wife, when Beverley declares himself unequal to an impromptu stance.

"I am not quailing," replies the badgered sensitive.

"I have *quailed* already," pointing archly to the dining-room door, "and one cannot be psychic after supper."

Sir Everard, however, insists, is completely convinced by the sham science of "helped out phenomena," and indignantly repudiates all possibility of trickery or deception. He "sees the light," while his wife, an unwilling accomplice to the fraud, sorrowfully abandons her latest "religion" and makes the salutary discovery that psychical powers are not of necessity a guarantee of moral probity or spiritual worth.

As before stated, Mr. Irving's "Beverley" is a triumph of impersonation.

Twenty years' study of mediums and mediumship enable the writer to make the deliberate statement that half a dozen sympathetic visits to the Savoy Theatre will teach one truths on this nascent science of psychical research that many years' faithful membership of that august body, the London S. P. R., has failed to impart to the bulk of its adherents. This is not said by way of criticism. Such a body has its duties and responsibilities. It cannot afford to make mistakes. It must risk executing a dozen innocent victims rather than take to its official bosom one "rogue and vagabond" of the Beverley type.

On the occasion of a third visit to "The Barton Mystery" the privilege

of a few minutes' conversation with Mr Irving elicited the following answer to a question put by the writer

"Have you not made an extended and exhaustive study of mediums and their ways at first-hand? Mr Von Bourg, a sensitive known to London psychical researchers for the last twenty one years, tells me that your personation was perfect except for the slight heightening of gesture for stage effect And my own experience confirms his opinion"

"No, I cannot say that. I have read on the subject, but I interpret Beverley as I feel For the time I am Beverley, and speak and act as I imagine he would speak and act"

IV

And what does one deduce from Mr. Irving's interpretation of Mr. Hackett's stage medium?

"Beverley" demonstrates the existence of the supernormal faculty of psychometry, and he instances historical examples. In the play guilty persons are traced and discovered, scenes of betrayal and murder reconstructed.

The "instability" of temperament, which is the source of Beverley's sensitiveness, also makes him liable to respond to his environment for good or ill. He is the victim of society

Society (with a capital S) fawns on him and caresses him, carries him in its pocket with its lap-dogs and vanity bags. When he will not, or cannot, gratify its whims and caprices, it chastises him as does the Fiji Islander his idol. Indeed, it is more cruel to him than to its lap dogs, which it allows "charming" professors to vivisection so long as its own individual pet is safe. But should misfortune overtake its favourite medium, it relegates him or her without a pang to the mercy of official psychesectors, civic or scientific, and hunts out fresh victims of the listless curiosity it dignifies by the name of "scientific investigation"

It despises him and scorns him, excludes him from its clubs and confidences, yet appeals to him when all else fails, when science is mute and the heavens are as brass. It receives his indispensable services with condescension, and imagines all obligations discharged by a cheque. Even this pecuniary recognition is often lacking, for society sometimes develops an excrescence it calls "conscience, which will not permit it to pay for 'spiritual' things with filthy lucre

"My dear, one cannot believe in the creature's genuineness if we make it a matter of *£ s d*, it simper

It regards him as an "oily impertinent charlatan," yet reviles him for leaving unsolved the problems that have defied mankind through all ages. When he does succeed in throwing a gleam of light on some hitherto baffling mystery, "coincidence," that "watchword of ignorance," gets the credit.

All this and more Mr Irving makes his audience feel. He arouses a strange pity for, and comprehension of, the pathos and tragedy of such a

life as that of the Society Medium. He shows him to be, at his worst, a victim of the defects of his gifts, at his best, generous, forgiving, long-suffering, tolerant of the vices and stupidities of his clients, because he knows how much all men are at the mercy of circumstances. He remains at heart a child, suffering keenly, but not resenting the pain, for his wayward genius has revealed to him in his moments of true inspiration glories unspeakable. He has seen the "light that never was on sea or land," and feels himself a "strayed angel" from realms supernal, doomed for some inscrutable reason to sojourn awhile on the dark planet men call Earth.

NOTES

We have seen the little leaflet headed "The Home Rule for India League" containing a statement of what India really wants, and we wish we could say that we agreed with it, for we yield to none in our desire to work for the good of India. But the truth has been so mixed up in this agitation with the "half truth" (which "is ever the blackest of lies") that we fear we cannot concur with the general conclusions of the Leaguers.

India is represented as "shackled," and her inhabitants are described as even worse than bond slaves, and their condition as far more to be pitied than that of the children of Israel in the hands of Pharaoh—mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, makers of bricks without straw, overborne, oppressed, and ill treated, and every day rendered more and more impoverished and more crushed by taxation by a body of brutal bureaucrats.

We wonder could any of our readers recognize in this picture the real India. Where are the wealthy merchants and mill owners of Bombay, the opulent landlords of Bengal, and the comparatively prosperous peasantry of the south? And where, too, are any traces of the miles of desert made to blossom like the rose by a succession of miracles in the shape of irrigation works? No one denies that India is, on the whole, a comparatively poor country, but even such a pessimist as our friend the late William Digby, C.I.E., calculated that at least 60,000,000 of the population (or about a fourth) were "fairly prosperous" and we wonder could the same be safely said of any other agricultural community in Europe or America? Then again in this pamphlet the destruction of indigenous industries by foreign competition, the causation of famine, and "the decreasing vitality of both the educated and uneducated classes" are laid at the door of the British Government.

But is it not the fact with regard to the alleged destruction of the indigenous industries of India that they were affected in precisely the same way as were those of Europe by the introduction of machinery, and is it not true that plague and famine decimated India periodically from time immemorial. And as regards general wealth and health, is it not true that the peoples of India were never better off than they are now? The salt-tax, too, which is charged as an invention of Great Britain, was really

a Native State tax, and has been merely regulated and modified by the British Government, so that the very poor of India, in whose name this pamphlet professes to speak, really pay no salt tax whatever, receiving as they do the handful of salt which suffices for their daily needs as a handful—free, gratis, and for nothing—from the dealers in the market-place

If, then, the League proposes to inform the British people of the real condition of things in India, they must avoid the falsehood of extremes, and represent things in India as they really are, and not as they imagine them to be, in order that they may raise a successful agitation for something they do not define, but are pleased to call "Home Rule." So far the representations that have been made by these Home Rule Leaguers regarding the condition of India are only calculated to stir up bad blood between the young and thoughtless of the land and the rulers that it has pleased Heaven to send them. We do not deny that there are many things in India that might be better and must be set right, but we would remind our readers and the League, in the words of Sir Rider Haggard, that "India is a big place," and that it includes races and peoples in almost every stage of advance, from "the nonage" to the "old age" of nations and peoples, and that each of these stages requires treatment conatural with its proper position and growth, and that "Home Rule" is a thing absolutely impossible in many parts of India for many hundred years to come.

No doubt there are some parts of India which are growing ripe for self government and others which should be encouraged to aspire to govern themselves and to fit themselves for self government, but the cause of the people of India generally is not served by preaching, under the cover of a vague Home Rule agitation, hatred and contempt for the efforts the Government have made and are making for the well-being of the many millioned population which Providence has seen fit to entrust to Britain's care. Instead of preparing the way quietly and peacefully for a better day, the League seems bent on rashly blackening every blot in the British administration, and instead of striving to co-operate with the Government of the day in brightening the lot of the voiceless millions of the land, they proceed to denounce "the show and the word and the thought of dominion as evil," and they fix upon the British domination in India in particular as a thing that ought to be done to death with all possible speed! This is not helping Home Rule, but "maddening the madness of the moment," and thereby doing a distinct disservice to India. The last thing well-wishers of India should desire is to see her made the pawn, or shuttlecock, of British party politics (as poor Ireland has been in the past). Yet this seems likely to arise from the first steps taken by "The Home Rule for India League" in their educative propaganda!

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

AUGUST 15, 1916

SOME PAGES IN THE HISTORY OF SHANGHAI, 1842-1856*

By W. R. CARLES, C.M.G.

THIRTY odd years ago, life at Shanghai was, perhaps, not so strenuous as it has since become, and the British Vice-Consulate was not so busy but that there were half-hours in which other work than that of the day could be taken in hand. As much of the ordinary work related to the tenure of land within the Settlement, this subject naturally excited my interest, especially owing to the existence of two counter-forces, of which the one impelled natives to acquire land within the Settlement intended for foreigners, while the other drove foreigners to live outside their own Settlement. In the one case, the cause was the desire to secure the immunities and advantages which were to be obtained by living in territory controlled and policed by foreigners. In the other, the motive was to get away from the bustle and stir of the busy port, and to enjoy a country life outside of office hours. In both cases there was added the excitement of the knowledge that the purchase of property was an extremely good speculation, and that the tendency was towards a constant advancement of values in spite of occasional waves of depression.

Of the men who came to the Vice-Consul's office on

* A paper read before the China Society at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on May 23, 1916, Mr. A. M. Townsend in the chair.

business, many were men who had known Shanghai in its early days, and all were keenly interested in its prosperity and future. Of the latter class I think the late Mr. G. J. Morrison was the most prominent, and I had many a talk with him on the future which lay in store for this city of which the like had never existed in any part of the world, for where else were citizens of every civilized country to be found who devoted their energies and time to the development in a foreign country of a steadily increasing area in which foreign ideas of liberty and self-government were given free play, and the government was administered by unpaid officers, elected in large measure by absentees?

The gradual discovery of old plans of the Settlement added to the interest which one felt in the early days of Shanghai, but the material for full information was scanty owing to the destruction of the Consulate by fire in 1870, when its archives were burnt. Only a few volumes had escaped, but one of these fortunately contained copies of the correspondence which had passed between the Consulate and the Committees of Land Renters and others, together with some notes of occurrences relating to the public life of the place. This I found so interesting that I made extracts and copies of some of the papers, and I propose to-day to try and string them together for your benefit and my own pleasure, in the hope that the prominent events in the early life of Shanghai, from its public or municipal point of view, may excite in you the same interest that it did in myself. I am not proposing to do more than refer to the gradual growth of self-government. The late Mr. J. W. Maclellan and Mr. W. S. Wetmore in 1889 and 1894, the *Shanghai Mercury* in 1893, and still more recently Mr. C. M. Dyce, have told much of the stirring events which have taken place in Shanghai since the opening of the port. Mr. Maclellan devoted a whole chapter to the story of the government of Shanghai in an article which is full of very interesting

material, and which I propose to use as the frame on which to construct my story to-night.

Shanghai, as we all know, was opened to trade by the Treaty of Nanking, dated August 29, 1842. But it was not until November 5 in the following year that Captain George Balfour, R.E., our first Consul, arrived there, and the port was not formally opened to trade until November 14, 1843. One of the first things to which the Consul had to attend was the conclusion of arrangements with the Taotai, under which British subjects might acquire and hold land. Regulations on the subject were published in November, 1845, and September, 1846, and November, 1848.

The first public meeting of which I have been able to find a record was held on December 22, 1846, at Richard's Hotel, a building on the river front which seems soon to have disappeared, as it is not marked on plans of the Concession of a few years later date, but it was recollected by some of the older residents in Shanghai thirty years ago. The meeting is described as a Meeting of the Foreign Community, and a resolution was passed that "a tax be levied upon the Foreign Community renting land in Shanghai for the purpose of keeping the roads in proper condition, constructing bridges, erecting public jetties, etc., and that the tax be a rateable payment, according to the extent of land rented by each proprietor, and that the Committee be hereafter appointed to consider this mode as the one adopted by the Community; and that a Committee be appointed to carry through the objects contemplated."

The difficulties of the hour were very great. The necessity for public action was felt by all. It was impossible to leave to individuals the maintenance of roads, construction of jetties, and simple matters of health which confront the first settlers in any part of the world. But who was the authority to whom appeal could be made to enforce what was required? The Chinese expected

foreigners to govern themselves, and to receive directions from their Consuls in the matter. The foreign community realized the advantage of uniting together without laying much stress on the nationality of the one or the other individual, and the Consuls, British, French and American, worked well together, but had no power to enforce any Regulation they made. They must have also had in their memory the fate which befell the unfortunate Captain Elliot in 1839 when, driven by the sneers and taunts of the Cantonese to prove that he really was an officer of the British Government, he issued Regulations to control sailors in the port. Lord Palmerston was not a man inclined to belittle his countrymen in the eyes of foreigners, but on March 23, 1839, he wrote to Captain Elliot that "the Law Officers of the Crown were of opinion that the establishment of a system of ship's police at Whampoa, within the dominions of the Emperor of China, would be an interference with the absolute right of sovereignty enjoyed by independent States which could only be justified by positive treaty or by implied permission from usage." Accordingly Captain Elliot was instructed to obtain first of all the written approval of those Regulations by the Governor of Canton (*vide* "Europe in Asia," p. 64).

In Shanghai, it is true, such written approval was easier to obtain than in Canton; but there was also another difficulty which had not existed in Canton. This lay in the ill-defined position of the British Settlement. Captain Balfour had worked in perfect harmony with his colleagues, though apparently he strongly resented the action of the United States Consul in flying the United States flag within the British Settlement.

Then again there arose the difficulty of enforcing a resolution which required payment of moneys from persons of different nationalities who perhaps had not attended at the meeting or were simply conscientious objectors to paying for anything. It is no small tribute to the tact,

common sense, and public feeling of Shanghai men that these difficulties have eventually all disappeared.

The Committee appointed in 1846 brought forward a scheme which, on March 20, 1849, was laid before the "Renters of Land" at a public meeting held at the British Consulate, when it was resolved "that the Committee be requested to take steps to raise \$6,000 to \$7,000 to defray the estimated cost of five stone jetties of twelve feet in width, upon which sum interest is to be paid at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, by the levy of a wharfage due on goods landed and shipped, and that they levy an assessment at the rate of 1 (*sic*) per mow annually on Rent Lands, in order to form a sinking fund to be appropriated towards the payment of the above Loan."

This, so far as I could find, is the first reference to a public loan or to Land Renters, a name which is a translation of *tsu chu*, and refers to the tenure of land from the Chinese Government under a perpetual lease.

Objections were made to the payment of wharfage dues by Messrs. Gibb Livingston, Holliday Wise, and other firms on the score of their having private jetties (August 16, 1851). By consent, the question of this liability was referred to the Attorney-General at Hongkong, and confirmed by him. Gibb Livingston, in view of this decision, realized that the payment of a handsome sum in cash for such rights and property as they possessed was preferable to the continuance of a dispute which entailed heavy legal costs, and in 1852 their jetty was bought for \$121.63. If I recollect rightly, one or two other jetties were bought about the same time at about the same price.

In 1846 Mr. Alcock had succeeded Captain Balfour in the Consulate at Shanghai, and in 1848 won the confidence and admiration of all there by the energetic action which he took to enforce redress for an assault on three missionaries at Tsingpu. It is not often that the action of a British Consul of a vigorous character is applauded by the Foreign Office. But on the spot, the blockade and holding

up of a fleet of 1,400 tribute junks for fifteen days by a ten-gun brig (H.M.S. *Childers*, Captain Pitman) until justice was done was recognized as the right thing done at the right time and in the right way. Though the Taotai was furious at the moment and sore at the rebuke he received from Nanking, the relations between the Consulates and the Chinese authorities seem to have been improved by the occurrence. The story is admirably told by De Quincey, but unfortunately is omitted in some editions of his works.

It was fortunate that the relations between Mr. Alcock and the foreign community were so cordial, and that his character was at this time well understood by the Chinese authorities, for the seizure of the city by the Triad Society in 1854 and the operations by Imperial troops against the rebels produced a very awkward position. The story of the great battle of Muddy Flat and of the incidents which led to it is told both by Mr. Wetmore and Mr. Maclellan and other writers, and need not be referred to, except in its effect upon the question of the control gained by foreign residents over the administration of the foreign Settlements. But it is perhaps as well to mention that, as Mr. Wetmore points out, the Settlement did not extend beyond the Honan Road, and the Racecourse, which was near the scene of the historic battle, lay between the Honan Road and the Defence Creek. It is also noteworthy that the Soochow Creek was at that time a big waterway, almost, if not quite, as large and as deep as the Hwangpoo. And in this connection a theory held by the late Mr. Nils Moller as to the collapse of the first bridge which was built over the entrance to the Soochow Creek is worth repeating as told to me.

The enormous influx of refugees from the country round during the period of the Taiping Rebellion had not only severely taxed the housing powers of the Settlement, but had also occasioned the accumulation of a huge mass of native boats on the Soochow Creek and near its mouth.

The boats formed almost a continuous platform far out from the shore into the river, when a storm of great violence sprang up and sank hundreds of the boats, together with those on board. Mr. Möller's theory was that one of the pillars of the bridge built in the seventies rested on nothing else than a deep mass of wreckage of boats and victims of the storm, and that, after a short time, the weight of the bridge produced the inevitable collapse of the whole structure, which rested upon piles driven into the mud.

But to return to the British Settlement. The presence of tens of thousands of Chinese within its area and the erection of houses for their accommodation led to many complaints from the Taotai after the recovery of the native city from the Triads, and the assumption of arms in their own defence against Imperial troops had awakened in the foreign community the growth of a spirit of independence which was perhaps hardly realized at the time. To meet the new situation, new Regulations for the Settlement were discussed and framed by the Consuls and the Taotai, and on July 11, 1854, these were presented to a meeting of Land Renters by Mr. Alcock. The speech on the occasion by Mr. Alcock, which was republished by the *N. C. Herald* in 1904, celebrates a remarkable departure in the government of the Settlements.

Mr. Alcock explained that the Regulations were designed to give the cosmopolitan community of Shanghai "a legal status, an existence as a body capable of taking legal action and of lending a legal sanction to measures required for their defence; there must be some organization to take the power of a representative council with municipal powers and authority. And one of the first acts of such a municipality would be the legalization of many measures hitherto forced by a stern necessity upon the naval and civil authorities on the spot, which could not be justified on any principle of legality."

From land and house rates and wharfage dues he

said "an income of \$13,000 might be obtained without serious difficulty or pressure, of which the Foreign Community should contribute one portion, the Chinese residents another, and the Chinese Government whatever further amount might be required to put the police force and defences into an efficient state and to maintain them as long as should be necessary."

The speech from which I have taken the above extracts was a long speech of an invigorating character, and was well received. Action was taken upon it the same day, and the first Municipal Council was then elected. It consisted, according to Mr. Maclellan, of Mr. W. Kay, Mr. E. Cunningham, the Rev. D. Medhurst, Mr. D. O. King, Mr. C. A. Fearon, Mr. J. Skinner, and Mr. W. S. Brown. Mr. Cunningham, of Messrs. Russell and Company, was appointed Chairman either then or soon afterwards.

Of the Regulations themselves there is little occasion to speak. It is said that they were drawn up without consultation with the mercantile representatives, as had presumably been the case with the earlier editions also, but were communicated to them before the meeting. In any case, they gave satisfaction at the time and were an advance on what had gone before.

The matter of the Regulations is not a subject on which there is much occasion to dwell. Shanghai has been famous for many things, and certainly can claim to be the mother of a large family of Land Regulations, each larger than the preceding set, and each an improvement in itself, but capable of further improvement. The interesting point in the Regulations of 1854 is that they are not merely a set of Regulations drawn up by the Consuls in consultation with the Taotai, as might have been gathered from the speech which introduced them, nor, it would seem, is it quite exact to speak of them, as in the minute which introduced the Land Regulations of 1869, as "issued by the Consuls of Great Britain, the United States of America and France, acting under instructions from their respective Plenipoten-

tiaries." They are something considerably more authoritative, for the Chinese version shows that they were issued by the Ministers of France and Great Britain and the Commissioner of the United States, apparently in conjunction with the Viceroy of the Province of Kuangtung. The late Sir W. H. Medhurst described the deed which embodied them as the *Magna Charta* of Shanghai, and it seems strange that apparently no one, not even M. Cordier, has paid attention to the striking feature which distinguishes these Regulations from their predecessors. M. Cordier mentions that the Consuls of the three Powers having treaties with China—viz., Mr. Alcock, Mr. Murphy, and M. Edan—approved of the Regulations (which, as he adds, the French Government did not ratify), but he omits to mention that M. Bourboulon, together with Sir John Bowring and the U.S. Commissioner *Mai* (Colonel Marshall or Mr. McLane), appear in the Chinese document as confirming the rules made by the Consuls and Taotai at Shanghai, and requiring that any alterations proposed in the future should be submitted to them and the Viceroy of the Two Kuang for approval. M. Cordier's omission is presumably due to the fact that Mr. Medhurst's translation of the Regulations of 1845, 1846, and 1848 did not include the Regulations of 1854. The character of the Regulations is now, of course, only a matter of historical interest, but I should not be surprised if it were owing to this character that municipal government exists in Shanghai at the present day. Since material is lacking on which to form a judgment, this theory can, of course, be only a matter of conjecture, but I think you will agree with me that the theory is possible in view of the crisis in Shanghai's municipal life to which I shall presently refer.

Mr. Cunningham, the Chairman of the Municipal Council, was evidently a man of business as well as a business man. In September, 1854, the Municipal Council asked the Treaty Consuls to obtain from the Chinese authorities a definite assurance that their proportion of the

necessary expenses would be forthcoming, as the expenses arising out of the scheme of municipal government were much heavier than had been anticipated. The contributions asked for by the Council were (1) a sum of "\$15,000 towards the erection of a barrack, the building to be the property of the Chinese Government, for which the Council would pay a rental of \$1,500 per annum"; and (2) a yearly subsidy of \$5,000 towards the current expenses "in view of the Chinese Government being relieved from all expenses of a native police within the bounds of the Settlement."

My notes on this period are very scanty, and I cannot recollect whether any correspondence passed between the Consulate and the Council in connection with those proposals, but I find that the sum of \$3,000 was paid by the Chinese Government as a subsidy at the rate of \$500 per month for the half-year ending January 12, 1855.

The Chinese, in the experience of most of us, are liberal in money matters, and the early difficulties which occurred between the Council and the authorities were on a very different subject. The Council desired the Consular body to request that Chinese officials, when passing through the Settlement, should not be accompanied by armed bodies of soldiers, and the demand led to somewhat heated correspondence. So far as I can recollect, the Council stood to their guns, despite the lack of support from their own authorities, and the whole affair was a striking instance of what victories can be won by moral strength, even when not backed by arms. I do not know what the strength of the Municipal Police was in 1855, but in 1858 they numbered only twenty-four men, divided into three parties, who did eight hours on duty.

Mr. Wetmore told a story so apposite to the case that I think it may well be quoted. If any inaccuracies are detected, they are due to my defective memory. As far as I can recollect, it ran somewhat as follows :

During the time that the Triad Society held the native city, and while Imperial troops were in the neighbourhood,

he one day saw a body of soldiers with flags and all the paraphernalia of war marching along the line of the Defence Creek until they reached the bridge. There a long halt took place, soldiers and officers passed to and fro apparently with messages, and after some time the party moved away towards the Soochow Creek. Stirred by curiosity, Mr. Wetmore went to see what was the cause of the stoppage, and on the bridge he found an English bluejacket with fixed bayonet, of whom he inquired why the Chinese soldiers had not crossed the bridge, as seemed to be their intention. "I told them I had orders not to allow anyone to pass," said the sailor. Three cheers for the sailor!

The Municipal Council, if they scored a victory on this question, certainly scored a victory for the Chinese as well as themselves, for acknowledgment of the international character of the Settlement in matters such as that in this dispute has been the foundation of the position which the Settlement has since acquired through this recognition of its neutrality during the war-like operations with France in the eighties, and in the war with Japan in the nineties.

While Mr. Cunningham was fighting in the interest of the future, a bolt fell from the blue which came near to destroying the whole structure of self-government in the foreign Settlements. Presumably, a report of the proceedings of the meeting of July 11, 1854, had been sent through Sir J. Bowring to our Foreign Office, and for some reason referred by Lord Clarendon to the Law Officers of the Crown, and they, after due deliberation, had decided that, as there was no precedent for such a body as a Municipal Council being established in a foreign country, the whole proceeding was very wrong. Anyhow, in February, 1855, Mr. Alcock, in a letter of some length to Mr. Cunningham, wrote: "A very cogent reason existed in July last for making the attempt to invest the representative committee specified in the Land Regulations with a more distinctively municipal

character, which no longer prevails, in the urgency with which the British naval Commander-in-Chief, Sir James Stirling, insisted upon the constitution of a municipal body as alone authorizing him to continue the protection of his forces on shore. This could not at the time be dispensed with, and whatever doubt there might be, therefore, as to the practicability of giving municipal and legal powers to any number of Foreign Renters selected to represent the whole body for local objects, it seemed advisable so far to concede the point as to make the experiment. . . .

"The inexpediency of persevering in the experiment, which we are led to believe is a very general opinion, tending to render discussion superfluous, were it not otherwise a work of supererogation from the fact that, as regards the British and by far the larger section of the community, the opinion of Her Majesty's Government as to the legality precludes the British Consul in future becoming a party to any exercise of authority by a Municipal Council or to the maintenance in the name of Her Majesty's Government of any Regulations which may be laid down by such body."

The Municipal Council, in acknowledging the receipt of this letter (February 20, 1855), noted that "Her Majesty's Government consider the constitution of the Municipal Council as contrary to the law of England," a quotation, I think, from Mr. Alcock's letter.

On March 1, 1855, the French Consul (M. Edan) also retired from the position which he had occupied *vis-à-vis* the Municipal Council. His withdrawal was, he stated, because "l'expérience des six mois qui viennent de s'écouler, m'ayant démontré l'impossibilité de concilier les attributions officielles que les Consuls tiennent de leurs gouvernements respectifs, ou même l'indépendance du souverain du pays, avec une magistrature exercée par des étrangers, élective, armée d'une police à elle et sans autre contrôle qu'un scrutin annuel, vous comprendrez

que je me fasse un impérieux [devoir] d'accorder mes actes avec mes convictions, et qu'en conséquence je ne fasse pas dépendre du vote à intervenir le maintien ou la suppression d'un pouvoir que je considère comme irrégulier dans sa nature et compromettant par ses actes."

The vote to which he referred was that of a meeting called by the Council for March 24 to consider :

- "1. The continuance or not of a Municipal Council.
2. The continuance or not of a police force under the control of the Council or otherwise.
3. The steps it may be necessary for the Council to take upon the resolutions come to on the two previous questions submitted to the meeting."

Of what took place at that meeting there is no record, as far as I could find. Mr. R. F. Thorburn, who must have been in Shanghai at the time, and was afterwards Secretary to the Council, made search in the municipal archives, at the request of Mr. John Macgregor when Chairman of the Council, but could find no reference to it, and Mr. Alexander Michie, Sir Thomas Hanbury and Mr. W. Keswick had no recollection of its having taken place. Mr. Michie was so interested in the matter that he said, had he known of it, he would have added a chapter on the subject in his book, "The Englishman in China."

It is, therefore, matter for speculation whether the Land Renters determined not to forgo the privileges which had been conceded by the Chinese, no matter whether their Legations and Consuls supported them or not, or whether some device was adopted which might satisfy the scruples of lawyers without in any way diminishing the essence of the power which had been conferred in 1854.

A good many years ago a burning question existed between our Legation and the Customs with regard to a steamer which had not complied with a Customs Regulation. The fact was beyond dispute. The difference of opinion was as to the punishment to be inflicted. The Legation held that a heavy fine would cover the case. The Chinese

Government maintained that confiscation was the only punishment applicable according to the Regulations, and announced that the next time the vessel visited the port where she had committed the offence she would be seized. Despatches, letters and telegrams of an urgent character followed upon this announcement, and a big question with many possibilities existed. The owners of the vessel were naturally greatly perturbed, and may have consulted a Chinese adviser as to what course to pursue. The solution can hardly have suggested itself to an Englishman. The solution was simple enough. The vessel's name, we will say, was *Armour*, and the whole correspondence related to the s.s. *Armour*. When the steamer *Balmer* appeared in the port, there could be no question of punishing or confiscating her. So the s.s. *Armour* died, and the s.s. *Balmer* was born and duly christened by the Registrar of Shipping, and all controversy ended.

So, I think, may have ended the dispute regarding the illegal nature of the Municipal Council. The objection to it as such existed only in the minds of foreigners, and no objection could be raised even by lawyers to a Committee of Land-holders.

For a time, it is true, all correspondence between the Council and the Consulate ceased. Mr. Alcock, whose popularity had been little, if at all, impaired by the rebuff which had been dealt him on this and other occasions by the Foreign Office, left for home, and a month or two later Mr. Cunningham wrote to Mr. Brooke Robertson, who had taken over charge of Her Majesty's Consulate, asking him to request the Taotai to send his quota towards the expenses of administration. After that, correspondence was gradually resumed, and in 1869 Sir R. Alcock had the pleasure of signing, in company with the representatives of Russia, France, the United States and Prussia, a minute confirming a new code of Regulations for the Settlements in whose welfare he had been so greatly interested.

A very interesting fact in connection with the crisis of 1854 is that the Chinese authorities did not complain of the Municipal Council having exercised powers which had not been conferred upon it, nor of having assumed a status for which there was no authority. Much resentment, it is true, was felt at the slight inflicted upon their officials in the opposition to their retinue carrying arms when passing through the Settlement. But what the Chinese authorities had hoped for and still desired was that the powers of the Council should be greater. The difficulty of the hour for them was the presence within the Settlement of some 50,000 Chinese, whose numbers were likely to increase indefinitely. The Council had been expected to take steps to stop the influx of Chinese and to expel Chinese tenants from foreign-owned houses, but the Council, when moved by the consular body to take action in the matter, replied that it did not appear to them that such matters fell within their control, but they undertook to take immediate steps to suppress brothels and gambling houses, and to see to the removal of such buildings as obstructed the public way (*vide* "The Story of Shanghai," p. 99).

As to the objection raised by the Law Officers of the Crown to the creation of a municipal body in a foreign country, the Chinese did not then, nor for many years afterwards, hear nor know what the lawyers were talking about. What particular name was assumed by the men elected by the Land Renters mattered nothing to them. Foreign devils were presumed to have a language of their own, but Chinese officers certainly would not condescend to ask what was the meaning of their words.

In conclusion, I would like to lay great stress on the valuable work done by Mr. E. Cunningham in his position as first Chairman of the Municipal Council. Perusal of the records of that time brings out into strong relief his strength of character, and the difficulties with which he was faced, in the fact that he was an American citizen at the head

of a cosmopolitan body established in a British Settlement, and in correspondence with a British Consul, through whom alone dealings with the native authorities were conducted. It is not easy to judge in how great a degree the policy of his colleagues on the Council was affected by him, or how far his action was the result of their advice, but it seems certain that in Mr. E. Cunningham Shanghai possessed a leader to whom the place still owes a great debt, and that the semi-independence enjoyed by the foreign community at the present day is due to the bold and clever manner in which, in 1855, he steered the bark of self-government through the storm which threatened its ruin within twelve months of its being launched.

DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. A. M. TOWNSEND), opening the discussion, said that Shanghai to-day was a magnificent city, but its narrow and tortuous streets reminded one of its early difficulties. And if those narrow streets could hardly do justice to the noble buildings which the city could now boast, Shanghai yielded the palm to no other city in the East as a shipping, commercial, and industrial port. Perhaps in the Western Hemisphere it would always be a moot point whether Boston or New York was the hub of the universe, and in the Eastern Hemisphere there might also be a doubt as to whether Shanghai or Hongkong had the honour of being the hub of that Hemisphere, but he was quite sure that a Shanghaileander had no doubts on that point. An interesting thing about Shanghai was its political, or perhaps he should say its non-political, status. Foreign Powers and institutions were fully established there, but at the same time, in their midst, there was a republican government and a cosmopolitan republic, which, as they had heard, was originally presided over by Mr. Cunningham, who was so able a president and chairman. Although Mr. Carles had introduced to them many points of interest, he had also interested them by calling to their minds the names of many in whom they recognized old and valued friends. Perhaps one of the chief attractions of Shanghai might be said to be that republican character with which it had been invested, and they had been very much interested in hearing of the growth and somewhat precarious development of that system of government which the Settlement now enjoyed. Before asking the meeting to pass a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Carles for his interesting lecture, the Chairman said they

would all like to hear any remarks from friends present—and there were many—who could speak with authority on the history of Shanghai.

ADMIRAL SIR EDMUND FREMANTLE remarked that he knew Shanghai pretty well for one who had not regularly lived there. He was first there in 1853, when it was very interesting because of the rebels' possession of the native town, which the Imperialists, as they called them, were besieging. Their business, in a small frigate, was to prevent the Imperialists from going into the Settlement, and they sometimes used to turn out against them, and had several little scrimmages. He was not there at the time when it was found necessary to storm the Imperialists' capital. Shanghai in 1853 struck the speaker as a wonderfully advanced place, the Bund was apparently very flourishing, and there was a great deal of civilization there, according to his ideas. A good many years afterwards—in 1892 or 1893—he was there as Commander-in-Chief of the China Station, and a jubilee was then being celebrated. (Mr. Carles interposed, at the request of the speaker, that this might have been the jubilee of the opening of the port, which took place in 1842, or of the opening of the port to trade in 1843.) Sir Edmund continued that he recollected, in connection with that visit, that Shanghai was certainly the most pleasant place in the Far East, if not the greatest. They always had very good provisions there—(laughter)—particularly good mutton. There was nothing in India that compared with the food they got in Shanghai. There was, however, always a good deal of friction there, such as friction with the Chinese authorities as to the rights possessed over Europeans, and so on. He recollected that the China and Japan War was brought on to a great extent by the question of a Chinaman or rather, a Korean, who had been engaged in plots in Korea, who had been to Japan, then was induced to go back to China, and who was murdered in the Shanghai Settlement. He believed his name was Kim. They allowed the Chinese Government to take the body of Kim back to Korea, where it was promptly hung, drawn, and quartered, which gave great offence to the Japanese. When he was last in China, Sir Edmund went on to say, although Hongkong was our possession and our soldiers were there, yet it struck him that there was something even more interesting about Shanghai, in spite of the fact that it was only partially English. When he was there in 1853 they not only had Mr. Alcock, but Sir Harry Parkes, Vice Consul. So there were two very distinguished men there whom he recollected in his happy days, and whom he used to meet a great deal. They were all extremely indebted to Mr. Carles for the most interesting paper he had read.

Mr. GEORGE JAMIESON said that Mr. Carles' paper contained a great deal of information which he fancied had not hitherto been made public, and which would be valuable for the future historian of Shanghai. But where was that historian? It was announced four or five years ago that Mr. Lanming was engaged in the preparation of a history of the rise and growth of the Municipality, but he had not heard any more about it. It was a story that ought to be told, however. No doubt it had been told,

but in a scattered manner here and there. What was wanted was an official history of the growth of that very great institution, the Municipality of Shanghai. It illustrated that sort of Empire building that had been carried on by Britishers for the past 150 years. "Take a handful of Britishers and dump them down on foreign soil; the first thing they do is to evolve some sort of home rule." It illustrated also, Mr. Jamieson continued, how very little help the Home Government gives to those pioneers in all parts of the world. Mr. Carles had explained how near those Regulations of 1854 came to strangulation at the hands of the Law Officers of the Crown. The history of Shanghai had still to be written, and the speaker was sure that Mr. Carles' paper, which filled up many blanks in the already known history of the Settlement, would be a valuable contribution to the compilation of that work. He would like, if he might, to second the vote of thanks which had been proposed by the Chairman.

Dr. JOHNSTON observed that he fully endorsed all that Mr. Jamieson had said about Shanghai. The development of the Settlement under the aegis of foreigners was one of the most remarkable things that had ever taken place. A small community of foreigners planted in a little village—when Shanghai was opened it was a mere village—had built up the present structure. They were given some idea of its growth when they heard of taxes amounting to a couple of thousand dollars, while present taxation ran into tens of thousands of dollars. But Shanghai was fortunate in having a very able administrative staff of Consuls—they were very able men indeed—a good British Minister at Peking, and very able men in the Council. Mr. Cunningham, for instance, was one of the ablest men in Shanghai amongst the merchants there, and he, of course, contributed greatly to the administration of the Municipality. No doubt the Council had had a chequered career; but it was marvellous that, in spite of all the troubles that had occurred in Shanghai, they had managed to administer the Settlement so well. It certainly well deserved to be called a model Settlement, and he knew of no other place that had prospered in the way Shanghai had done, and where the government had been carried on in such a satisfactory manner. There had been differences often with the Chinese, but they had been amicably arranged. Moreover, the citizens of Shanghai had been so patriotic. They had not only attended to their own business relations, but had taken an interest in the welfare of the Chinese. He spoke from personal knowledge of one part of the philanthropic work carried on there—the Chinese Hospital, which was founded by Hobson and then carried on by Drs. Lockhart and Henderson. The speaker had had the privilege of being in charge of that hospital for twenty-one years. At the beginning it was a small Chinese building with about eight or ten beds, but before he left the Settlement he had had the pleasure of being able to get, with the assistance of the Taotai, the residents of Shanghai, and the Consul, a foreign building which was capable of taking in seventy patients. Since that time the hospital had been very much further enlarged. For instance, with regard to the vaccination of the Chinese, there used to be from 200 to 300 cases a year, but when he

left thirteen years ago there were 15,000 to 16,000 vaccinations every year. He merely mentioned this to show that the foreigners in Shanghai took the liveliest interest in the Chinese. In was a great matter that such a large community as that, with such enormous interests, had gone on quietly to this time without any serious catastrophe. There was, it was true, one riot in the French Settlement which might have been serious. There was a little bloodshed then, but that was settled. It was due, he was afraid, to some little mismanagement. However, he thought that Shanghai was one of the most interesting places he had ever seen or read about, and the early history that Mr. Carles had given them ought to be published, he hoped it would be. They were very much indebted to Mr. Carles for unearthing these facts, which, if he had not done so, they would probably never have heard of.

MR. LOCKHART said he had been particularly interested in what Dr. Johnston had said. He was inclined to think that he was the oldest inhabitant of Shanghai present, for he could go back to 1850, although he could not say that his recollection went back so far as that. He was born in the precincts of Dr. Lockhart's hospital. That hospital was really the forerunner of the important work that was being carried on not only there, but at Peking, in the Union Hospital. He was in Shanghai in its early days, as well as in his own—when he came away, as a matter of fact, he was only fifteen months old—so he could not give very much information about it. And he had only been there once since, for about a week, although his connection with the East had been intimate. But if his late father were present he was quite sure he could have spoken very fully about it, and could have given many facts that would be interesting. Admiral Fremantle had mentioned his uncle, Sir Harry Parkes, who was largely instrumental in the development of Shanghai, and who spent a great deal of his early life there. He believed he went out there to the speaker's father as a boy of sixteen, he worked right through the Civil Service and the Diplomatic Service until he became British Minister in Japan and afterwards at Peking. It had been intensely interesting to the speaker to attend the meeting.

ADMIRAL SIR EDMUND FREMANTLE remarked that he would like to add that during the China and Japan War the Japanese wished to go up the Yangtze. It was suggested that they were going to destroy the Shanghai arsenal, and that they would probably more or less destroy Shanghai. He had orders, which were not then made public, to prevent the Japanese fleet going up the Yangtze—and he did prevent them.

MR. JAMESON observed in that connection that he was in Shanghai at the time when the Japanese War was at its height. He well remembered a visit from the Taotai one Sunday afternoon, who came to say that he had telegraphic instructions from the Viceroy at Nanking to get ready a lot of junks filled with stones to be sunk on the Woosung Bar, as they were afraid of a raid by the Japanese Navy. The sinking of the junks would have barred the Japanese, no doubt, but it would have also blocked access by merchant steamers and stopped the business of the port. The

situation was serious, and a sort of council was held to see what could be done. The suggestion was made that the alarm was ill founded, and that possibly an undertaking might be got from the Japanese not to interfere with the trade of Shanghai. Thereupon a telegram was sent to the Foreign Office, who immediately wired to Tokio. On the Monday afternoon they had a wire from the British Minister there to say, "I have an undertaking in writing from the Japanese Government to refrain from hostile action against Shanghai and its approaches." This was communicated to the Chinese. The junks were never sunk, and the trade of the port was not interrupted.

The LECTURER said he might recall one little incident in connection with Sir Harry Parkes. When that blockade took place at Shanghai—when 1,400 sail were held up by one ten-gun brig, H.M.S. *Childers*—Mr. Alcock had reduced the naval strength in port by despatching H.M.S. *Espigle*, with Mr. Parkes on board, to Nanking to obtain redress for the outrage on Messrs. Medhurst, Lockhart, and Muirhead; and Mr. Parkes came back with the right answer.

The vote of thanks to the lecturer was passed, and the meeting then terminated.

BOHEMIA: HER STORY AND HER CLAIMS

BY FRANCIS P. MARCHANT

"Jsem Cech, a kdo je víc?" (I am a Bohemian, and who is more?) —
National Proverb

"Bohemia! there is not an art
 In which thy sons have not excelled,
 Thy wares were sold in every mart,
 And praise from enemies compelled
 Now Brozik, with a painter's skill,
 From history has waked the dead,
 Bohemia, that has great men still,
 Nor are thy days of glory fled!"

F. P. KOPTA

"From early times surrounded by Germans, the Cechs* would seem to have lost the anarchic inconsistency, the fatalistic insouciance, which have always been the charm and the bane of the Slavs, to have in good stead assimilated some of the irrepressible energy and methodical industry so characteristic of their Teutonic neighbours, and to have typified these qualities in the indefatigable martellato of their speech."—DR NEVILL FORBES.

SOME apology may be due for offering an account of a Central European nationality in a Review devoted mainly to Eastern lands and their problems. In view of the kinship of the Cechs with their fellow-Slavs, the Russians, the important relations of the latter to Oriental affairs—has not Mme. Olga Novikoff described for us Russia's faith in victory?—and the fact that Bohemia deserves world-wide sympathy and comprehension in consequence of her immeasurably difficult position under the great conflict, justification may be pleaded for these pages. If to any extent sympathy and interest should be evoked by this

* The name Cech (pronounced Chekh) is generally written in the Polish form Czech, French Tcheque

brief statement of the Cech position and case, then it will not have appeared in vain. The generous indulgence of readers is confidently anticipated.

"Un petit peuple et une grande nation," wrote Madame Georges Sand to a Prague lady long ago, with respect to Bohemia. Few words have suffered more in popular connotation than the name "Bohemian," except, perhaps, "Alsatian." From Paris came the operative expression, "*vie de Bohême*," evoking roystering visions of Montmartre and the Quartier Latin, and in quite serious works "Bohemian" was synonymous with gipsy. Our object here is to show that Bohemia, reluctantly linked to the chariot of the Central Powers, or, more precisely, to the Austrian Empire, deserves present sympathy and claims future co-operation from the Entente Powers in achieving emancipation. In 1911 the Royal City of Prague welcomed the Lord Mayor of London (Sir T. Vezey Strong) and a civic deputation on their official visit to Austria, and afterwards the then Mayor of Prague, and his colleagues, were—in company with representatives of other cities—the honoured guests of the City of London. The Bohemian University of Prague, at whose head are men of European distinction, have established an English seminary, and a Prague English Circle was inaugurated for study of English and American literatures. On more than one occasion the writer has been asked for information as to the conduct of English hospitals and other institutions, for the guidance of Prague administrators. Lately decorations were conferred by H.M. the Tsar upon Cech volunteers with the French army in Champagne, and numbers are serving in the Russian ranks, and have won over 500 crosses and medals of St. George. During the Russian occupation of the Dukla Pass a year ago, two battalions of the 28th Austrian Regiment of Infantry, entirely composed of Cechs and nicknamed "The Children of Prague," surrendered to a handful of Russians without fighting. In consequence, this regiment was struck for ever out of the list of Austrian

regiments, and every fifth man and all the officers remaining were shot by German and Hungarian soldiers. The Cechs in Great Britain, in the early days of the War, offered their services to the War Office, and are ready to serve as soon as permission is granted. The numerous Cech colonies in America have been very active in the cause of the Allies. In addition to generous donations to the Allies' Red Cross work, it is largely due to their efforts that German propaganda has been exposed and counteracted, intrigues of German and Austrian officials denounced, munition strikes frustrated, etc.

No wonder, then, that, as Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson said before the Royal Society of Arts,

"Just as the harmless Anatolian peasant is fighting the battles of Enver Pasha—the murderer of his commander-in-chief, his Grand Vizier, and now his Heir-apparent—so the thirty-five million Slavs and Latins of the Central Empires are being used as 'food for cannon' in a death struggle against their own kinsmen and their dearest national ideals. Thus the main task before us, if we are really to reconstruct Europe on new and healthy lines, must be to detach these peoples from their present thralldom to Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest, to liberate the Slav democracies of Central Europe, and to secure to them the means of progress and organization upon a national and independent basis."

It is tempting to dilate at length on the history of Bohemia and the Cechs, but only a meagre outline is possible. Count Lutzow modestly styles his history a "sketch," and in the preface regrets that, though the materials were in his possession, he had neither time nor opportunity for writing a complete history in English. In his words,

"The history of Bohemia, so little known to English readers, may be regarded as a drama, and even, perhaps, as a tragedy."

It is maintained that the Slavs were in the diamond-shaped area known as Bohemia (home of the Boii) long before the Christian era; but though in a majority, they were not the only inhabitants. The Boii were Celts, and the Marcomanni, who opposed Marcus Aurelius, were Teutons. The tribal name Cech gradually extended, and at length covered the whole of the Slavic tribes of Bohemia, between whom and their German neighbours age-long

rivalry has persisted. (It is scarcely necessary to repeat the opening observations on the relations of early Slavs and Germans in "The Yugoslav Question," in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of February 15 last.) The great Slav State of Samo, who defeated his Frankish rival Dagobert, was of short duration. The introduction of Christianity by way of Moravia is associated with the honoured names of Saints Cyril and Methodius of Constantinople, the "Apostles to the Slavs," but their mission met with hostility from the German (Roman) clergy. The "Good King Wenceslas" of our carol was Prince St. Václav, the pious and charitable son of St. Ludmilla, slain by his heathen brother Boleslav in 935.* (We have visited the town of Stará Boleslav [Alt Bunzlau], where the murder occurred, and seen the memorial shrine, pictures, and relics of the saint.) To St. Vojtěch (Adalbert), Bishop of Prague, belongs the honour of completing the establishment of Christianity. The Tartars, who overran Russia and permanently affected the future history of that country, were repulsed in the mountain passes by Wenceslas I., and did not gain a footing in Bohemia.

The greatest King was Přemysl Ottokar II., whose conquests extended to the Adriatic, but whose death in battle against Rudolph of Hapsburg proved a disaster for his country. King John of Luxemburg, the knight-errant whose campaigns extended from Russia to Italy and France, touches English history in his romantic death, when, old and blind, he perished at Crécy fighting on behalf of Philip of Valois against Edward III. and the Black Prince. As Macaulay sings,

"Look how the Lion of the sea lifts up his ancient crown,
And underneath his deadly paw strikes the gay lilies down.
So stalked he, as he turned to flight, on that famed Picard field,
Bohemia's plume, and Genoa's bow, and Caesar's eagle shield."

His son, the Emperor Charles IV., was of far more value to Bohemia than John had ever been, and was popularly

* The saint has been blamed for subservience to the Germans and their energetic ruler Henry the Fowler. Boleslav, who afterwards became a Christian, vigorously opposed them.

honoured as "father of the country" (*otec vlasti*), a title afterwards bestowed on Palacky. To Charles is due the foundation of the University of Prague (1348), the building of the *nové město* (new town) and the treasure castle Karlův Týn (Karlstein), and his name is preserved in the watering-place Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad). The corrupt state of the Church and irregularities among the clergy, productive of momentous consequences in due course, engaged the attention of the Emperor, who supported the reformers Waldhauser and Milic, predecessors of Hus. Anne, daughter of Charles, lies beside her husband, our Richard II., in Westminster Abbey. The doctrines of Wycliffe were studied and largely adopted in Bohemia, where, indeed, they exerted more durable influence than the Lollard movement in England. We can only mention the Papal schism, the secession of German students from Prague University, the zeal of Hus and Jerome, the irresolution of King Wenceslas IV., the Council of Constance, and the martyrdom of Hus in spite of the Emperor Sigismund's safe-conduct. This last led to the national movement, and ultimately to the Hussite wars. The Church Reformers were ranged into several parties, of which the liberal Utraquists and the more rigorous Taborites were the chief representatives. Thanks to the citizens of Prague and the indomitable flail-bearing peasant warriors under John Žižka, the vast international crusade organized by Pope Martin V. and the Emperor Sigismund against Bohemia melted away. The history of the country for long years is occupied with the religious struggles, the foiled attempts of Sigismund to occupy the Bohemian throne—in which he succeeded near the end of his life—the exploits of the blinded General Žižka, the intervention of the Polish Prince Sigismund Korybut, the Hussite invasions of Germany, and the abortive crusades of Cardinals Beaufort and Cesarini.

The elected Utraquist noble, King George of Poděbrad, has always been venerated by his countrymen, but was unable to found a dynasty. At this time we read of the rise of

the Bohemian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), whose spiritual descendants are the Moravians. The movement originated by Luther found ready adherents in Bohemia, and the German Reformer declared that "we had all been Hussites without knowing it." With Ferdinand I. the Hapsburg rule began, and the introduction of the Jesuits, with consequent trouble for the Brethren. Protestantism in varying forms was the religion of the majority of Bohemians during the early years of the unfortunate and eccentric Emperor Rudolph II., but the vigorous Catholic measures of the Spanish Court and neighbouring Princes had their effects throughout Austria. The tension came to a crisis in May, 1618, when the Royal Councillors Martinic and Slavata were *defenestrated* by the Protestant nobles from the Hradčany windows, the first act of the disastrous Thirty Years' War. Ferdinand II. was deposed by the Provisional Government, and Frederick, Elector Palatine, was elected. (His Queen was Elizabeth, daughter of our James I., and their son was Prince Rupert, the dashing Cavalier cavalry leader.) His brief reign was a failure, and the victory of the Imperial forces under Maximilian of Bavaria, Tilly, and Bouquoi, at Bílá Hora (White Mountain) in November, 1620, deprived Bohemia of her independence.

The White Mountain battle—which Bohemian peasants even now call "our late disaster"—was followed by merciless executions of Bohemian noblemen and Prague citizens, others of whom were driven into exile. (The square of the old Town Hall, Prague, has witnessed as ghastly reprisals as the Grande Place at Brussels.) The Roman Catholic Church was firmly established in Bohemia, and Ferdinand II.* was incited by Jesuit counsellors to

* Mr. H. Wickham Steed ("The Hapsburg Monarchy") writes: "Ferdinand, drawing his inspiration from the Virgin Mary under Jesuit guidance, accomplished the terrible miracle of transforming Austria in thirty years from a Protestant into a Catholic country. Determined to save the souls of his people, he fulfilled to the letter his saying: 'Better a desert than a land of heretics.'"

destroy all traces of Bohemian independence and learning. (The term *Pfaffenkaiser*, sometimes applied to Charles IV., is more appropriate to this grim fanatic.) Priests accompanied by soldiers roamed all over the country burning books and wrecking monuments. Bohemian estates were distributed among Germans, Spaniards, and Walloons, and among others the enigmatic Wallenstein (properly Waldštýn or Waldstein) acquired immense wealth. It is understood that one of his ambitions was the throne of Bohemia. The Swedish invasion under Gustavus Adolphus should have rallied the Bohemian Protestants, but achieved nothing. Two eminent Bohemian exiles were John Amos Komensky (Comenius), the educationist, and Václav Hollar, the artist and drawing master to the young Stuart Princes. The resultant persecutions were considered to surpass those by Turks and Tartars. German was substituted by law, and the Bohemian language was considered as following the tongues of the Elbe and Baltic Slavs into oblivion. The forces of Frederick the Great incessantly invaded the country, and his defeat at Kolín on the Elbe was the sequel to a victory over the Russians at Zorndorf. The whole story is related by the Sorbonne Professor, Ernest Denis, in his excellent work "*La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche.*"

A revival took place in the reign of the enlightened Joseph II., when the Jesuits were suppressed, serfdom was abolished, and permission given to print Bohemian books. The Bohemian Society of Sciences was founded, and in 1818 the Society of the Bohemian Museum, of which Goethe* was a member. With increasing racial self-realization political aspirations began, though Napoleon's proclamation to the nation was ineffectual. The historian and statesman Francis Palacky declined membership of the German Frankfort Parliament, and a Slav Congress was opened at Prague in 1848, when Europe was afflicted

* In one of his conversations reported by Eckermann, Goethe declared: "*Der Bohmen ist ein eigenes Land: ich bin dort immer gern gewesen.*"

with revolutionary fever. An unfortunate outcome was the bombardment of Prague by Prince Windischgrätz. The Slovaks* of Hungary and Moravia, brother-Slavs of the Cechs, whose language is practically identical—Protestant Slovaks use the Cech Bible—were adroitly rendered subservient to Budapest in 1867 by the operation of Beust's *Ausgleich*, which placed Bohemia at the mercy of Vienna. The Slovaks have suffered severely from Magyar confiscation of school money and premises. The Emperor Francis Joseph promised in 1871 to accept the Bohemian crown in St. Vitus's Cathedral, but this has never been fulfilled. As Mr. Thomas Čapek, the American-Bohemian editor, writes,

"It must not be forgotten that, since the formation of the Triple Alliance, Berlin influence at Vienna, always great, had become predominant. If the two Teutonic partners were agreed on any one thing, it was on the proposition that Slavic trees in Austria should not grow too tall."

The apostles of *Kultur* uniformly consider themselves as veritable children of the light, and charitably regard non-Teutonic rivals as outcasts. Were Cechs, Slovaks, and other Slavs willing to accept crumbs from the rich Teutonic table in grateful docility, all would indubitably be well for them, think their opponents; but the Slavs have long realized intellectual emancipation and national consciousness. "Is not Prague an unpleasant place to live in?" we were once asked in the train by a Dresden lady who had not been there. "*Warum?*" we inquired; but not receiving any explanation, proceeded to make it clear that we had passed about a week there most happily. Scarcely any other people have endured more than the Bohemians from "burking" and "bowdlerizing" of intelligence intended

* They were among the earliest settlers in Hungary, and formed an important element of Svatopluk's Moravian kingdom, subsequently being reckoned among other Slavs and Magyars. The language has been styled a Cech dialect, but there are many orthographical differences. The famous Pan-Slav poet, Jan Kollar, was of Slovak origin, and recognized Slav kinsmen in Cossacks returning from Austerlitz, to whom his advances were welcome. The Slovak *Matice* was prohibited in 1874. An exhibition of Slovak art was held at the Doré Gallery a few years ago.

for foreigners, which frequently had to pass through unfriendly hands.

It will be profitable to consider whether Bohemia and her sons have not, in spite of adverse circumstances, achieved considerable triumphs in art, science, music, and other spheres of activity. "Hundred-towered, golden Prague," formerly thought of, if at all, as some obscure provincial town, studiously omitted from "Kultural" tourist-maps, presents a Slav and not a Teuton aspect. The dismal old alleys and courts of the Josefov, noticed on our first visit, have been replaced by handsome streets and shops. Considered by Humboldt as the most beautiful inland town in Europe, the view of Prague from the Petřín tower or the Strahov monastery garden is enchanting, and civic pride justly runs high.

The beauties of Prague do not exhaust the attractions of Bohemia for the visitor. Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) is an old silver-mining town and mint, alternately in the possession of the Emperor Sigismund and Žižka's Taborites, where we saw the Church of St. Barbara consecrated after restoration. Enjoyable excursions may be made to the Český Ráj (Bohemian Paradise), near the Riesengebirge, where Waldstyn had vast estates, and the castle Trosky and Hrubá Skala rock formations are interesting. The Hussite stronghold Tábor, with its huge gates and battlements, would be readily recognized by its founder Žižka were he to come to life once more. Many weeks could be spent in exploration of the romantic Šumava (Böhmerwald) region, where we have wandered over mountain and forest land in company with a local professor. Gladly would we enlarge on mountaineering expeditions on the Bohemian-Bavarian frontier, and talk of Prince Schwarzenberg's château Hluboka (Frauenberg), near Budějovice (Budweis), the wide panorama from Svatobor view-tower, stately ruins like Velhartice Castle, rambles in deep-wooded solitudes by mountain tarns, but must refrain. Strakonice was the home of a popular Bohemian figure, Švanda

Dudák, a kind of "Pied Piper" of magic powers whose name is given to a satirical journal. Even now, in stormy weather, older peasants speak timorously of the "Wild Huntsman" tearing through the forests with his grisly crew.

Bohemian celebrity in art goes back to the days of Charles IV., who assembled eminent artists and encouraged the Prague school of painting. A monument of this period is the castle Karlův Týn (Karlstein), his treasure-house and fortress, renovated of late years. The troubles and unrest of succeeding reigns temporarily checked artistic development, although Rudolph II. was a distinguished patron of art and science and encouraged the embellishment of the city, and reference has been made to Jesuit vandalism. The fame of Vaclav Hollar, who sketched the progress of the Great Fire from the tower of St. Mary Overies, was perhaps enhanced through his exile. Coming to modern times, most visitors have seen, in the old Town Hall, Vaclav Brozik's large pictures representing "The Condemnation of John Hus" and "The Election of George of Poděbrad." Thanks to the work of art societies (*e.g.*, Umělecká Beseda and "Manes," after that artist whose work adorns the famous town hall clock), a number of rising painters have come to the front, and art exhibitions have been regularly organized. It is a matter of regret that we cannot dwell on representative names. In the sphere of sculpture, it is necessary to mention Sucharda's* great monument to Palacký, and the gigantic statue of Good King Wenceslas by Professor Myslbek, which we saw at a Prague exhibition. Mr. Henry Hantich, journalist and author of a practical Bohemian-French grammar, has written a handsome work, "*L'Art Tcheque*," illustrated with masterpieces, and another on "*La Musique Tcheque*." The American Professor W. S. Monroe is the author of an excellent popular work on Bohemia, in which he treats of every department of artistic, industrial, and social life. Mr. James

* While this article was in proof, we heard that Professor Stanislav Sucharda passed away on May 5.



THE BRIDGE OF PRAGUE, WITH MALA STRANA TOWER



THE ARMS OF BOHEMIA



HUSINEC, BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN HUS

Baker, author of "A Forgotten Great Englishman" (Peter Payne, the Hussite), has long been known as a high English authority on the country.

A stout volume would be required to discuss Bohemian musical predominance. Where there is a Slav woman, says Šafařík, there is a song, and the Cechs possess a singing accent especially noticeable when speaking foreign languages. The national hymn is *Kde domov můj* (Where is my home), Tyl's poem, to a bewitching melody by Škroup, in which Bohemia is described as a rustic paradise, where gallant spirits inhabit sturdy frames in a country beloved of God. At the handsome National Theatre native operas are rendered by skilled masters. Mozart, Liszt, Wagner, Berlioz, and other eminent composers, produced their works at Prague, and since their days Dvořák, Smetana, Fibich, and many more, have demonstrated native talent to the world. Antonín Dvořák achieved world-fame after struggles with almost insurmountable difficulties connected with his humble peasant origin. Kubelík and Miss Marie Hall are two of the distinguished violinists from the Prague Conservatoire, and pupils of the celebrated Professor Ševčík who is well known in England.

Professor Louis Leger, the veteran Parisian Slavophil whose friendship we greatly value, compares the history of Bohemia to that of the Slav manuscript preserved at Rheims, once belonging to the Sazava monastery, which attracted the attention of Tsars Peter the Great and Nicholas I. Literary monuments in Bohemian abound after the twelfth century. The three periods of development of the language are—(1) First efforts; (2) maturity, from the fifteenth century to the White Mountain; and (3) romantic revival. Russian and other Slavonic scholars often encounter familiar words and phrases. The Poles availed themselves of Cech translations of the Scriptures, Kings Casimir and Vladislav Jagellon wrote Cech re-scripts, and Bohemian became the diplomatic language of Lithuania. For English students, Professor Dr. W. R.

Morfill's grammar has not been superseded, and the dictionary of Professor V. E. Mourek (Hon. LL.D., Glasgow)—beloved by English residents and visitors to Prague—still holds the field. (We first met this kindly scholar—"Tatček" Mourek of his students—at the Tycho Brahe festival in 1901, receiving from him as cordial a welcome as to a delegate, and thus a friendship began broken only by his death.) Early Bohemian literature has been discussed by Professor Morfill in his work on Slavonic literature, and Count Lutzow has written a general account. John Hus, besides his work of Church reform, succeeded in improving Cech orthography, and was as fierce against Germanisms as the Jewish hero Nehemiah who beat children for speaking half Hebrew and half Philistine. Dalimil's Chronicle, the moral philosophy of Thomas of Štítýn, and the democratic doctrines of Peter Chelčický—which won the enthusiasm of Count L. N. Tolstoy—have all survived, and Count Lutzow chose the Bohemian historians as the subject of his Oxford Ilchester lectures. The famous Králická Bible was translated by the Bohemian Brethren. Komenský's "Labyrinth of the World," a pessimistic allegory suggestive of the "Pilgrim's Progress," has been translated by Count Lutzow. The glory of the Bohemian national and literary revival centres round the names of Dobrovský (grammarian), Jungmann (lexicographer, whose translation of Milton's "Paradise Lost" formed a model for the poetic language), Kollar (Pan-Slav poet), Šafářík (antiquary), and Palacky (historian), who wrote under a repressive censorship. Sir John Bowring and the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw introduced Bohemian poetry to English readers, and the recent death of Francis, Count Lutzow (D. Litt. Oxon., Ph. D. Prague), historian of Bohemia and Prague, biographer of John Hus and chronicler of the Hussite wars, host to numerous visitors at the beautiful Château de Žampach, is an irreparable loss to Bohemia. The exhaustive work on Bohemian literature by Drs. Jan and Arne Novak runs into nearly 700 closely printed pages.

With regard to industry, Bohemia is a flourishing agricultural land with "a bold peasantry, their country's pride." In rural districts the charming peasant costumes may still be seen on festal occasions. Madame Renata Tyršova, widow of the Sokol chieftain, has written on the subject. Professor Monroe refers to the intervention of the Jews in the land question; but those who would examine Jewish problems and influence in Austria must be referred to Mr. Wickham Steed's volume (*v.s.*). The numerous and bulky railway-trucks of beet-sugar tell their own tale. Hops are extensively cultivated, and beer is a staple industry. We have seen every process at Plzen (Pilsen), from laying down grains to bottling the renowned product. In manufacture of glass Bohemia stands on a high level, and the garnet jewellery is everywhere in evidence. A chapter would be necessary for a full account of industrial conditions. The complaint of the Bohemians is that the Government makes too heavy demands upon them in order to meet revenue deficits from poorer provinces, such as the Tyrol and Galicia. "They take our money, and give us nothing in return," said a professor to us on the occasion of a strike of University students on account of inadequate class-rooms.

As with all the Slavs, religious feeling is deep; but the Cechs smilingly affect a Gallio-like attitude to the Churches. The late American philanthropist, Mr. Jacob A. Riis, in a study of New York Bohemians, quoted a Bohemian clergyman on his people: "They are Roman Catholics by birth, infidels by necessity, and Protestants by history and inclination." A most interesting national institution, adopted in Russia and other Slav countries, is the Sokol (Falcon) brotherhood for mental and physical culture. Thousands of members take part in the quadrennial gatherings on the Letna plain at Prague, and on one occasion a team won the silver shield of the National Physical Recreation Society in London. The Sokol organization has been dissolved by the Vienna Government as "dangerous to

the State." Well-favoured, pretty children are a main feature of this delightful land; and besides visiting town and country schools, we have been over the municipal institutions for waifs and derelicts. Dr. Dvořák, head of the foundling hospital at Vinohrady, is a recognized authority on the social problem.

To conclude, Bohemia eagerly looks for the final victory of the Entente Powers and the disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire. Professor T. G. Masaryk, the eminent exiled philosopher, now occupying a Chair at London University, has lectured at King's College on the aspirations of Bohemia. (It was Professor Masaryk who fearlessly exposed the shady procedure of the Government in the "treason trial" at Agram and the Friedjung prosecution.) In his own words,

"History shows that since the eighteenth century the principle of nationality has grown stronger, and received more and more political recognition. National individualities, their language and culture, have steadily gained ground all over Europe, and linguistic rights have been gradually codified. These rights have been and still are advocated by Italy, by the Austro-Hungarian and Balkan nations; they are advocated by Germany herself. How, then, can Germany or any other nation claim for herself this right, and at the same time refuse it to others?"

A committee of Cechs abroad—the Cech National Alliance in Great Britain, America, France, and Russia—has been formed, to propagate the cause of Čecho-Slovák independence, and to support the cause of the Allies. The forming of an independent Čecho-Slovák State, they claim, means the deliverance of more than nine millions of Slavs, who otherwise will be again forced to serve the purposes of Pan-Germanism. Independent Bohemia, Poland united under Russia, and a united Jugoslav State—these three, declare the Cechs, form the only effective barrier against the Pan-German policy of "Berlin-Bagdad," and at the same time the best guarantee of future peace. A projected Elbe-Danube canal, linking the North Sea to the Black, would be cut, by way of the Moldau, in South Bohemia, disregarding Bohemian interests. At a meeting organized

by the Alliance in London in March, presided over by Sir George Makgill, Bart., at which Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks, M.P., was the chief speaker, the following resolution was unanimously carried :

"To urge upon the British Government that, amongst the claims of smaller nations to whom freedom shall be assured, those of the Cechs should not be overlooked, and that in the terms of peace Cech National Independence should be included."

It is reported that since the outbreak of the War, Bohemia has been subjected to a reign of terror. Over 1,200 civilians and a great many soldiers have been sentenced to death ; the possession of a copy of the Grand Duke's Manifesto was treated as a sufficient reason for this penalty. Influential deputies languish in prison, leading newspapers are muzzled or suppressed, wives and daughters of Cech patriots are prosecuted, and the property of rich and poor is confiscated wholesale. When the American Ambassador in Vienna attempted intervention on behalf of Miss Alice Masaryk and Mme. Benes, Prague ladies imprisoned without trial since October last, the Austrian Government curtly rebuffed his efforts. With this our narrative must end.

A rendering is appended of a poem by the late Professor J. V. Sládek, translator of Shakspeare and Coleridge. This incident is related of a body of gallant men who died standing on a small area called the Star Park.

THE WHITE MOUNTAIN.

The battle lost, the hosts all fled away,
 Except three hundred heroes by the wall
 "Defiance is in vain, now yield or fall!"
 Firm by the wall three hundred stood that day
 Armed foes in front, behind, on every side,
 Afar, the blue Bohemian hills looked down.
 Those farmyards white, those hut roofs clothed in brown,
 For these they would not yield, for these they died!
 The cannon thundered—there was work for spears
 Great oaks above them quivered with the sound,
 Dead, man by man, each by the wall appears—
 Dead, man by man, but upright each is found.
 The monarch fled, the swain cries from his lands
 "Lost is the realm, yet with her dead she stands!"

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FAMINE PROTECTION WORKS IN BRITISH BUNDELKUND

BY HENRY MARSH, C.I.E., M.I.C.E.

THERE are, I believe, many derivations of the word Bundelkund. The generally accepted one is based on the legend of the founder of the clan attempting his own sacrifice. The word "bund" in Hindi signifies a drop, and it is claimed that the territory got its name from the drops of blood that fell from the hero.

The Commissionership of Bundelkund forms the most southern division of the United Provinces. It covers an area of 10,453 square miles—*i.e.*, a little larger than Belgium. The population amounts to 2,107,000. The headquarters are at Jhansi. The map indicates the four districts of the division—Jhansi, Jalaun, Banda, and Hamirpur.

The Jumna forms the northern boundary, and the upper ranges of the Vindhya lie on the southern limits. From these hills to the Jumna there is a rapid slope, and this configuration is marked by the course of the rivers.

The most important of these are the Betwa, the Dassan, and the Ken. These streams are a distinct feature of the country. Tremendous floods rush down them in the monsoon, and in the course of time have eroded huge channels, sometimes a mile or so broad, and fifty or a hundred feet deep. This action has led to severe ravining on both banks.

Deep gullies run out on each side three and four miles in length, and cause much destruction of good land.

The denudation is therefore ruinous, and, worse than that, the deep chasms are always draining away the subsoil water and hindering well irrigation. Unchecked the rivers are, therefore, the cause of much ruin ; but if controlled by tall masonry dams at suitable points, the resulting storage lakes become a great blessing. The soil of the Bundelkund plains consists largely of disintegrated trap rock. It is black in colour, and known as "mar" in the vernacular. It is very retentive of moisture, but requires irrigation in dry seasons. During the rains it is impassable ; in other seasons it becomes very hard, with wide cracks in it. There are poorer and lighter-coloured varieties of this soil. One of the commonest is called "kabar." Regarding it there is a native proverb, which explains that "kabar" soil is too wet to plough one morning, and too dry and hard next morning.

These conditions are mentioned to show why Bundelkund is liable to famine. It has no industry but agriculture. If the rain is heavy and continuous, no sowings can be effected until this season is past. If the rain is not sufficient, the ground is too hard to plough.

It may be added that the precarious state of this tract of country has long exercised the thoughts of the supreme and local governments. Added to the difficulties already detailed, the actual labourer is scarce and the spring-level is deep. The average Bundelkundi is undoubtedly a slack individual, though he is a good fellow, and liked by people who know him well. It is believed, however, that the relief measures which it is now proposed to sketch are gradually stirring him up to a comparative condition of energy.

The construction of an irrigation canal with its source in the Betwa River was advocated as far back as 1855, but the matter was dropped on account of the anarchy and subsequent want of funds following the sad events of 1857.

The drought of 1868-69 brought the matter to the fore again. Lord Mayo was then Viceroy, and he was a strong advocate for utilizing the big rivers of Bundelkund in irrigating the country.

With this far-seeing policy in view, he directed the Irrigation Department to send out survey parties for the projection and completion of finished schemes for the harnessing of the Betwa, Dassan, and Ken Rivers. The lamentable death of this famous Viceroy in 1872 threw his bold schemes into abeyance. His successor was a financier, and determined to look with no favour on engineering projects, which could not return a yield of 5 per cent. Hence the irrigation projects in Bundelkund languished. Storage works are always costly, and can rarely give further promise than that of protection against famine. In one way there was an advantage in this delay. Irrigation science was not well developed at the time. The harnessing of the Bundelkund rivers presented most difficult problems, which could not have been well tackled by engineers inexperienced in this particular line. Their survey reports and discharge observations were, however, very useful. But if these had then materialized into sanctioned projects very considerable waste of money might have occurred. It was found that capital outlay on the diversion of the snow-fed rivers of the Punjab and United Provinces gave a fairly sure source of revenue. A progressive policy in carrying on these works was therefore instituted. Some mistakes were made, but none such as could not be rectified with a reasonable outlay. For example, the canal branches and distributaries were generally too small. This led to a congestion of irrigation in some localities, and a shortage in others where water was urgently required. Nor were the alignments free from blemish, and money was not allowed in sufficient amount to provide for drainage outfall. Hence some lands became water-logged, and some villages were declared to be in an insanitary condition. Indeed, some high officers in the

Revenue and Medical Services were desirous of checking the progress of work. They wrote bitterly of the damage done by the so-called "Irritation" Department.

However, all this experience and criticism did good. The engineers learnt their lesson, and gradually carried out the necessary rectifications, as fast as the finance departments doled out the funds. The successive severe droughts of 1868-69, 1877-78, 1883-84, 1895-96, 1899-1900, proved the enormous value of State irrigation works by diminishing famine outlay and suffering to man and beast. Not only was land rent rendered stable, but large new areas were brought under the plough, causing a better condition of the people, prevention of crime, and aimless wandering. Railway traffic increased in leaps and bounds, and the people and cattle in unprotected districts were fed by the produce of irrigated tracts. On this account, and on account of the enormous famine outlay, Lord Curzon came to the conclusion that protection works were valuable assets. True, the return on the capital might be only 1, 2, or 3 per cent., but, still, they would prevent the demoralization and pauperization resulting from years of drought and scarcity. In 1901 the Viceroy issued a masterly circular to all local governments on this subject, and directed that projects for protective works should be prepared. The United Provinces were quick to act on these instructions.

Sanction was obtained for the entertainment of an extra staff of engineers, and some of the most skilled men were deputed to devise and carry out new schemes for Bundelkhand. Both Sir A. Macdonnell and Sir J. La Touche, who were Lieutenant-Governors between 1895 and 1906, were fully aware of the necessities of the case, and took a special interest in the enterprise. That the supreme and local governments gave every encouragement to carrying out Lord Curzon's scheme will be realized by the following facts.

Between 1900 and 1915, 180 lacs were spent under capital in developing major irrigation works in the Bundelkhand country. This sum is independent of considerable

items spent in extensions, maintenance, and construction of small tanks, during the period in question.

I now propose to give a short account of these undertakings which are exhibited in the map.

The Betwa Canal was sanctioned in a tentative manner in 1881. It was opened in 1885. It aimed at protecting a large area between the Pahuj and Betwa Rivers. The Betwa River has a gathering area of 10,000 square miles. It is a giant in the monsoon, and reaches a volume of one million cubic feet a second. In the hot weather it is only represented by a mere trickle, connecting pools of water scattered in a rocky bed.

The original scheme consisted in the construction of a masonry dam, 60 feet high and half a mile in length. This impounded 1,700 million cubic feet of water, which fed 300 miles of canals and distributaries.

It was of great use in the famine of 1896-97, when 87,000 acres were irrigated. But the average was only 30,000 until the bolder policy was adopted in 1901. Then the dam was raised 1 foot, and was surmounted by 300 iron gates 6 feet high. This increased the storage by some 50 per cent., and insured a splendid lake fifteen miles in length and half a mile in breadth. Added to this, a supplementary reservoir was constructed during the next five years, which impounded 3,700 million cubic feet. At the same time extensive improvements were made to the channels, which now comprise 783 miles and command 400,000 acres. But it is not hoped to irrigate more than 40 per cent. of that area in one year. Such an amount will give sufficient protection. It should be mentioned that the activity above described has caused a great expansion of area. Instead of the previous average of 30,000 acres, we find the following record :

117,000 acres in	1904-05
163,000	„ 1905-06
106,000	„ 1908-09
153,000	„ 1913-14
111,000	„ 1914-15

These were drought years when water was in great demand. In ordinary years, such as 1910-11, the figures were 71,000.

The construction of the Ken Canal was sanctioned in 1903, and active measures were at once commenced. It was opened in 1907 by Sir J. La Touche, to the great joy of the cultivators. For the first year or two they received water free. The original estimate amounted to 37 lacs, but this did not include a supplementary storage reservoir which has now been built. To cover this cost a revised estimate was prepared, which reached a figure of 59 lacs. Of the sum 56 lacs have been spent. The Ken River is, like the Betwa, a giant in monsoon floods, running some 600,000 cubic feet, and becoming very low in the winter and hot weather. Consequently it depends mainly on storage, which now amounts to 4,000 million cubic feet.

The main canal and branches have a length of 86 miles, and the smaller channels reach a figure of 364 miles. It has been open for nine years; 66,000 acres is its maximum figure, and 32,000 the minimum. The supplementary storage reservoir has, however, only come into use in this current year, and the irrigated area will then possibly rise to 120,000 acres. The effect of it is to protect the district of Banda, in much the same way as the Betwa has protected Jalaun.

The construction of the Dassan Canal system was sanctioned in 1905. It was of great use for employment of famine labour during that and the following year. The submission of the scheme was hastened by the personal inspection of the Hamirpur district in 1904 by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James La Touche. He considered it was as necessary for that district as the Betwa was for Jalaun, and the Ken for Banda. The canal was opened for the first time in December, 1910, and the water was given to the cultivators free in that year. So far 48 lacs have been spent in this work, and it is possible that in a few years the revenue will equal the

interest charges on the capital cost. Like the Betwa and the Ken Rivers, it has an immense monsoon flood discharge, reaching to half a million cubic feet a second. In ordinary years this falls away to a very small figure during the winter and summer. Two reservoirs have been built for the storage of nearly 4,000 million cubic feet of water. There are 87 miles of main canal and 216 of distributaries. These will command an area of 200,000 acres, and in a drought year it is believed that 100,000 acres will be irrigated. It is understood that there is an excellent site for a third reservoir farther up the river, and that an estimate for its construction has been submitted. This is all in the right direction. As far as finances allow, no water should be allowed to run to waste in the Bundelkund rivers. Over and above the direct irrigation value of the reservoirs, the indirect effect of lakes in raising spring-level and spreading a cooling dew is priceless. So far the Dassan has only irrigated 36,000 acres, but it is understood that the comparatively small area is due to the uncompleted state of the distributaries. On account of the construction of extensive canal and railway works all over India, and the necessary increase of agriculture, labour is now more difficult to find. This is, however, a healthy sign in the economic conditions of the country, although it causes delay in most desirable works.

The country about Jhansi has long suffered from excessive aridity and subsidence of spring-level. To remedy this an estimate for the construction of the Pahuj and Garhman Canals was submitted in 1906. The first estimate amounted to 8 lacs. Forty-six thousand acres were commanded by a system of 91 miles of canals. It was not hoped to irrigate more than 20,000 acres in the year. The system began to work in a small way five years ago. In 1914-15 nearly 6,000 acres were irrigated. It always takes some years before the Bundelkundi cultivator will take full advantage of the facilities for

improving his crops, but it is certain that the spread of water in this dry tract has a most beneficial effect.

Over and above these four important works on the Betwa, Ken, Dassan, and Pahuj Rivers, Government has sanctioned considerable activity in constructing small tanks. In the Irrigation Administration Report of the United Provinces for the year ending March, 1912, I find a useful list of fifty-four embankments sanctioned, and carried out in Bundelkund during the preceding eleven years. The largest of these reservoirs was capable of benefiting 4,120 acres, and the smallest forty-five. The total estimated area comprised 20,000 acres. This invaluable work did not cease in 1912, as in the report for 1915 I find references to fifteen similar works. The beneficial value of these undertakings is priceless in the maintenance of spring-level, and in preserving the agriculture and the lives of men and their herds and flocks. Where the people have the means of feeding and watering their cattle, they get very considerable revenue from dairy products. It may be added that Government gets no direct return from outlay on their tanks, but, as the settlements and measurements of cultivated lands are now quinquennial, the money will come back eventually. There is another form of agricultural improvement which Government has fostered during the last decade. It is the construction of field embankments under supervision of trained inspectors. Small banks 3 feet to 6 feet high are thrown across that side of a field on which the drainage escapes. Flanks are added according to the necessity of each case. In some conditions it is advisable to make quite an important bank which will affect several fields. By means of this arrangement two or three feet of water are maintained in small areas during the rains, soaking the land completely. When the time for getting in the winter crops approaches, the water is allowed to escape, and assists in the maturing of rice or sugar crops lower down the depression. The improvement to the soaked land is immense, and immersion is bound to kill the kans grass,

which is the pest of the Bundelkund cultivator. The resulting winter crops are always excellent, and are independent of the fall of winter rains. The industry of field embankments is indigenous to Bundelkund and Central India. In many places it had languished, but it is a satisfaction to know that the ready advances to small owners by the British Government and Native States has caused a marked revival of the custom. It will have an immense effect in stopping denudation, ravines, and eventually violent floods in the main rivers. The mischief done by excessive drainage was splendidly described by Sleeman, eighty years ago, in the following excellent passage :

"I am disposed to think that the most productive parts of the surface of Bundelkund, like that of some of the districts of the Nerbudda territories, which repose upon the back of the sandstone of the Vindhya chain, is (*sic*) fast flowing off to the sea through the great rivers, which seem by degrees to extend the channels of their tributary stream into every man's field, to drain away its substance by degrees, for the benefit of those who may in some future age occupy the islands of their delta. I have often seen a valuable estate reduced in value to almost nothing in a few years by some few antennæ—if I may so call them—thrown out from the tributary streams of great rivers into their richest and deepest soils. Declivities are formed, the soil gets nothing from the cultivator but the mechanical aid of the plough; and the more its surface is ploughed and cross-ploughed, the more of its substance is washed away towards the Bay of Bengal in the Ganges, or the Gulf of Cambay in the Nerbudda. In the districts of the Nerbudda we often see these black hornblende mortars, in which sugar-canes were once pressed by a happy peasantry, now standing upon a bare and barren surface of sandstone rock, twenty feet above the present surface of the culturable lands of the country."

From the foregoing words one learns the great importance in fostering the industry and guarding against denuda-

tions. Officers who superintended famine relief works found the field embankments most useful. The money was advanced to the owners. It kept them alive, and it was thus their interest to see that the labourers earned their hire by a full tale of work. In no other arrangement for employment of needy people was there less chance of waste of money. Advances were also liberally made for the sinking of new wells, the deepening of old ones, the purchase of seed grain and plough cattle. This beneficent action had inestimable effects, and prevented the people from wandering in drought years. Fodder was also imported in large quantities, and this power proved the wise action of the construction of railway lines from the famine reserve fund.

In 1868, when the great drought occurred, there was not a single mile of railway in Bundelkund. Now an examination of the map shows no less than 400 miles of broad gauge. The Bombay-Agra line traverses the tract under review from Lalitpur to Datia.

Then there is a Jhansi-Cawnpore line tapping the Betwa irrigated tract from Punch to Kalpe. There is also the Jhansi-Mahoba-Banda-Manickpur line, passing near the Dassan and Ken Canal tracts.

A fourth line is represented by the newly constructed railway running from Cawnpore to Hamirpur, Rath, and Jaitpur. When the Dassan Canal irrigation develops, this line will obtain very fair traffic.

The foregoing details regarding irrigation works, railway works, and agricultural improvements, demonstrate the fact that the Government has done much to protect Bundelkund, but no reference has yet been made to important legislative and fiscal measures which were enacted for the benefit of the agricultural classes.

Fourteen years ago the Bundelkund Alienation Act, and the Bundelkund Encumbered Estates Act were passed by the local government, and approved by the supreme government. From that date no alienation of land by an

agriculturist was allowed, except to an agricultural resident in Bundelkund.

District Courts were not allowed to enforce a decree for the sale of land property. Special Judges were appointed to inquire into the debts of proprietors. They had power to liquidate mortgages, as far as they were equitable. This measure freed the proprietors from their embarrassment and in due time they repaid the Government advances. Special facilities were also given to district officers to remit revenue when advisable, and to carry out quinquennial settlements.

These measures were received with great gratitude by all classes in Bundelkund. Even the moneylenders were well satisfied to get back cash from their embarrassed debtors. The measures were drawn up and carried out with a wise and almost parental interest in the welfare of the country. Indeed, I think it may well be said that the Bundelkund tract of country is no longer in a precarious condition. When rains fail entirely, the people will no doubt undergo some trouble, but, on the other hand, they will have done well in the preceding cycle. Thanks to a benevolent Government, they will be able to stand the stress of a season of drought.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, May 22, 1916, at the Institution of Civil Engineers, Great George Street, Westminster, at which a lantern lecture was delivered, entitled "Famine Protection Works in British Bundelkund," by Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E. The chair was taken by Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.S.O., and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B., and Lady Fremantle, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Leslie Porter, K.C.S.I., Sir Duncan Colvin Bailie, K.C.S.I., Sir Stephen Huxley, C.I.E., Sir James Walker, C.I.E., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Daniel and Lady Hamilton, Lady Bayley, Mr. J. W. Hose, C.S.I., and Mrs. Hose, Mr. A. W. Cruickshank, C.S.I., and Mrs. Cruickshank, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, C.I.E., Mr. J. C. White, C.I.E., Mr. H. Kelway Bamber, M.V.O., Mrs. Blaise, Mrs. Johnstone, Dr. and Mrs. Barker, Mr. and Mrs. De Monte, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Miss Haydon, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Miss Roberts, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mr. J. J. Mullaly, C.I.E., Mr. C. W. Odling, C.S.I., Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. G. Deuchars, Mrs. White, Mr. J. S. Beresford, C.I.E., Mr. P. W. Marsh, I.C.S., and Miss G. H. Marsh, Mrs. Collis, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. A. M. Fagan, Miss Burton, Miss Powell, Mr. A. Bruce Joy, Mr. and Mrs. George Milward, Mr. P. J. FitzGibbon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Rev. MacInnes, Mr. J. E. Goudge, I.C.S., Mrs. Wickham, Mr. C. H. Flemming, Mr. Mohini M. Dhar, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Miss A. A. Smith, Mrs. Wigley, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. E. Benedict, Mr. C. B. Burton, Mrs. Richard Rigg, Mrs. McMahon, Mrs. Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. J. Wilkinson, Mr. Haji, Miss Bradley and friend, Miss Ilbert, Mr. J. E. Dallas, Miss Blacker, Mr. E. B. Alexander, I.C.S., and Mrs. Alexander, Miss E. Fraser Roberts, Miss Eleanor Holmes, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. and Mrs. Saville, Mrs. McLeod, Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, Mr. J. B. Pennington, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasant duty to introduce to you Mr. Henry Marsh, the author of the paper which is to be read to-day. Mr. Marsh, I think, requires no introduction; certainly he requires

none to anybody who is acquainted with Indian engineering. He is, moreover, specially qualified to deal with the particular subject which he has chosen for his theme this afternoon. In order that Mr Marsh may be free to show the slides and maps with which he proposes to illustrate his paper, Dr Pollen has kindly, at his request, consented to read it on his behalf.

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN It will be convenient if the discussion follows immediately on the lecture, and I will ask Mr Benedict kindly to address the meeting.

MR ERNEST BENEDICT said he did not know why he was called upon, as he was a railway engineer, and his only connection with Bundelkond was that he spent two years there on construction, but the description given by the author was quite correct. The country was not a bad one in which to live, although it was very hot, for you could sleep outside for many months. The only observation he had to make was one he always contributed on irrigation papers dealing with India, and that was that those beautiful dams, which never seemed to fail, formed ideal foundations for road and railway bridges. It seemed absurd to have splendid dams like those, and then to have high-level bridges within a few miles, with long and high approach embankments, lofty piers to allow of navigation, and deep foundations, often costing as much as the superstructure, therefore, if you could get a solid foundation like a dam, and a low-level bridge with short piers on it, it seemed absurd to put an independent structure within a short distance for road and rail purposes, when these could have been combined to such advantage all round. Unfortunately, irrigation and railways were under different heads, but it did not seem to him to be beyond the wit of the Government to put their heads together, so that when dams were made they might be used for the three purposes of irrigation, roads, and railways. The slides they had seen gave one a very good idea of the country, except for a certain want of colour, that colour being "yellow." (Hear, hear.)

MR. BERESFORD said they could congratulate Mr. Marsh on the very interesting paper he had given them, and for the very realistic slides they had seen, which showed that Bundelkond was a country where the Daylight Saving Bill was not required. Engineers out there had a great deal of the sun, but they wanted as long a day as possible to do their work in. He had been interested in Bundelkond for a long time, for when the project for the Ken Canal was being prepared in 1877-78, there was doubt whether so high a dam as required could be constructed to stand in a river like the Ken, and he was asked to investigate the matter. This investigation of the action of falling water proved very interesting, and led to the conclusion that the dam would be perfectly safe, provided certain precautions were taken, and ever since the procedure then recommended had been followed in most cases of the kind. People thought a rock foundation was imperishable, and of course would resist any amount of force, but at the Assuan Dam in Egypt great blocks of granite up to 60 tons in weight were washed out bodily, due to slight fissures in the solid rock, where now the natural surface is protected by

artificial work laid on principles that were evolved in an investigation owing its origin to the Ken Canal. He was in charge of the Betwa Canal circle when the dam was completed, and saw the first big flood passing over it in August, 1884. It was a very striking sight indeed, as had been seen from the slides showing similar floods. Fifteen feet of water passed over the crest. There was some anxiety as to what would happen, because they had no very perfect knowledge of the level to which the water might rise, but the force of the great body of water passing over the dam scooped out so deep a trough below that there was a clear drop, and the anxiety that was felt vanished. At first, in drawing up these large irrigation projects for Bundelkund, the difficulty was to know how much water would come down the rivers, and how much water could be stored in years of drought, as there was no getting reliable statistics. The Government of India asked the Chief Engineer, Colonel Greathed, R. E., for more statistics, and he had to point out that they were not in Middlesex. There were only a few rain-gauge stations, and no details as regards the depth of the water in the dry season. The only record they could get of one river at a certain crossing was from a Deputy Magistrate, who said that in the dry year of 1867 or 1868, on a particular date, the water came up to the girths of his horse. That was all the information they could obtain, they did not know how wide the stream was then or anything as to the current. When the question of storage had to be considered, the thousands of millions of cubic feet given for the different canals made it difficult to grasp the quantities really involved. Nearly twenty years ago, he introduced a new unit in the Panyab, which for irrigation purposes was far more practical and useful than the cubic foot—that was the "foot acre," or the quantity of water which would cover an acre to a depth of one foot (1,000,000 cubic feet being equal to 23 foot acres, a figure easily remembered). The Americans took to the idea, and now in all their reservoirs for irrigation give the quantities stored in acre-feet. If they took the figures for the Betwa Reservoir of 6,500 million cubic feet, under this scheme it would be 144,000 foot-acres—i.e., the water stored would cover 144,000 acres to one foot in depth. Those figures would appeal to everyone. In the old tanks in Bundelkund, the storage allowance usually made, including loss by evaporation, etc., was 150,000 cubic feet, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ foot-acres per acre of land to be irrigated. In that way one got a grip of the figures and what they meant. The figure of 4,000 million cubic feet in the Ken Reservoir meant that the water in storage would cover 92,000 acres to a depth of a foot. Even engineers had difficulty in always realizing or remembering what such huge figures as these millions of cubic feet worked out to on the ground.

With regard to the question which was raised by the previous speaker as to the irrigation department being stupid in not utilizing the dams for railway bridges, etc., in the particular case of the Betwa Dam the railway crossed on more favourable ground some way up, and it would have been inconvenient to have brought the railway to where the dam is. He remembered marching from Cawnpore to the site of the Ken Dam near Banda in 1882, and the price of grain was a matter of some interest, they

found that as they marched, and the lead to Cawnpore increased, prices had a marked tendency to fall, coming to just half as much beyond Banda as at Cawnpore. Now, after the railways had come in, the prices were very much the same there as they were at Cawnpore. That alone was a great benefit to all connected with land. (Hear, hear.)

SIR DUNCAN C. BAILLIE said there were a couple of projects which had come into being since Mr. Marsh's time he would like to mention. A good deal had been done recently in the construction of small irrigation works in Bundelkund, but there was great difficulty in carrying them through owing to the multiplicity of landowners. It was necessary to get everyone concerned to agree, and there was apt to be opposition to schemes on the part of one or other of the co-sharers. The Government, however, had now taken power by legislation to draw up projects for the construction of improvements to be carried out at the expense of the zemindars when half the number of landowners interested asked for them. This would greatly facilitate the construction of improvements in the near future, and the fact that the projects would be examined by irrigation engineers would result in money not being thrown away. As the lecturer had told them, a very large proportion of the area of country along the Jumna was ravined, and the ravines were constantly extending. The ravines were at present yielding absolutely the minimum possible benefit to those who owned them. In a normal year they gave a very scanty grass crop, and in a famine year they were absolutely bare. The goats which were grazed in large numbers everywhere prevented attempts at afforestation. It has, however, been proved by experiment that these ravine areas could be made far more productive—that they can even in famine years give a good crop of grass, and that acacia plantations of considerable value could be grown. He remembered visiting a reserve near Kalpi during a year of drought. The area outside the fence was absolutely bare, yet the grass in the preserved area brought in a return of 3 rupees an acre. The Government were anxious to introduce an extensive system of conservation and afforestation, but the opposition of the zemindars had been great, and it was necessary to proceed by way of experiment on a scale considerably larger than has been so far attempted. An area of 30,000 acres of ravine land has been taken under Government management and divided into working blocks. One block at a time is reserved from all grazing for a series of years whilst the grass strengthens itself. Goats are rigorously excluded, and a growth of young acacias is promoted. It is hoped that in this period grasses of the better kinds would have got a good hold. A considerable number of small embankments are made in order to decrease erosion and hold up water to percolate through and give moisture at the lower levels. A second period of restricted grazing follows, whilst in the third period which ends the cycle the use of the block is unrestricted. These methods if successful appeared likely to stop further erosion, as well as to produce from the already eroded area a return greatly in excess of that now obtained.

Mr. J. W. HOSK said Mr. Marsh's lucid description might perhaps be supplemented by a few notes showing how in a period of stress the effect

of a protective water supply really works. The most recent drought came in 1913. Consequently the early months of 1914 were months of trial. The area affected included not only the Jhansi division, but some districts of Allahabad, in particular Etawah, four districts of Agra, especially Agra and Muttra, and a large part of Rohilkand. There was, practically speaking, no demand for the provision of works. Agricultural labour proceeded without a break. The tenants of land were hard pushed, and some aged poor in villages who could not work received gratuitous relief. Fodder was extremely scarce, grass was brought from all the Government forests of the provinces, and special low rates were charged on railways for the carriage of bhusa and grass. I have no note of the expenditure in the United Provinces before April, 1914. It was not very large. The total expenditure on relief during the financial year 1914-15 was 55.30 lakhs (£370,000), out of which £138,000 was spent on fodder. The action taken was most useful, but the system adopted was very expensive, and in the opinion of many officers a more effective one might have been worked at a lower cost. The inquiries made showed that, notwithstanding the sacrifice of many of the more useless animals in the slaughterhouses, the stock of plough and well cattle at the end of 1914 was well maintained. In contrast with the experience of earlier famines, the cultivated area had already returned to the normal in the winter of 1914-15.

The method by which agriculturists were enabled to use the supplies of water and fodder and to pay their labourers was the large extension of the system of takavi advances. In the year beginning October 1, 1913, the advances made in the United Provinces were £1,380,000, of which nearly £290,000 were for improvements, mainly wells and embankments. At the end of that year the total outstanding was £1,650,000, a sum equal to 38 per cent. of the land revenue of the province. In the Jhansi division itself the loans out at the beginning of that year were £59,000, and those made during the year were £240,000, of these advances £111,000 were for improvements. One may say that in that year each person, old and young, man and woman, in the Jhansi division, borrowed 1 rupee 11 annas from the Government. These liberal assistances made it possible for the cultivators to keep themselves and their labourers employed, and, notwithstanding the large reduction of the cultivated area, the additional labour needed on it provided work for almost all that wanted it.

The loans were not gifts in disguise. They are being recovered even more rapidly than was anticipated. It was estimated that in the financial year 1915-16 the collections of principal would be £130,000 for the province. But the revised estimate towards the close of the year placed them at £157,000.

On one other point arising from the paper a few notes might be of use—viz., the reclamation of ravines. An afforestation officer was appointed in the end of 1912 to take over some small babul forests and plantations in the Jalaun and Hamirpur districts, and to continue and extend experiments in getting trees and grass to grow on waste land. This officer set about his task with great energy. By the following August he had definitely reported, after examining the ravines in Jhansi, Hamirpur, and Etawah, that

it was urgently necessary to put them under vegetation to prevent further denudation and erosion, and that all the ravine land he had seen could be made to grow grass and trees. The Government were not able to launch out at once into the large measures he proposed, one principal reason being the fact that the land was all owned. But a beginning was made in Etawah, where the owners of 26,000 acres applied that their ravine land should be taken over and afforested, the eventual profits to go to them. Embankments were made in these areas as famine works early in 1914, and by January, 1915, a special European forest officer had been obtained and appointed to the charge, the Settlement officer was demarcating the land, and estimates for staff and buildings had been made.

For the remaining areas an agricultural officer had been deputed to make an examination along with the afforestation officer, and to formulate proposals. It was not quite clear which system of management was in the mind of the Government. In a darbar speech at Jhansi the Lieutenant-Governor held up the Etawah arrangement as a model to follow. But a published resolution rather favoured the plan of leaving action to landowners and confining Government action to advice and assistance. However, this want of clearness did not prevent the submission in April, 1915, of a very practical report. It recommended that works should be undertaken along the Dassen and Betwa Rivers in Bundelkund, and along the Jamna and Chambal Rivers in the Bah Tahsil of the Agra district. That report has been published, but not any orders. The undertaking is one that lies on the borderland between the agricultural department and the forest department, and questions of agency may need consideration. But it is to be hoped that effective action may not be delayed.

Mr. ALFVANDER said that his knowledge of Bundelkund was of a period of nearly twenty years ago. There was then a railway down to Jhansi from Cawnpore via Kalpi, but none via Hamirpur. One cold weather in camp, marching across the Hamirpur district, owing to heavy rains, the country became impassable, and he and those with him ran seriously short of food. In a country like that the new railways would be of immense advantage. With regard to the question of irrigation, none of those canals were then in existence except a portion of the Betwa Canal, and there was little well irrigation. There was an immense quantity of kans grass, and it would be very interesting to know what effect irrigation had had in reducing it. With regard to the transfer of land, there being then no Act to prevent alienation, the moneylenders might have taken over nearly the whole if it had been worth while to do so, and the zemindars often said "Don't reduce the revenue whatever you do, otherwise the moneylender will take away our land." To avoid this, arrangements were made for Government to hold direct a great many of the villages for arrears of revenue, allowing the zemindars to retain sufficient land in their own cultivation to live on. He fully realized the enormous improvements which had been effected by the irrigation schemes and by the extension of the railways, and he

was very glad to have had an opportunity of hearing Mr. Marsh's very interesting lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, after listening to Mr. Marsh's very instructive lecture and to the exceedingly useful discussion which followed it—all the more useful because those who have taken part in it are possessed of special knowledge of either irrigation or of Bundelkund—I feel that there is very little left for me to say; especially as my personal knowledge of Bundelkund is practically confined to the Native States, which have been very little touched by these schemes. At the same time there can be no doubt that they have greatly benefited the Native States, and it is to be hoped they will benefit them still more. I think there is every reason to anticipate that the larger works which have been taken up by the British Government will serve as an example to the darbars. One very big scheme has been worked out by Mr. Marsh for the protection of the large area between the Pahuj and the Sindh Rivers. This is known as the Sindh River Irrigation Project. It is calculated to do a great deal of good, and I have taken a few notes from his report on the subject which show its scope and intention. The scheme itself comprises a canal of 68 miles and a branch canal of 27 miles, reservoirs covering an area of 22,50 square miles, and 435 miles of minor channels and distributaries. It commands an area of 960 square miles, of which 490 are arable. Further, it will raise the water-level, and will improve the general prosperity of the ryot all over the place. The total cost is estimated at a little over 93 lakhs of rupees, and the scheme is expected to yield a direct return of over 4 lakhs, which will cover the interest charges and the cost of maintenance. This takes no account of the indirect material return in the shape of fresh land brought under cultivation, the raising of the water-level, cultivation, and the consequent reduction of famine expenditure, etc. It is clear, therefore, that the scheme, if properly taken up, will pay indirectly, and it is very much to be hoped that the darbars will realize its great importance to them. Why they have not done so already I do not know, but I hope that the sense of this meeting will reach them, and that they will be prepared to embark upon it, to the great benefit of the States and their subjects. (Hear, hear.)

I notice one important omission in Mr. Marsh's paper. He has nowhere mentioned his own share in the works he has described. Many of those present were better qualified than I am to judge what that share is, as they had worked with him, whereas he himself had, unfortunately, left for Central India when his work in Bundelkund was half finished. Amongst these were Mr. M. Nethersole, C.S.I., and Mr. G. T. Barlow, C.I.E. There was one other gentleman who deserved special mention, and that was the Indian gentleman Khan Bahadur Sayyad Taffier Hosain, who did very valuable work in connection with the Bundelkund canals. In conclusion, I would ask you all to join me in thanking Mr. Marsh very heartily for his lecture. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said that he had noted Mr. Benedict's

suggestion about utilizing masonry dams for foundations of bridges. In the case of the Dassan headworks, the Political Agent asked Government to provide a bridge over the dam for the Nowgong Road. The request was duly dealt with, and considerable trouble entailed in altering the original designs. The result was, however, discouraging, as the cost proved quite too much in view of the advantages that were to be obtained. Moreover, the works were uselessly delayed for six months or more. Mr Marsh said that he was much obliged to the Chairman for his complimentary speech, and to the meeting for the patient way in which they had listened to the lecture. His thanks were also due to Mr. Beresford, Sir Duncan Baillie, Mr. Hose, and Mr. Alexander, for the kind part they had taken in the discussion. He was much indebted to Dr. Pollen for the excellent way in which he read the paper.

Sir ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer, said he wished first to express the acknowledgments of the Association to the Institution of Civil Engineers for their kindness in allowing them to occupy that magnificent hall for their meeting. He thought that both the Chairman and the Lecturer had had the great good fortune of great duties as their life's work. It was said the man who made two blades of grass grow where there was only one before was a benefactor to the race. What of the work of Mr. Marsh, who had brought acres by the hundred thousand under irrigation, had destroyed the enemy—famine—over a wide country, and had provided means of food for millions? What a retrospect for the rest of his life! With regard to the Chairman, he had been so fortunate as to be the first ruler of an entirely new province in India, "a kingdom wherein to rule and create," and after a successful and beneficent rule of five years had returned home, and was good enough to find time from the duties of the India Council to preside over the meeting.

The proposal on being seconded and put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

The Chairman suitably replied, and the proceedings then terminated.

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS' ADVANCE IN INDIAN RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

BY H. KELWAY-BAMBER, M.V.O.

1. My object in preparing this paper has been threefold : First, to give, in the time at my disposal, some idea of the wonderful strides made in India during the past thirty-five years in the provision of facilities for railway travel and transport. Secondly, to attempt to forecast prospective progress in the near future. Thirdly, to indicate something of the credit due to Indian workmen in contributing to the success of this development with special reference to rolling stock.

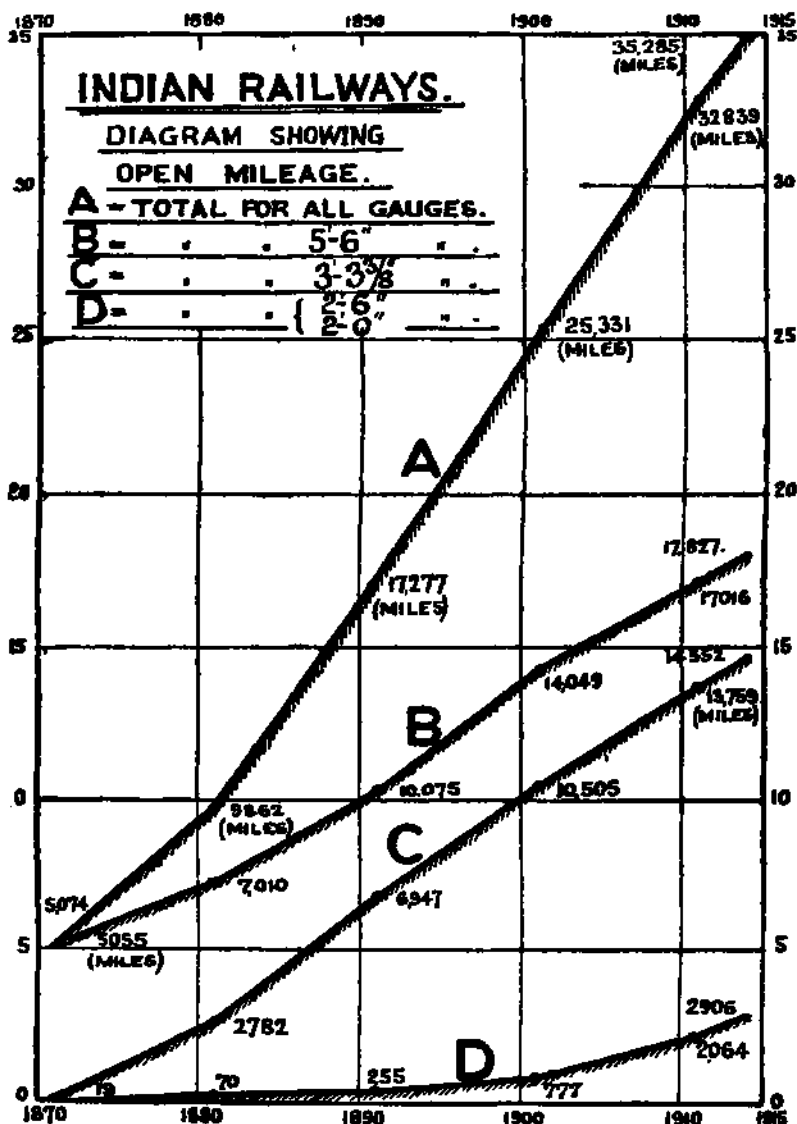
2. My paper is necessarily somewhat technical, and I have to deal with diagrams and figures.

3. We are on the eve of great development in manufacturing industries in India.

Hitherto the population has been almost exclusively agricultural, and the revenue derived from land is at once the oldest and most important source of income in the finances of India.

For the year 1913-14 it was estimated at £20,500,000, or 36 per cent. of the total net revenue (£57,000,000) of the country.

4. Factory workers in India have in the past been transient birds of passage, constantly returning to the land, but the next ten years should witness a widespread extension of manufacturing industries and the creation of a more permanent class of operatives.



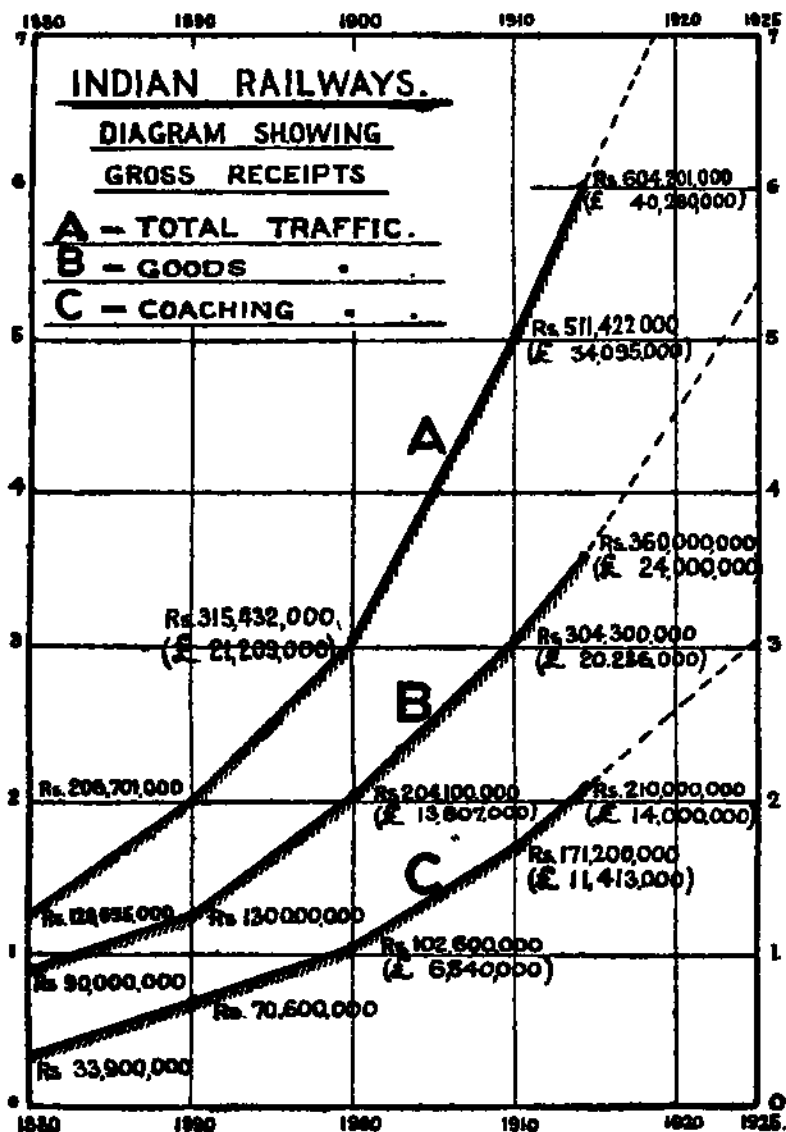


FIG. 9.

5. In this development railways will play an all-important part, and even now the open lines of the country afford employment to 600,000 persons, of whom approximately 8,000 are Europeans, 10,000 Anglo-Indians, and 582,000 Indians.

6. The area of India is about 1,803,000 square miles, or nearly one-seventh that of the entire British Empire.

7. Its population at the end of March, 1915, based upon the returns of the Fourth General Census taken in 1911, was approximately 324,000,000, or just under 180 persons per square mile.

8. The existing system of railway communication in India dates from the administration of Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856), and the first line was projected in 1843 by Sir Macdonald Stephenson, the founder of the East Indian Railway Company, who advocated the construction of the East Indian line almost along the route it now traverses.

9. Bombay City saw the first sod turned in 1850, and the first length of railway in India, from Bombay to Thana (21 miles), on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, was opened through on April 18, 1853.

10. By 1871 Bombay was in direct communication with the sister cities of Calcutta and Madras.

11. Indian railways are of the four gauges—viz.:

5 feet 6 inches,	or broad gauge.
3 feet 3½ inches,	or metre gauge.
2 feet 6 inches	} narrow gauges.
2 feet	

12. At the end of the year 1871 the length of railways open for traffic was 5,074 miles, of which 5,055 were of the broad gauge, and 19 of the then recently introduced metre gauge systems.

13. The increase in open mileage from that date until the end of the year 1914-15 can be seen on the diagram (Fig. 1), and it will be observed that for the past quarter of a century the construction of metre gauge lines (marked "C"), now forming 41·25 per cent. of the total open mileage

of all gauges (marked "A"), has kept pace with that of the broad gauge (marked "B"), and that the mileage of light lines, 2 feet 6 inches and 2 feet gauges (marked "D"), acting as feeders to the broad gauge, has of recent years made considerable progress.

14. At the close of the official year ended March 31, 1915, the total additional mileage under construction, or sanctioned for construction, was—

Gauge.		Mileage
Feet.	Inches.	
5	6	784
3	3½	764
2	6	609
2	0	75
Total		2,232

15. During the period under consideration, the length of open mileage has increased from 1 mile per 29,300 people in 1880, to 1 mile per 9,182 in 1914-15.

16. The capital expended on the construction of railways in India amounted at the end of the year 1914-15 to about £384,000,000.

17. In 1908 the "Mackay" Commission recommended a capital expenditure during the ensuing eight years of £100,000,000, or an average of £12,500,000 per annum, on lines in which the State was financially interested.

For the five and a quarter years ended March 31, 1915, the total capital expenditure on all Indian railways amounted to about £71,046,000, or an average of £13,500,000 per annum.

For the year 1915-16, as a necessary consequence of the war, it has been greatly curtailed.

18. The gross earnings of all Indian railways amounted in 1914-15 to £40,280,000, compared with £42,390,000 in 1913-14, and, as will be seen (Fig. 2), have practically doubled since the year 1900.

1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1925

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

DIAGRAM SHOWING

A = GROSS EARNINGS

B = OPEN MILEAGE.

C = { GROSS EARNINGS
PER MILE PER WEEK.

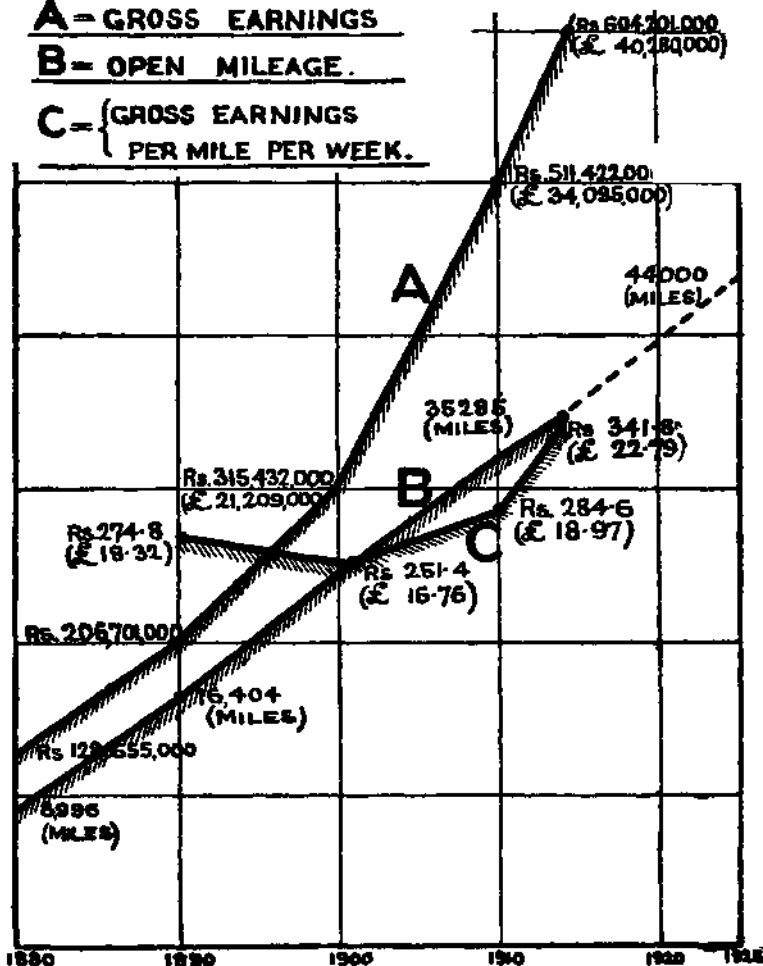


FIG. 3.

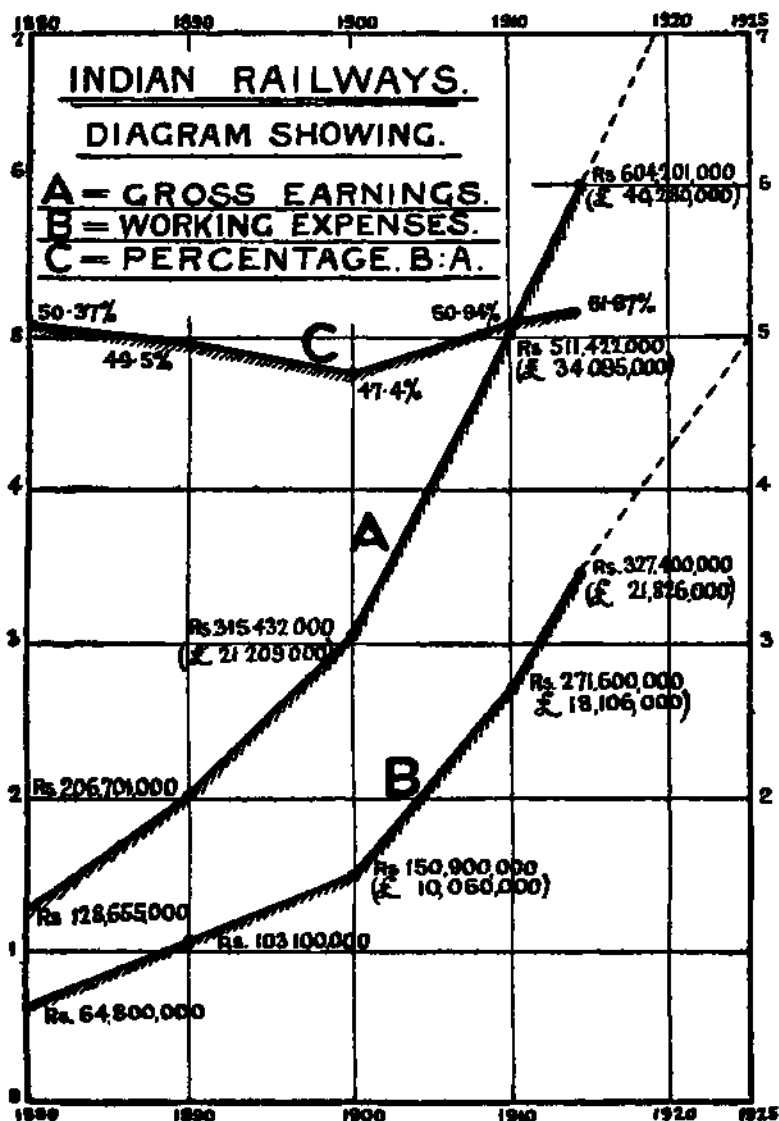


FIG. 4.

19. For the year 1914-15 the coaching receipts of all Indian railways amounted to about 35 per cent. of the total gross earnings, compared with 26 per cent. for 1880.

It will be observed that the addition of figures shown at B and C (Fig. 2) for respective years do not amount to the totals shown at A; the difference represents income from sources other than coaching and goods traffic.

20. The gross earnings per mile open per week for the thirty-four and a quarter years 1881-1914-15 (Fig. 3) have averaged—

Period	Rs.	£
1881-1890	274·8	18·32
1891-1900	251·4	16·76
1901-1910	284·6	18·97
1911-1914-15	341·8	22·79

21. On the same basis the average working expenses (Fig. 4) have ranged between 47·4 per cent. and 51·87 per cent., the speed of trains, the general introduction of vacuum brakes for goods wagons, and other present-day requirements, adding considerably to the cost of working.

22. The average net returns on the total capital expended on Indian railways have, as the following figures show, risen during the past thirty-five years from 4·31 per cent. for the decade 1871-1880, to 6·04 per cent. for the four and a quarter years 1911-1914-15:

Period.	Net Returns.
	Per Cent.
1871-1880	4·31
1881-1890	5·26
1891-1900	5·26
1901-1910	5·40
1911-1914-15	6·04

23. For the first time in the history of railways in India, the returns for the year 1900 yielded to the State a surplus of revenue over expenditure.

24. Since that date the annual surplus, excluding annuity payments representing redemption of capital, has averaged—

Period.	Average Annual Surplus.
1901-1905	1,686,500
1906-1910	1,866,000
1911-1914-15	4,851,000

25. Approximately, the average capital cost per fully equipped mile of open line of all gauges has been—

Gauge.	Approximate Cost per Mile.	
Feet. Inches.	Rs.	£
5 6	1,86,000	12,400
3 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	90,000	6,000
2 6	56,000	3,730
2 0	37,000	2,470

Roughly, the capital cost per mile of metre gauge lines in India has been half, and of 2 feet 6 inches gauge lines considerably less than one-third that of the broad gauge systems.

26. The increase in population and in number of passengers carried on Indian railways is shown in Fig. 5, from which it will be seen that the increase in the number of passengers carried during the past fourteen and a quarter years (1901-1914-15) has amounted to 166 per cent., the average annual addition being nearly 2,000,000 persons.

27. If this rate of expansion continues for the next ten years, about 700,000,000 passengers will have to be carried during the year 1925-26, and it must be remembered that at present the number of railway journeys per head of population works out at only 1·41 per annum.

28. This compares with about 1·24 passengers per head of population (173,000,000) for the entire Russian Empire, and 27·14 for Great Britain with a population of 45,250,000.

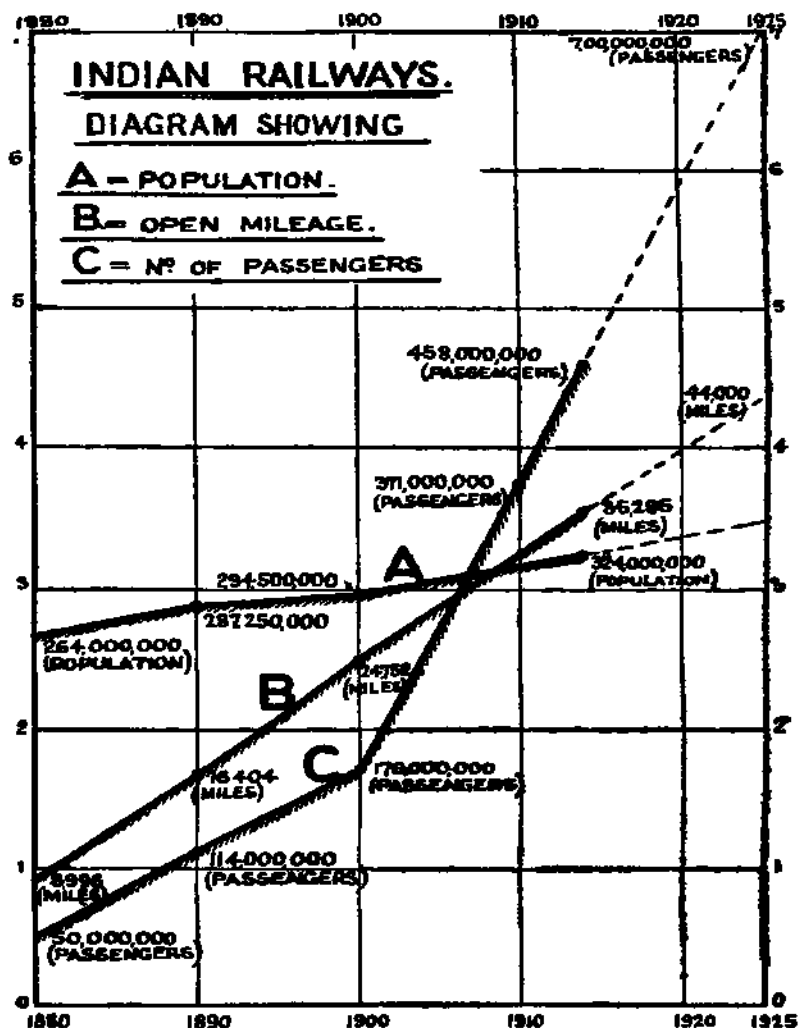


FIG. 5

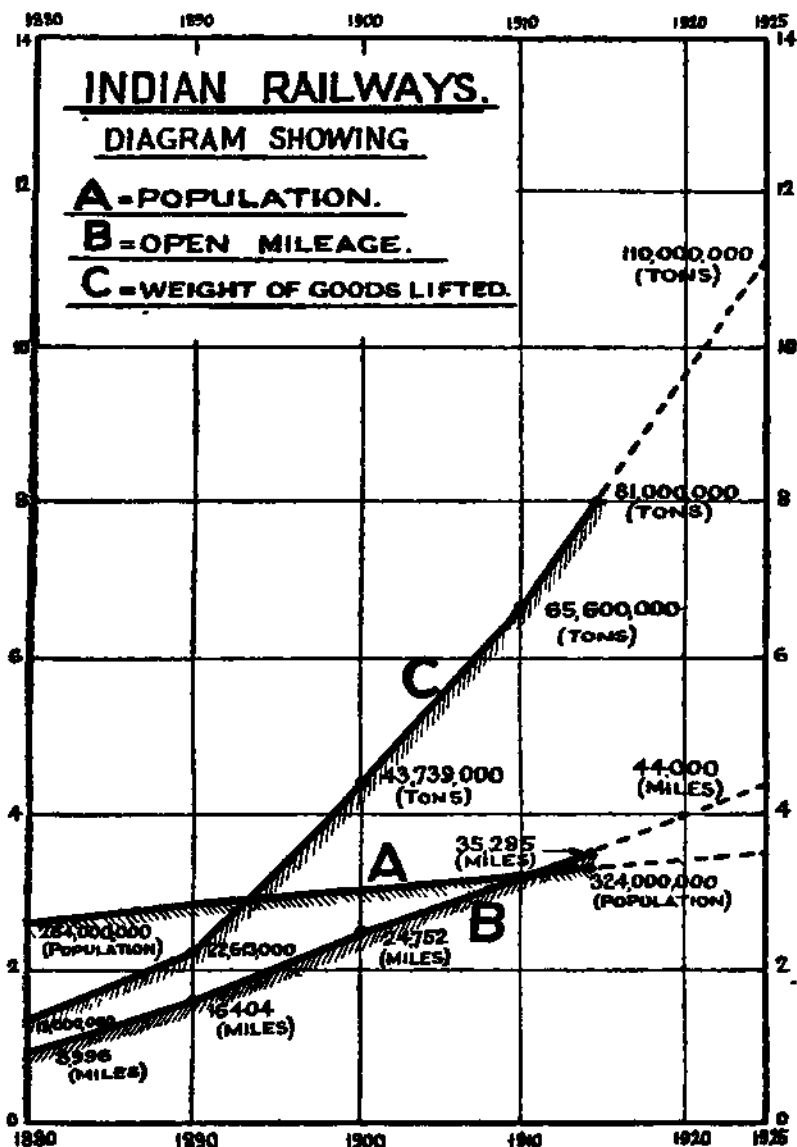


FIG. 6.

29. The weight of goods lifted since 1880 has increased more than fivefold, and amounted in 1914-15 to 81,000,000 tons, of which approximately 18,500,000 tons, or 22·75 per cent., was coal (Fig. 6).

The average distance over which each ton of goods was carried during that year was 188·1 miles, the average charge per ton per mile being 4·43 pies, or 0·373 pence.

30. If the present rate of progress is maintained, the volume of traffic to be dealt with ten years hence will be about 110,000,000 tons, or nearly 36 per cent. greater than at present.

31. Speaking generally, the power of mail and passenger locomotives has increased since 1900 by 26 per cent. on the broad and by about 80 per cent. on the metre gauge systems.

The maximum tractive effort exerted by modern Indian broad, metre, and 2 feet 6 inches gauge mail and passenger engines, at 90 per cent. full boiler pressure, is 20,500, 16,700, and 14,800 pounds respectively.

32. The power of goods locomotives has similarly increased, modern engines of the three gauges exerting a tractive effort of 30,000, 21,200, and 19,500 pounds respectively at 90 per cent. of full boiler pressure.

33. Per foot of gauge, the maximum tractive effort in pounds compares thus :

Gauge	Passenger Engines.	Goods Engines.
Feet. Inches.	Lbs.	Lbs.
5 6	3,727	5,454
3 3½	5,027	6,457
2 6	5,900	7,800

34. The maximum weight of main line passenger trains is approximately 400 tons on the broad, 300 on metre, and 260 on 2 feet 6 inches gauge lines.

Similarly for goods and mineral traffic the maximum weights are about 1,600, 1,000, and 300 respectively, the

latter being largely restricted by the heavy grades to be negotiated.

35. The mileage run and work done by locomotives on one of the principal broad gauge systems (Fig. 7) increased during the past twenty-four years from 34,000 to 37,400 miles, or by 10 per cent. for passenger engines, and for goods engines from 18,000 to 27,150 miles, or by nearly 51 per cent.; while the average work done by goods and passenger engines, as represented by the total ton mileage hauled, has, as will be seen, increased during the same period from 7,900,000 to 11,450,000 ton miles, or by about 45 per cent.

36. The coal consumed by the locomotives on this system (Fig. 8) has decreased from 162·5 pounds per 1,000 gross ton miles to 135·61 pounds, or by almost 20 per cent., while the consumption per train mile has increased from 63·8 to 75·02 pounds, or by about 17·5 per cent.

37. The lowest average cost of hauling one passenger one mile on Indian railways (Fig. 9) is at present about $\frac{1}{18}$ d. on broad and metre and $\frac{1}{10}$ d. on narrow gauge lines.

38. The lowest average cost of hauling a ton of goods one mile (Fig. 10) is at present about $\frac{1}{10}$ d. on the broad, $\frac{1}{8}$ d. on metre, and a little over $\frac{1}{4}$ d. on narrow gauge lines.

39. As has been stated earlier in this paper, 458,000,000 people travelled by rail in India during the year 1914-15, and of these more than 90 per cent. used the third class, their fares contributing by far the greater part of the total coaching earnings, which for that year amounted to about £14,000,000.

40. The average length of journey is about 36 miles, which is equal to that from London to Reading.

The passengers are carried at an average rate of 5 miles for 1d., so that the fare for that distance is about $7\frac{1}{4}$ d.

41. In view of the importance of these passengers, I propose to confine my remarks on the development of public coaching vehicles to the carriages used by them on broad gauge systems.

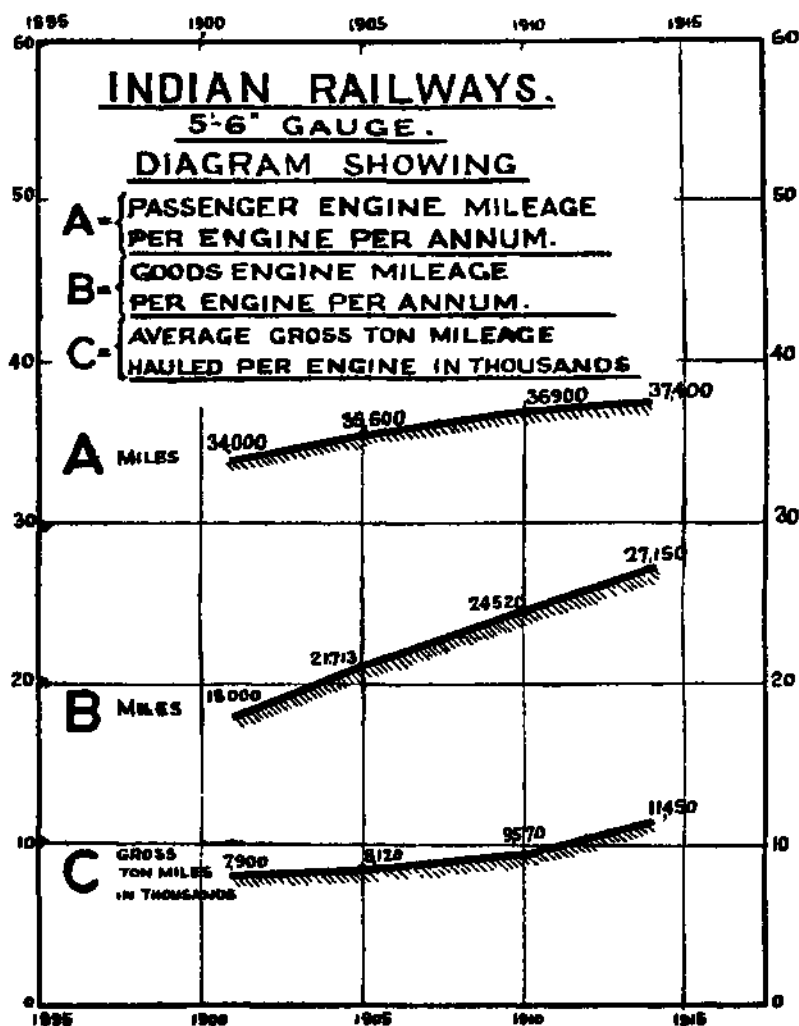


FIG. 7.

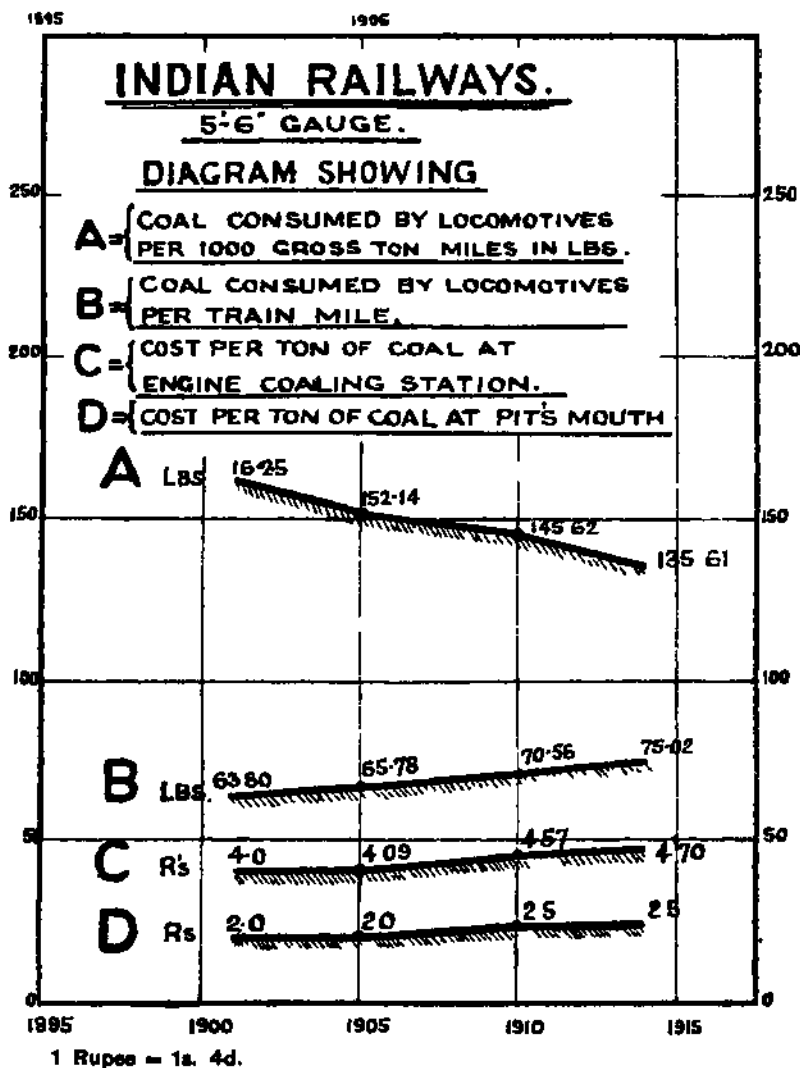


FIG. R.

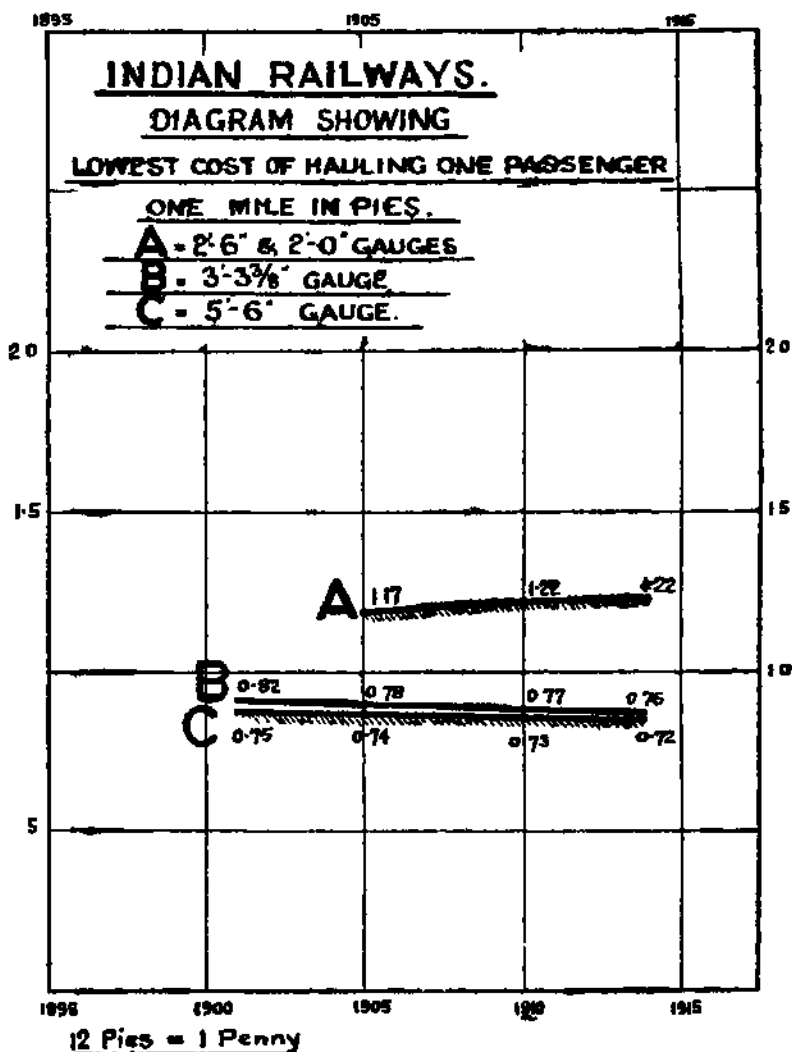


FIG. 9.

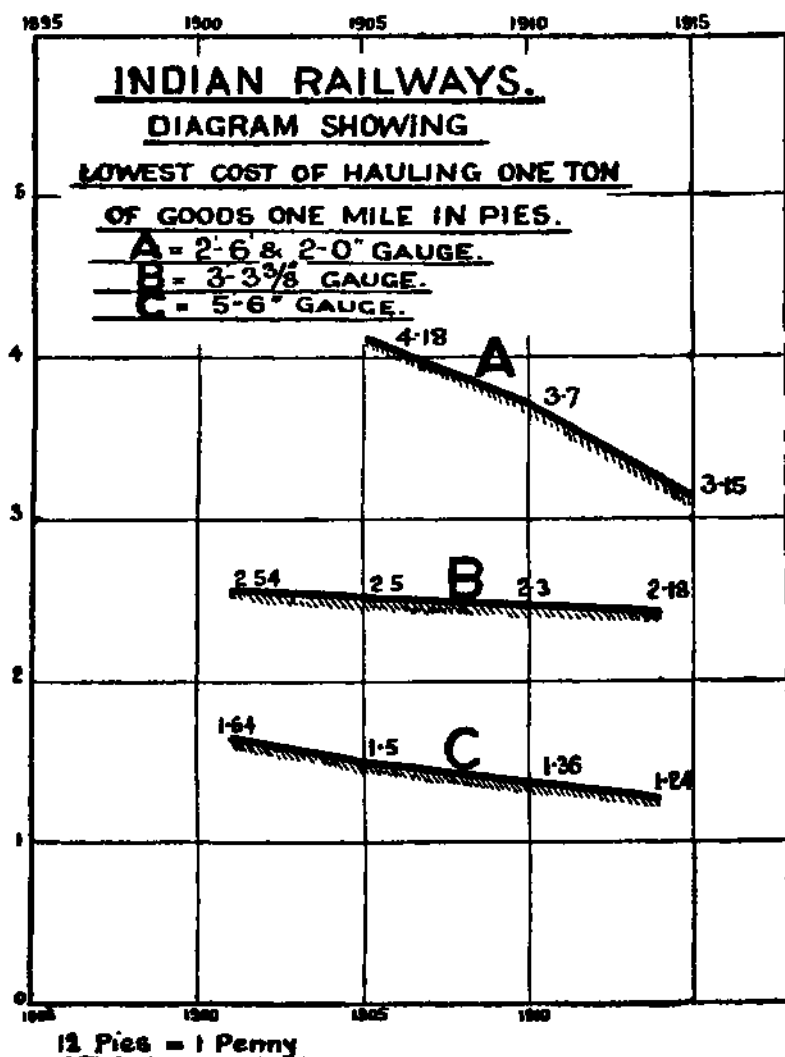


FIG. 10.

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

DIAGRAM SHOWING

STANDARD FOUR-WHEELED BROAD GAUGE,

III CLASS CARRIAGE UNTIL 1902.

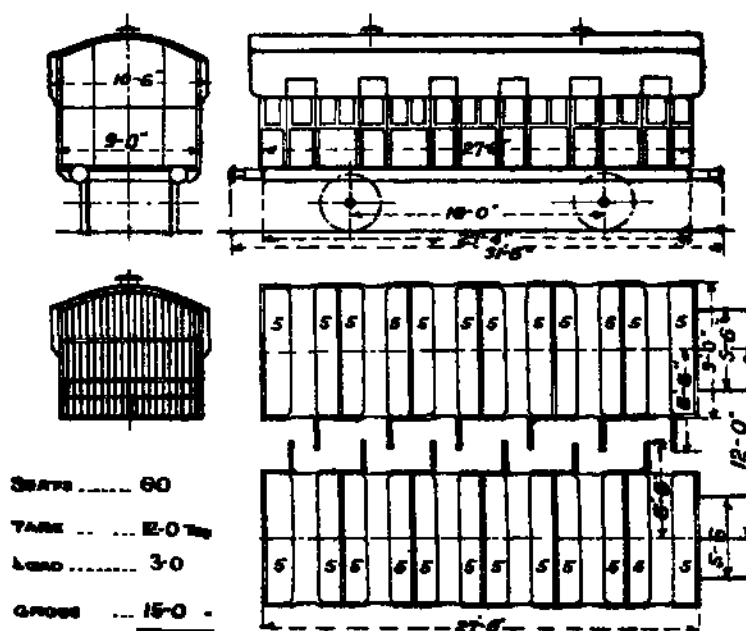


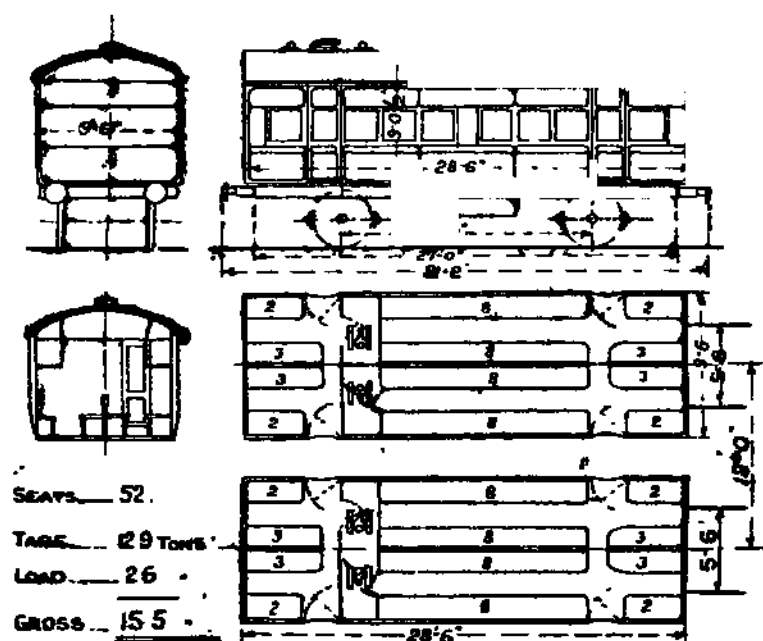
FIG. 11.

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

DIAGRAM SHOWING

NEW STANDARD FOUR-WHEELED BROAD GAUGE

III CLASS CARRIAGE INTRODUCED 1903.



42. Until 1902 the general internal arrangement of third class carriages, most of which were four-wheeled, with a length of 27 feet 6 inches, was that, shown in Fig. 11, they seated 60 persons.

43. Each carriage was divided into six cross compartments, separated by open partitions formed by round iron bars arranged vertically.

44. Each compartment seated 10 persons, no lavatory accommodation was provided, and the openings in the doors and windows were fitted with wooden panelled shutters.

45. The doors of these carriages, it will be observed, opened outwards, and large numbers were broken off by striking other open doors of passing trains on broad gauge lines, owing to the distance between the centre of tracks (12 feet) being insufficient to allow two open doors (measuring 13 feet across) to clear one another.

46. In order to overcome the trouble and expense caused by this defect, which increased with every carriage added, the lecturer in 1902, when Superintendent of Rolling Stock on the East Indian Railway, built some experimental coaches with doors opening inwards, and with seats arranged longitudinally.

47. These carriages, the general internal arrangement of which is shown in Fig. 12, were equipped with lavatories, and with upper benches used for the storage of personal luggage, also as sleeping berths.

48. The body-sides and roofs were lined with asbestos sheeting of great heat-resisting power; the doors and windows were fitted with glass and venetian frames; the amount of cubic space per passenger was 45 per cent. greater than that of the carriages they replaced; they were very commodious and well ventilated, and are greatly appreciated by the public.

49. Carriages of this new type were rapidly adopted as standard almost throughout India.

50. These modifications made it possible to build the

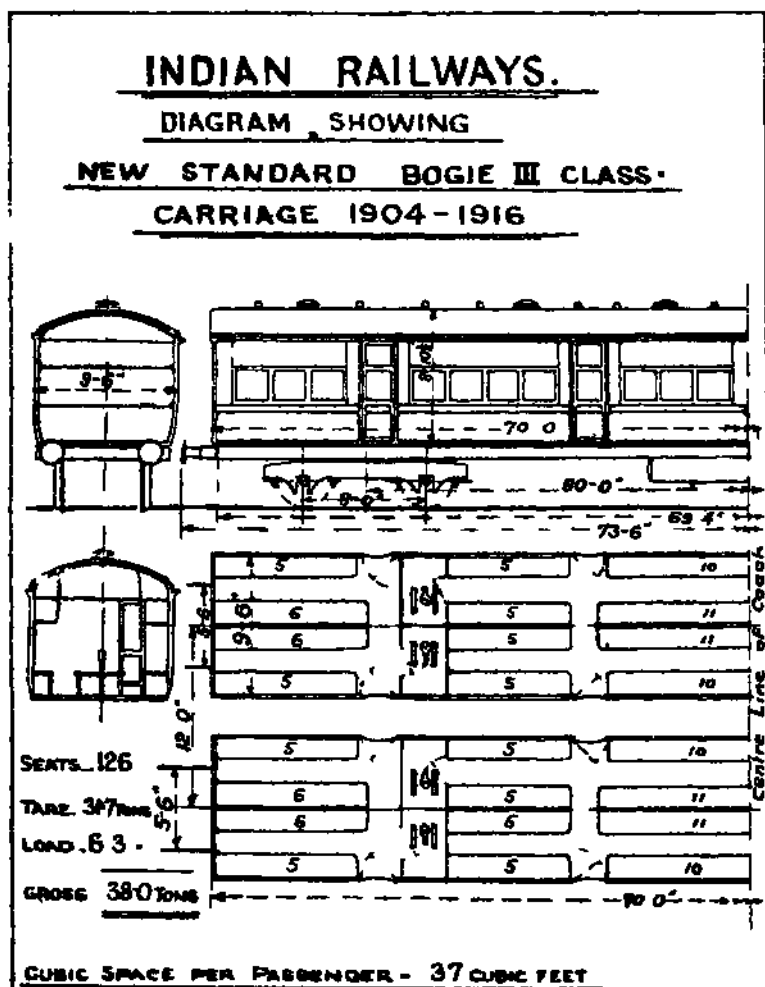
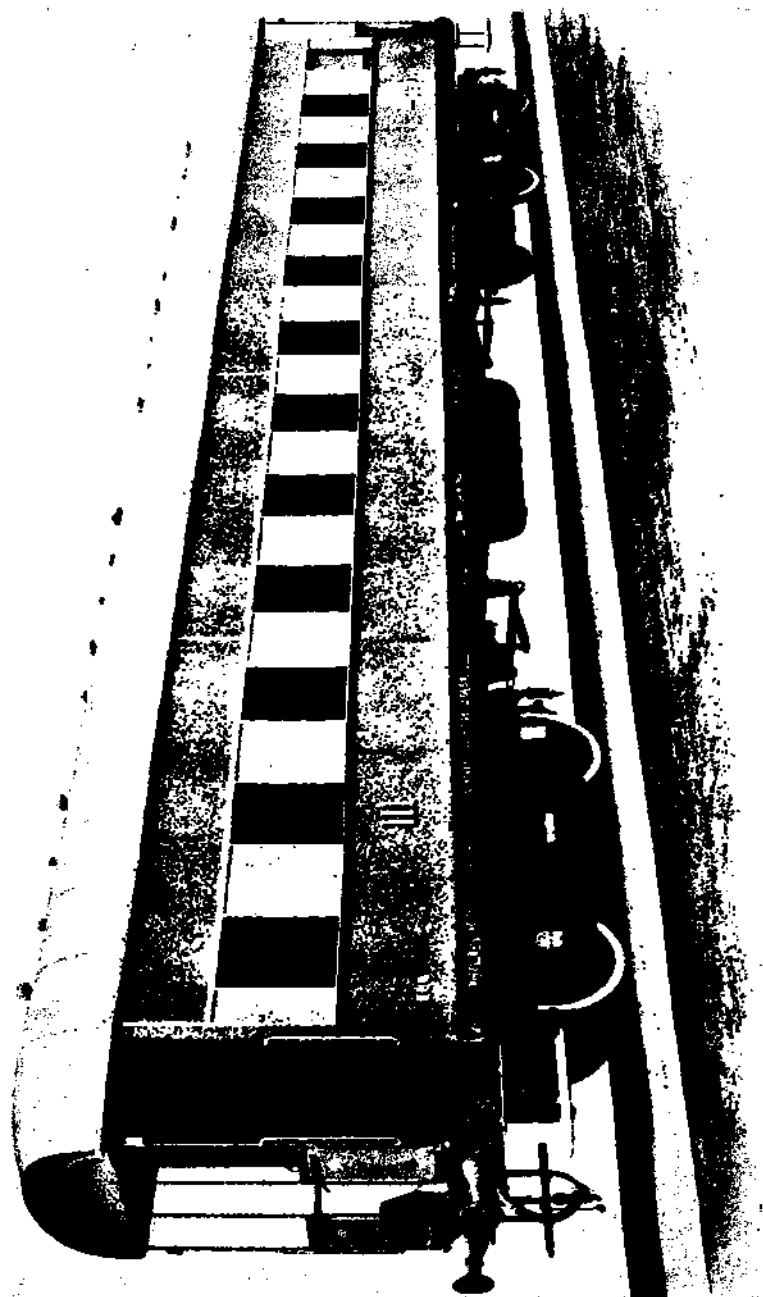


FIG. 13.



FIG. 14



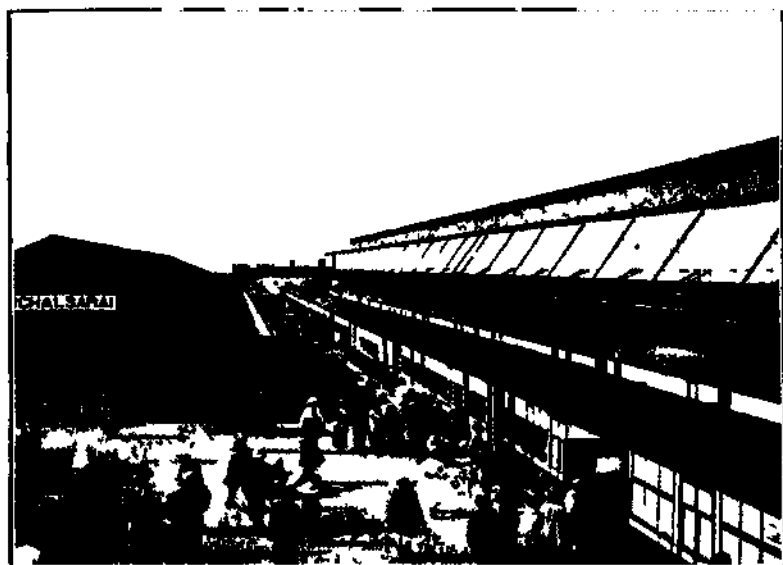


FIG. 16 — STATION SCENE AT M. H. V. M. JUNCTION OF
INDIAN AND CHINESE RAILROAD



FIG. 17 — STATION SCENE AT CONDIA, JUNCTION OF THE ROAD AND
NARROW GAUGE SYSTEMS OF THE TENCAL-NAGLER RAILWAY

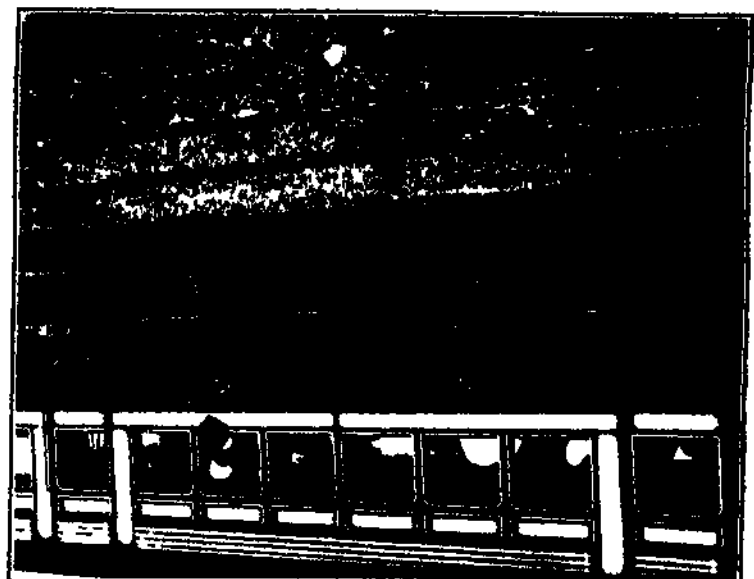


FIG. 15



carriages of the broad gauge Royal train to an overall length of 72 feet per coach, compared with the previous maximum of 58 feet 6 inches, and also subsequently enabled the seating, and therefore the revenue-earning, capacity of third class carriages (Fig. 13) to be increased from 104 to 126, or 21 per cent., and the dead weight of coach per passenger to be decreased by 5 per cent.

51. Generally, it may be said that on Indian railways the weight of up-to-date third class bogie carriages equipped with vacuum brakes, and with gas or electric light installations, works out at $\frac{1}{2}$ ton per passenger.

52. There are, however, notable instances on narrow gauge systems in which the weight of very excellent third class coaches is considerably less than $\frac{1}{2}$ ton per passenger.

53. Formerly the bodies of all Indian coaching vehicles were constructed of teak, but recently the prohibitive price of that timber has necessitated the use of steel, which, with effective heat-resisting linings, has proved a thoroughly suitable substitute.

54. Photographs of carriages constructed in this manner in service on Indian and Egyptian railways are shown in Figs. 14 and 15.

55. The distance run by through trains on Indian broad gauge railway trunk lines is very great and the speed, as the following examples show, comparatively high :

Journey.	Miles.	Hours (Running).	Speed per Hour
Calcutta-Peshawar	1,491	47'00	31'72
Calcutta-Bombay	1,349	35'25	38'27
Calcutta-Madras	1,033	34'50	30'00
Calcutta-Kalka	1,065	31'66	33'64
Bombay-Madras	804	28 00	28'71

Photographs of third class carriages in use on these services are shown in Figs. 16, 17, 18, and 19.

56. As has already been stated, agriculture is by far the most important occupation of the people of India, conse-

quently the produce of the soil forms the greater part of the total weight of material carried on Indian railways.

57. The relative growth of population, open mileage, and weight of goods lifted during the thirty-five years under consideration is shown in Fig. 20, from which it will be seen that, assuming a continuance of the average development of the past four and a quarter years, the weight to be dealt with ten years hence (1925-26) will be double that lifted during 1905.

58. Bearing in mind the difficulty experienced in handling traffic for some years past, due to want of sufficient rolling stock, etc., the prospect for the future in this respect is not a happy one, unless facilities are rapidly and enormously increased.

59. More than 80 per cent. of the weight of principal commodities carried on Indian railways during the year 1914-15 was loaded into broad gauge wagons, the development in the carrying capacities of which will now be considered.

60. In 1895 the maximum permissible total weight per pair of wheels on rail for broad gauge lines was limited (Fig. 21) to nine tons, the standard four-wheeled wagons of that day weighing six and carrying twelve tons.

61. By 1906 the maximum weight per pair of wheels had by degrees been increased to sixteen tons, at which it remains; the most recent type of four-wheeled open wagons (Fig. 22) now weighing 8.75 and carrying twenty-three and a quarter tons.

During the same period the maximum permissible gross weight per foot of wagon length over buffers increased as shown at B (Fig. 23).

62. The extent to which the increasing carrying capacity of wagons has been availed of may be judged from Fig. 24, which is based upon the working on one of the principal Indian broad gauge lines.

It shows that during the past nine and a quarter years (1906-1914-15) the average carrying capacity of wagons

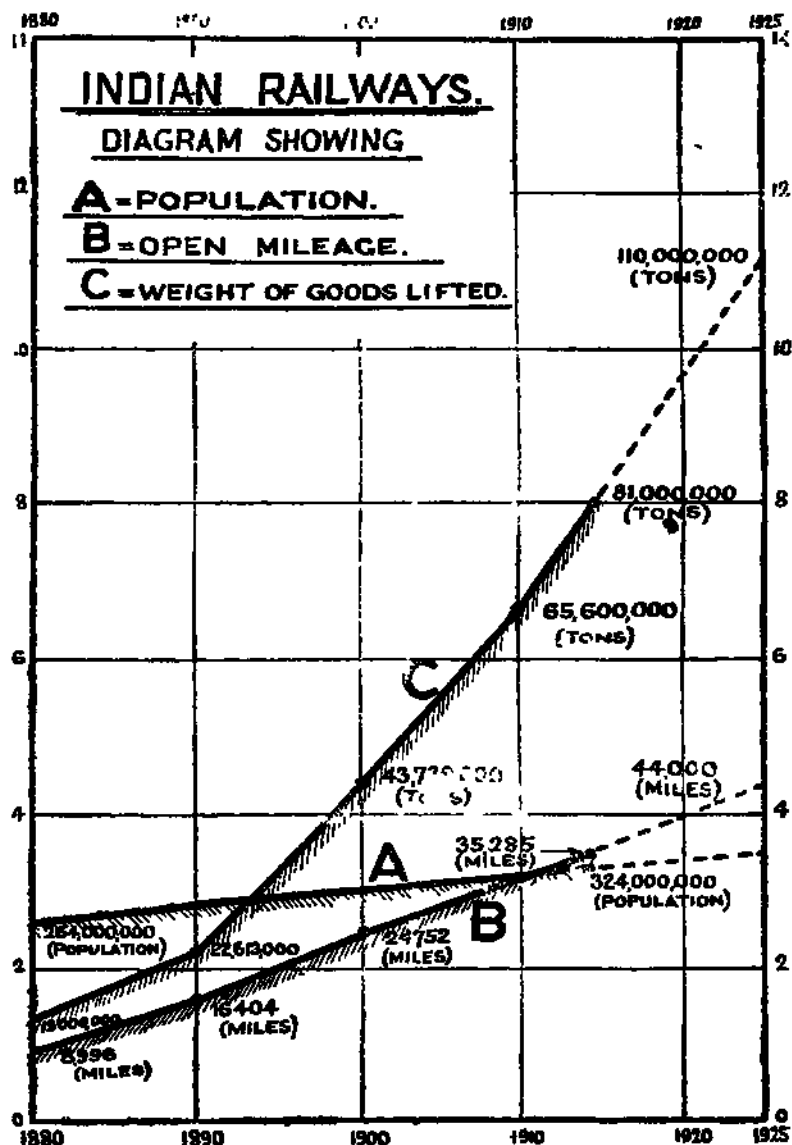


FIG. 20.

1925

1930

1935

1940

1945

INDIAN RAILWAYS.**5'-6" GAUGE.****WEIGHTS OF FOUR-WHEELED****OPEN WAGONS**

A = MAXIMUM GROSS WEIGHT.
B = " CARRYING CAPACITY.
C = " DEAD WEIGHT.

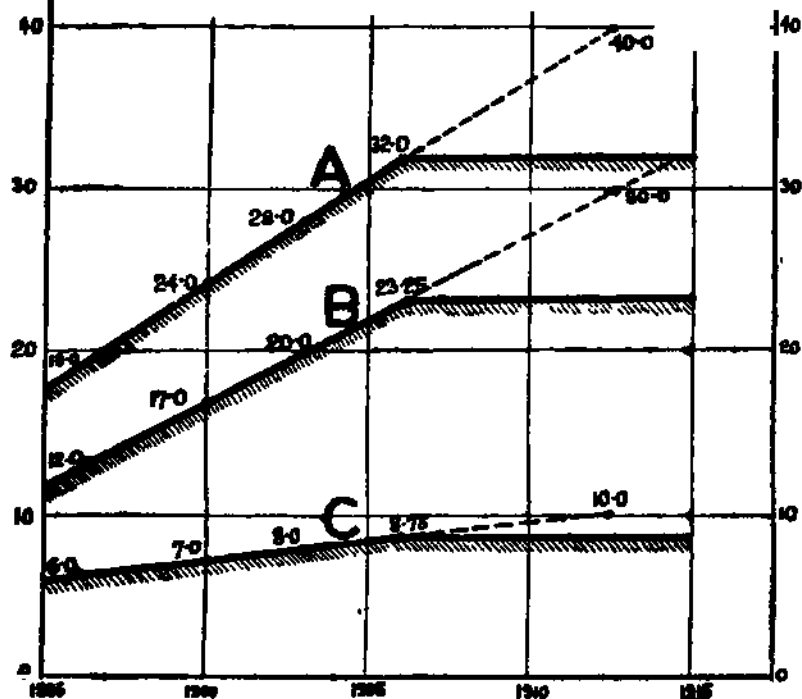
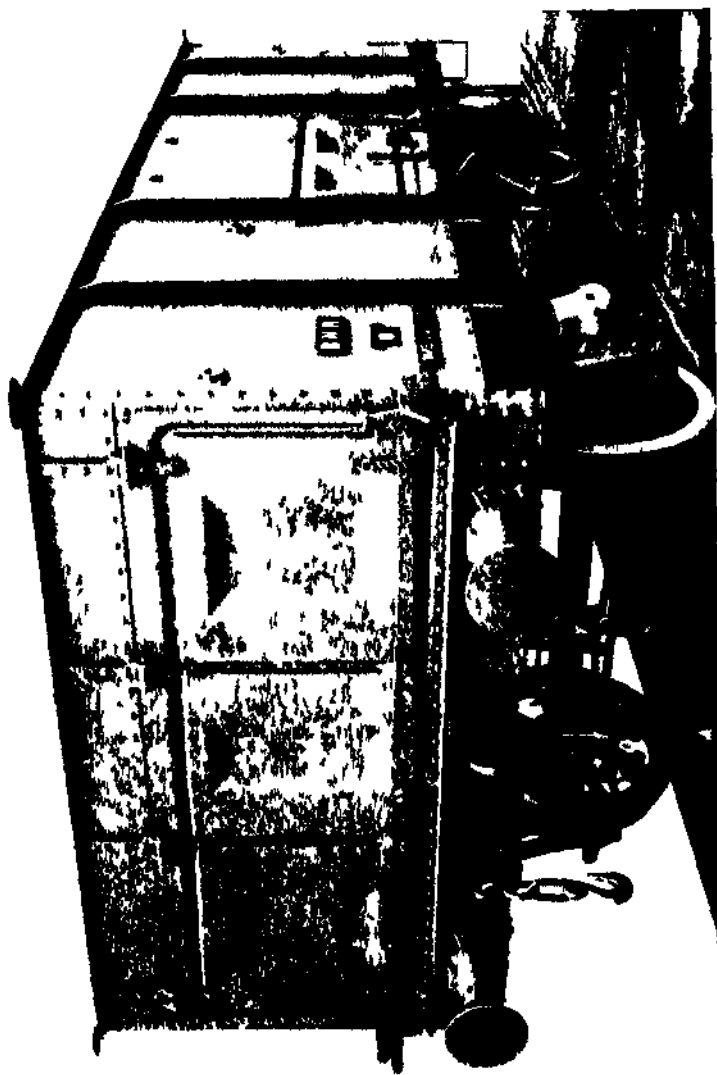


FIG. 21



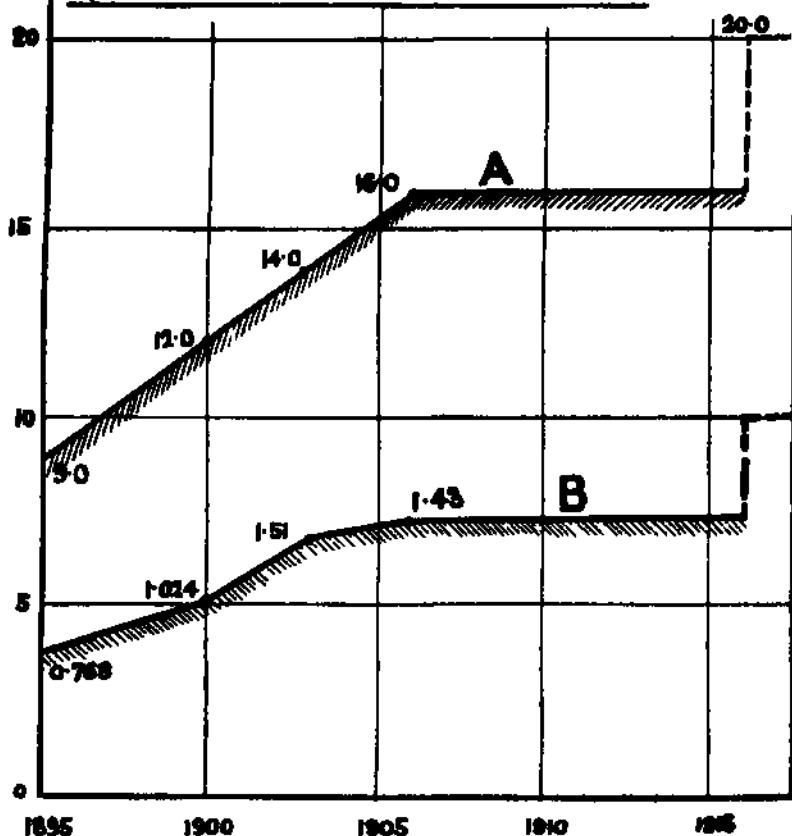
INDIAN RAILWAYS.

DIAGRAM SHOWING

INCREASE IN GROSS WEIGHT OF BROAD GAUGE WAGONS.

A = PER PAIR OF WHEELS ON RAIL IN TONS.

B = PER FOOT RUN OVER BUFFERS. "



1895

1900

1905

1910

1915

INDIAN RAILWAYS.
5'-6" GAUGE.
DIAGRAM SHOWING

15

25

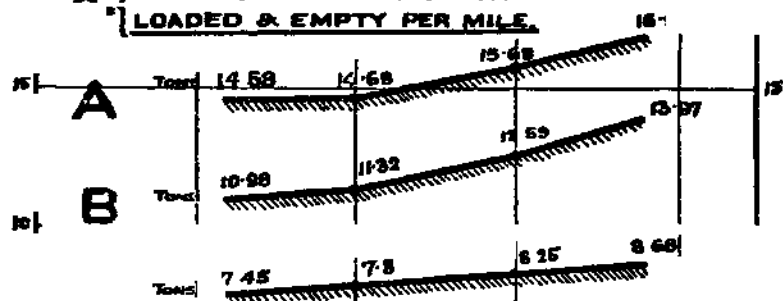
**A- { AVERAGE CARRYING CAPACITY
OF OPEN & COVERED WAGONS**

20

**B- { AVERAGE LOAD OF A LOADED
WAGON PER MILE**

30

**- { AVERAGE LOAD OF A WAGON
LOADED & EMPTY PER MILE.**



1895

1905

1910

1915

Fig. 24.

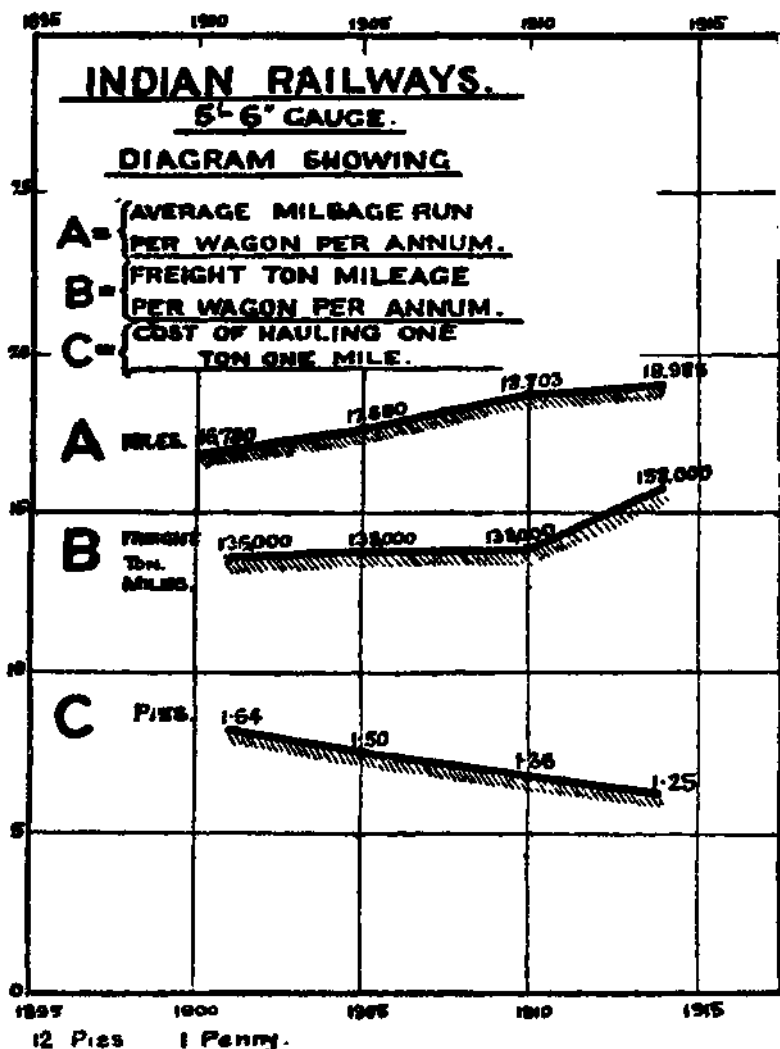
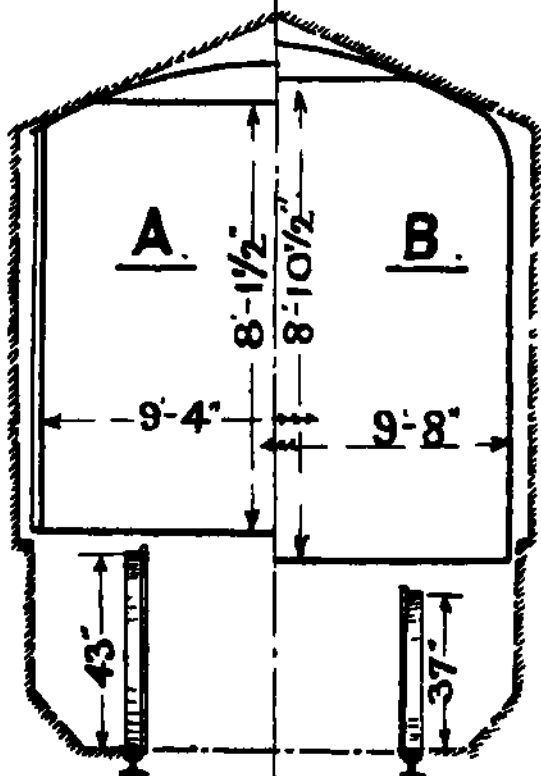


FIG. 25

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

BROAD GAUGE WAGONS



AREAS OF CROSS SECTIONS

75.8 Sq.Ft.

85.75 Sq.Ft

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{IMPROVEMENT} \\ \text{B:A} \end{array} \right\} = \underline{13.12\%}$$

on this system has increased by nearly 16 per cent., the load of a loaded wagon per mile over 27 per cent., the average load of a wagon, loaded and empty, per mile, by over 11 per cent.

63. From Fig. 25, which further illustrates work done by wagons on the same system, it will be observed that since 1901 the average mileage run per wagon has increased by over 13 per cent., the freight-ton mileage by 16 per cent., while the cost of hauling one ton one mile has during the same period decreased by exactly 31 per cent.

64. Owing to the restriction in width of carriage and wagon bodies, for reasons already given, it has not been possible to take full advantage of the facilities which the broad gauge would otherwise afford.

65. A study of the relation of various gauges to the inside body width of wagons in use thereon will illustrate this.

Gauge of Railway.	Inside Body Width	Ratio of Body Width to Gauge.	Remarks.
Feet. Inches.	Feet. Inches.		
5 6	9 4	1'697 to 1	India
4 8½	9 5	2'000 to 1	U.S.A.
3 3½	7 5	2'237 to 1	India
3 3¼	8 0	2'438 to 1	B.E.A.
2 6	6 4	2'533 to 1	India

66. In other countries, where it was desired to make full use of the available width, wagons have been constructed in the manner shown in Fig. 26, the special form of body-side, enabling the inside width to be increased by from 5 to 6 per cent.

67. Unless some means of increasing the cross section and so the cubical capacity of broad gauge wagons is found, either by lowering the floor level or raising the height of the roof, or both, as suggested in Fig. 27, thus enabling another tier of sacks of grain, etc., to be loaded, the present sixteen tons gross axle load will probably remain the maximum for grain-carrying wagons on broad gauge systems.

68. During the year 1914-15, 16,500,000 tons of coal were mined in India, of which, as you will see from Fig 28, nearly 5,000,000 tons were consumed by locomotives on Indian railways.

69. Of the sixteen and a half million tons, about 15,000,000 were raised from collieries in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and loaded into broad gauge wagons.

70. The carrying capacity of these vehicles ranged from 12.5 to 23.25 tons (Fig. 29, A to C), and for the year 1914-15 it averaged about 17.0 tons (Fig 29, B).

71. The average number of 17.0 ton wagon loads required to remove the whole output of coal from these provinces for that year was therefore approximately 880,000

72. Had only wagons of 23.5 tons capacity been used, the number of loads would have been reduced by 26.6 per cent. to 644,165.

73. It is quite possible, within existing standard dimensions of wagon height and width, to construct broad gauge four-wheeled wagons (Fig 29, D) to carry thirty, and bogie wagons (Fig. 30, C) sixty tons, for a twenty tons gross axle load.

74. The number of such wagon loads required to remove the whole 15,000,000 tons output would be about 500,000 for four-wheeled, and 250,000 for bogie wagons respectively.

75. Summarizing these figures we have—

Capacity of Wagons	Number of Loads	Improvement
Tons		Per Cent
17.0	884,000	—
23.25	645,165	26.6
30.0	500,000	13.2
60.0	250,000	71.6

76. This affords an excellent example of the extraordinary and beneficial results attending the use of wagons of the highest capacity compatible with the class of traffic dealt with.

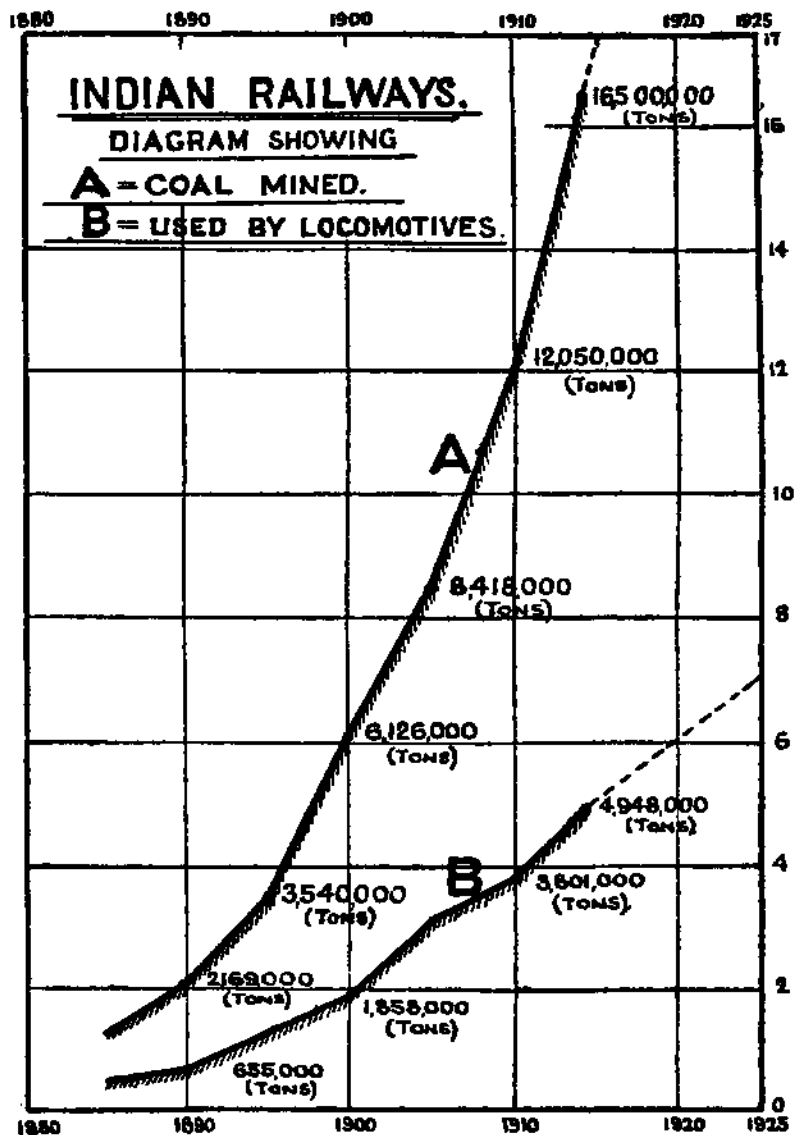


FIG. 78.

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

DIAGRAM SHOWING

INCREASE IN THE CARRYING CAPACITIES OF BROAD
GAUGE FOUR-WHEELED OPEN (COAL) WAGONS

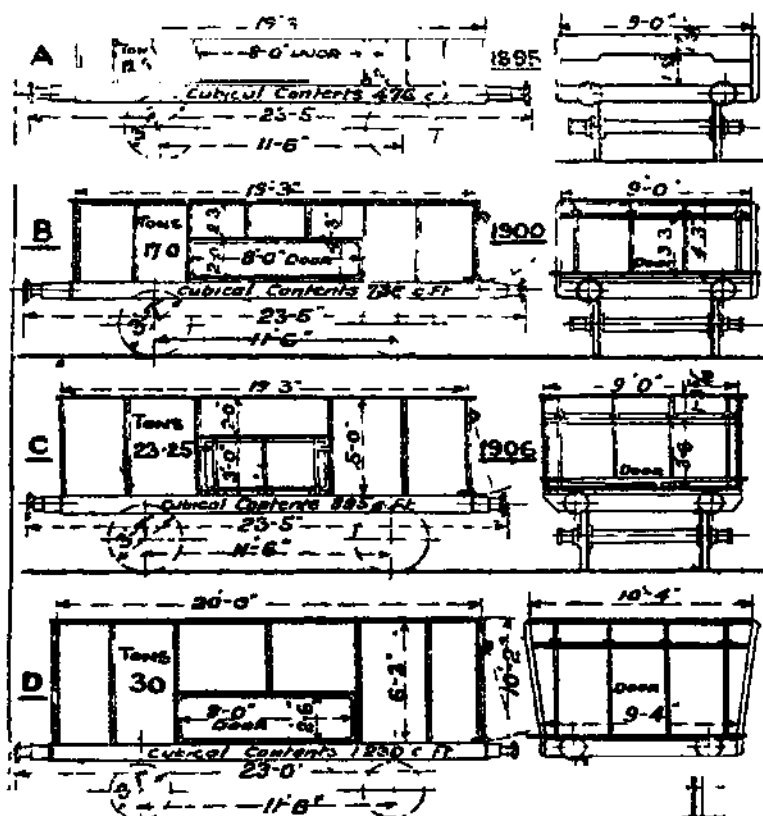


FIG. 29

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

DIAGRAM SHOWING

- A- BOGIE HOPPER HIGH CAPACITY COAL WAGONS
 B- BOGIE HIGHSIDED STANDARD FOR SOUTH AFRICA.
 C- PROPOSED HIGH CAPACITY BOGIE WAGON FOR COAL
 TRAFFIC ON INDIAN BROAD GAUGE RAILWAYS.

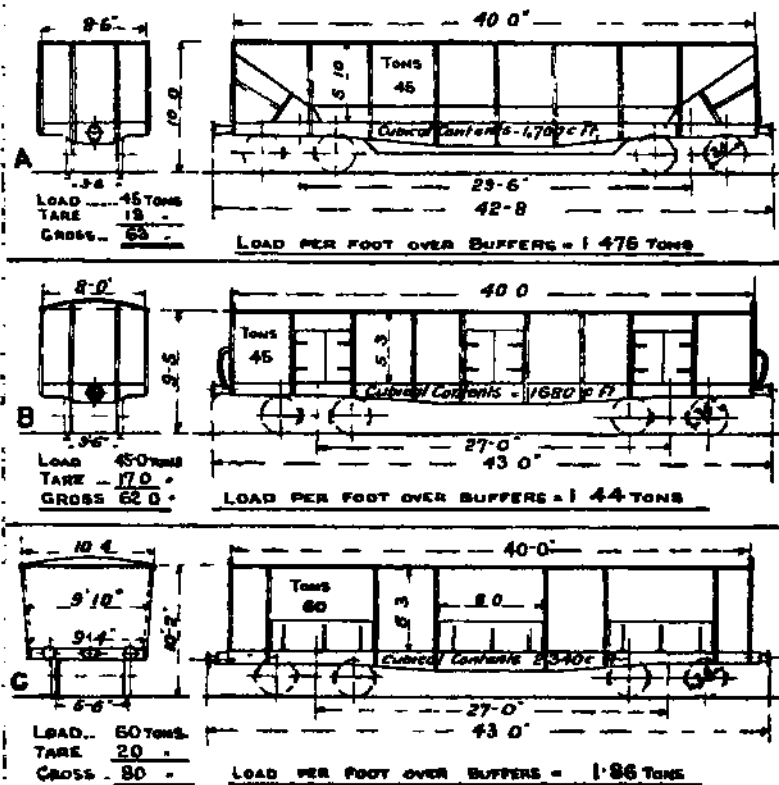


FIG. 30.

77. This has long since been recognized on South African railways of 3 feet 6 inches gauge, on which the maximum permissible load per pair of wheels on rail is 16·0 tons, and the carrying capacity of coal wagons (Fig. 30, A and B), is 100,000 lbs., or 44·64 tons, with a ratio of 1:2·45 for dead weight to carrying capacity, and a percentage as high as 71 for paying to gross weight.

78. Photographs of such high-capacity, high-sided and self-discharging wagons as used for the conveyance of coal under heavy working conditions of grade and curve on South African railways, are shown in Figs. 31 and 32 respectively.

79. Want of time precludes reference to similar all round progress on metre and narrow gauge systems. As an instance, however, of good work done on the latter, mention may be made of the Barsi Light Railway (2 feet 6 inches gauge) which during the year 1914-15 on a length of 116 miles, carried nearly 1,000,000 passengers and about 150,000 tons of goods.

It cost on an average about £3,990 per mile to construct and equip; the net returns for the year yielded a dividend of 8 per cent.

80. It only remains for me to show you pictures of the broad gauge Royal train constructed in India, in 1903, entirely by Indian workmen under European supervision.

81. It was composed of ten bogie coaches, and weighed 450 tons; its total length over carriages was 700 feet.

82. It was used by their Majesties when they visited India during the cold weather of 1905-06, and again on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar; from the pictures Figs. 33-39 showing the carriages as redecorated for the Durbar, I think you will agree that the Indian craftsman is capable of producing work of the highest quality.

83. Many of these entered the works as labourers, and, after a few months' progressive training, were well able to manipulate high-speed machinery of the most up-to-date character.

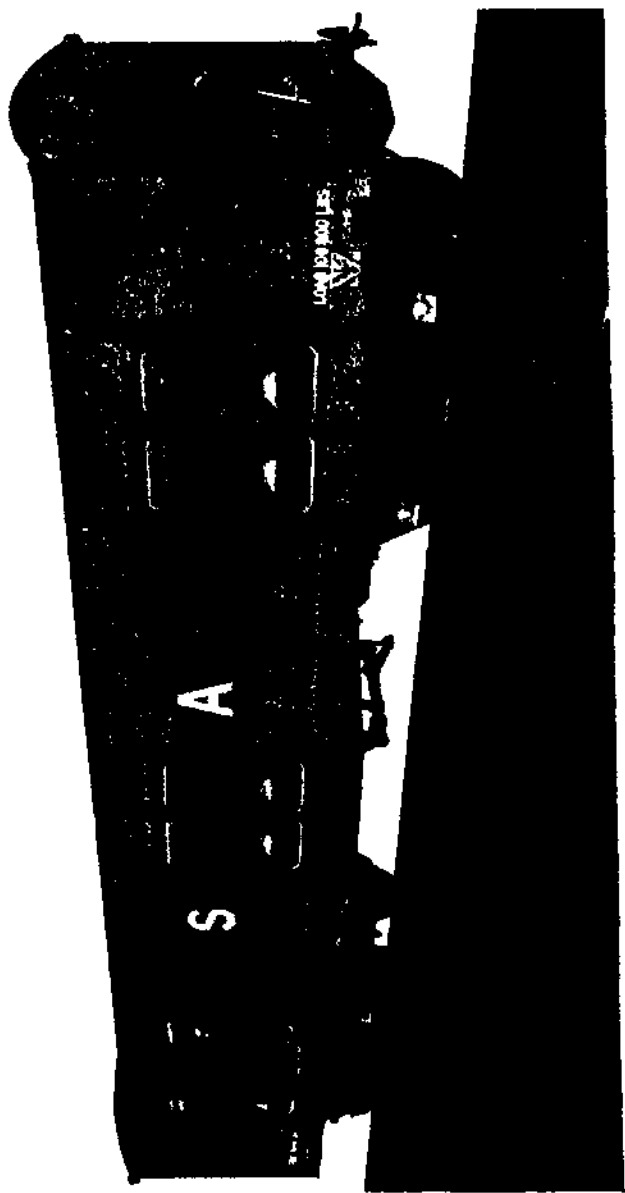
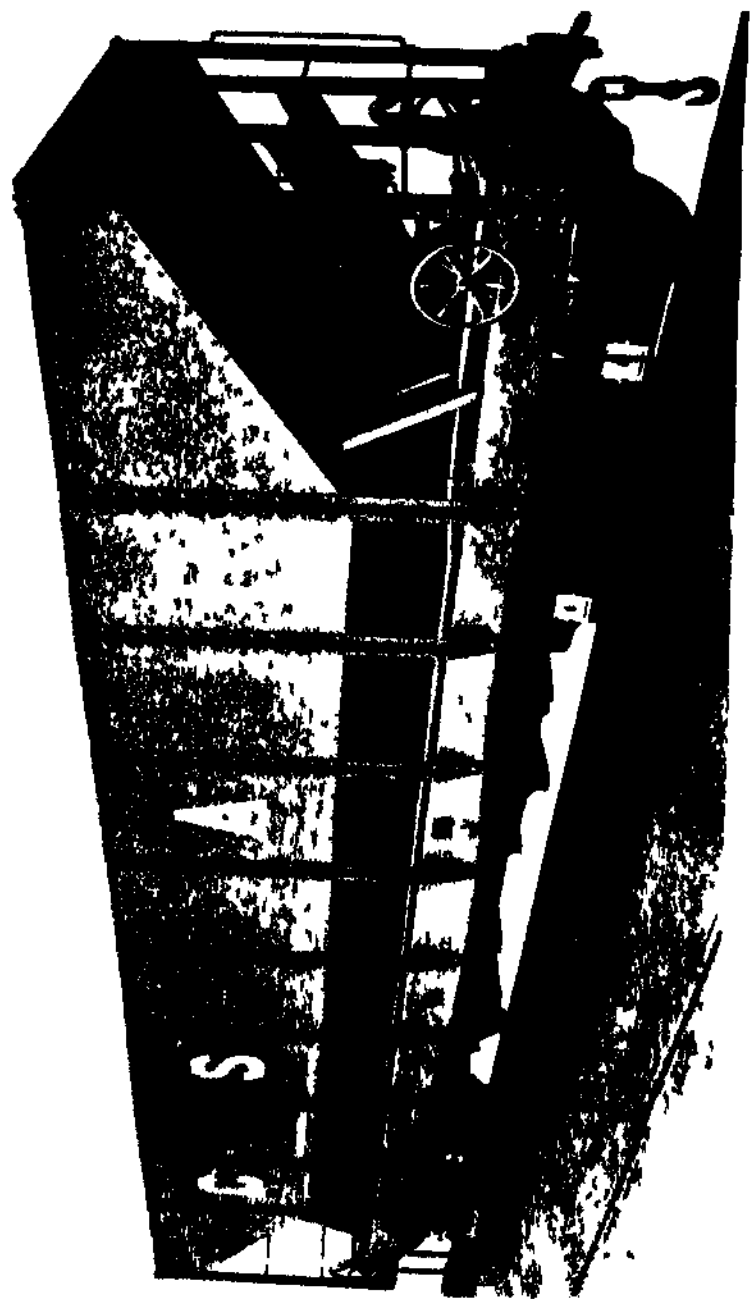


FIG. 31.

To Chap. 14



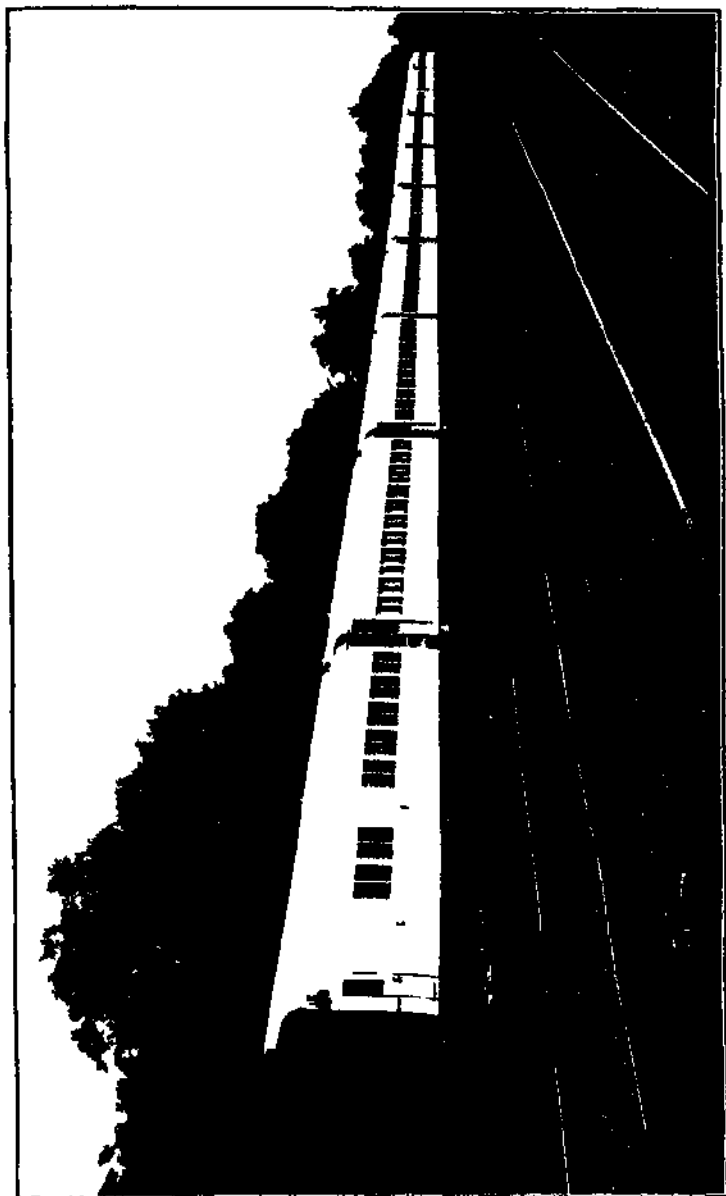


FIG 33 --GENERAL VIEW OF ROYAL TRAIN

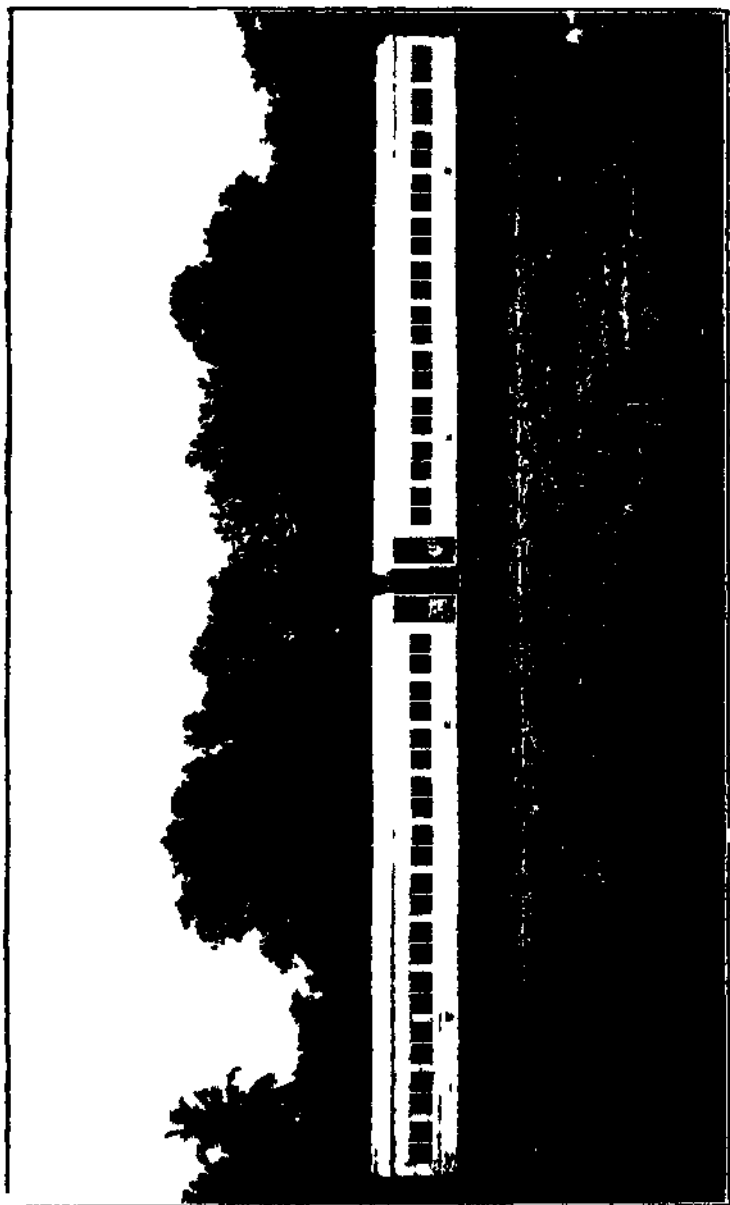


FIG. 34 — ROYAL SALOONS.



FIG. 35.—HIS MAJESTY'S DAY SALOON.



LOUDO

36



FIG. 37 —BLK MAJESTY'S NIGHT SALOON

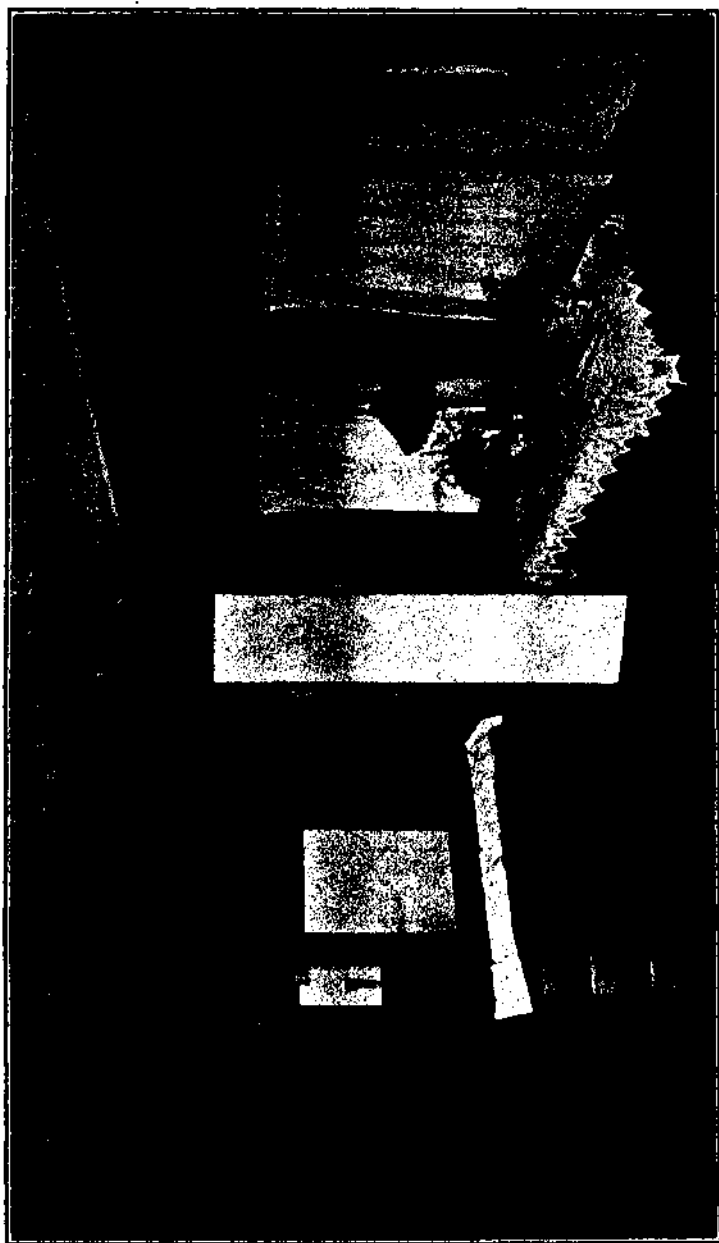


FIG. 38.—CORNER IN HEN MAJESTY'S NIGHT SALOON.



FIG. 39.—DINING SALOON IN TOURIST TRAIN

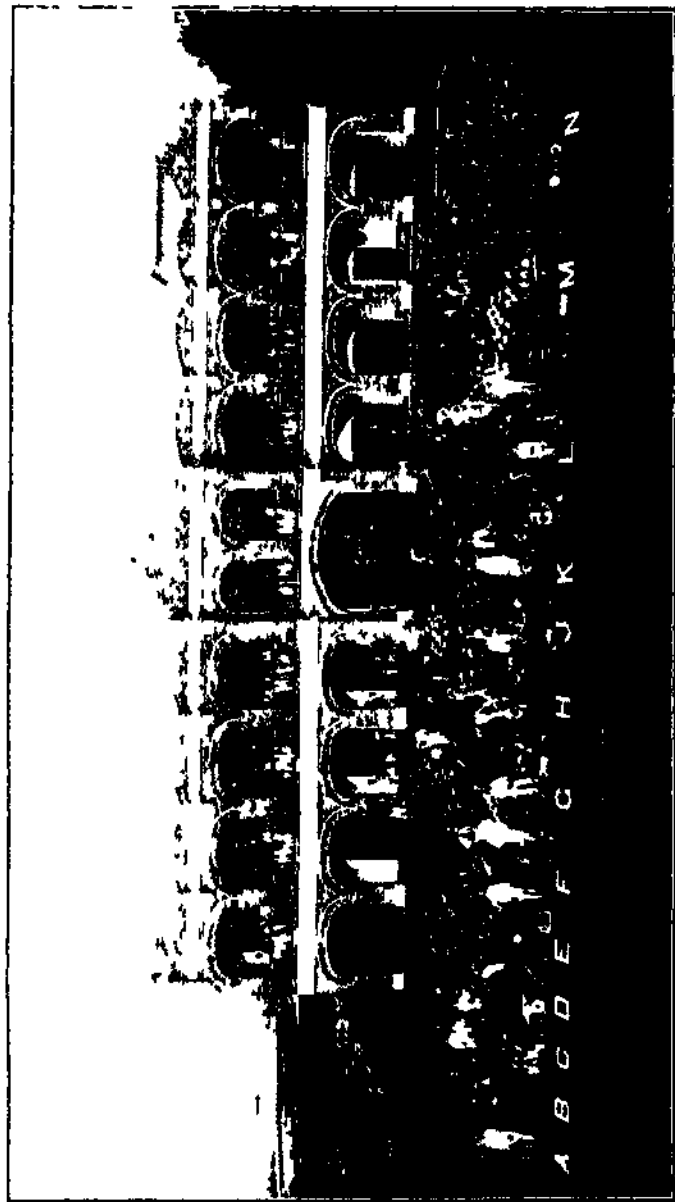


FIG. 40.—HEAD OFFICE OF THE CARRIAGE WORKS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY COMPANY AT LILLOAH (NEAR CALCUTTA) WITH BUILDERS OF THE ROYAL TRAIN IN FOREGROUND

The letters are the designating marks of the various sections of workmen

84. Sixteen years' experience in close contact with Indian workmen (Fig. 40) has afforded me ample opportunity of learning to appreciate their many sterling good qualities, and of realizing that having once won their confidence, there are no better or more faithful friends.

85. In concluding this rapid survey of so much progress I cannot refrain from referring to the most valuable work done by those gentlemen in London who, since the very initiation of railways in the East, have filled the position of Consulting and Inspecting Engineers to the Government of India and to individual Companies.

86. It is largely due to them that the quality and efficiency of rolling stock and of all other railway material sent from this country to India has throughout maintained so high a standard.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, June 19, 1916, at the Institution of Civil Engineers, Great George Street, Westminster, SW, at which a Lantern Lecture was delivered by Mr Herbert Kelway-Bamber, MVO, on "Thirty-Five Years' Advance in Indian Railway Development". The Right Hon Lord Reay, K1, GCSI, GCI1, occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, Sir Krishna G. Gupta, KCSI, Sir I. C. Gites, KCIF, CSI, Sir Frederick S. P. Lely, KCIF, CSI, Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, KCIF, Sir Bradford Leslie, KCIF, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagare, KCIF, Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Stephen Finney, CIE, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, CSI, Colonel C. E. Yate, CSI, MI, Lieut General F. H. Tyrrell, Mr Owen Dunn, Mr Duncan Irvine, ICS, Mr G. V. Utamsing, Mr Bryant, Mr C. E. Buckland, CIE, Mr Carkeet James, Mr W. Coldstream, Mr K. D. Hormusji, Mr W. B. Tripp, Mr E. J. Edwardes, Rev. W. L. Broadbent, Miss Vertue, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr Philip Cox, Mr J. Khanna, Mr Davidson Keith, Mr M. A. Aziz, Mr N. C. Sen, Dr and Mrs Barker, Miss Rising, Miss Spence, Mr A. Finkelstein Litvinoff, Mrs Nash, Rev. Dr. Coogan, Mrs White, Mrs Lloyd, Mrs Theophilus Salway, Mr Haji, Mrs Ward, Miss Tethly, Mrs Philippowsky, Mr Howard, Miss F. H. Burns, Mr E. H. Tabak, Mr E. Benedict, Mr G. Ritchie, Mrs Collis, Major Coghlan, Miss Burton, Mr Davis, Mr Tate, Mr Ryan, Mr Khayer, Mr and Mrs Knapp, Mr and Mrs McKenzie, Mr T. B. W. Ramsay, Mrs McLeod, Mr and Mrs Hitchcock, Mr Newman, Dr and Mrs Leon, Mr A. de Potier, Mr A. C. Chatterjee, Mr F. C. Channing, Mr Jas. T. Jarvis, MINSICE, Mr Granville Miles, Mr Dallas, Mr H. H. Molesworth, Miss Gearon, Mr E. Heysham, Mr Worthington, Mr H. R. Cook, Mr and Mrs Kenner-Tarte, Mr Gayatonde, Miss E. M. Privet, Mr K. S. Sanhta, Mr R. Gupte, Mr W. R. Pandit, Miss Ashworth, Dr Slater, Mrs MacGregor, Miss Blackmoor, Mr Earle, Mr Calthrop, Mr Mohamed Ishag, Miss Hollward, Mr H. Mitchell Whitley, Lady Kensington, Dr Frankerd, Mr W. Frank, Mr

Selein, Mr G B Hodges, Mr J C Congrave, Mr W Fox, Colonel F Firebrace, R F, Mrs Kelway Bamber, Mr R D Chhokra, Mr G Niens Khiri, Mr J B Pennington, and Mr John Pollen, C I E, Hon Secretary

The HONORARY SECRETARY then read letters from Sir Arundel Arundel and Colonel Clive Wigram regretting their inability to be present

The CHAIRMAN I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr Kelway Bamber Mr Bamber entered the service of the East Indian Railway Company in 1891, and ten years later became Superintendent of the rolling stock of that line

In 1902 he was commissioned to design and to construct the new royal tram used by Her Majesties King George V and Queen Mary for their journeys over the Broad Gauge Railways of India during the cold weather of 1905 1906, and again in 1911 on the occasion of the great Coronation Durbar

While thus engaged he controlled the transfer of the entire workshops of the rolling stock department from Howrah Station to their new site at Lillooah, three miles distant

He was responsible for many radical changes and improvements in the construction of coaching and other vehicles, which, while greatly adding to the comfort of travellers, increased their revenue earning capacity and reduced working expenses

He took a personal interest in the well being of his European and Indian staff of some 6,000 men, and initiated a scheme for training the sons of Indian gentlemen as railway engineers He has also published many articles of importance in connection with Indian railway rolling stock

Mr Bamber gives the greatest credit to the qualities of the Indian workmen, and he has displayed much tact and judgment in managing them We must congratulate Mr Bamber, his son was in the last naval battle on board the *Neptune*, and I am glad to know he is perfectly safe Mr Bamber has, as so many others have done, paid his tribute and made a patriotic sacrifice to this Great War, having lost his other son, who was in the R I C, and when the loss of his son became known in India, the workmen who had worked under him sent him a most touching letter of condolence That shows what the relations were between Mr Bamber and his workmen, and it also shows what we all know—the gratitude always felt by Indians towards those who treat them well

The lecture was then read, the lantern slides being very much appreciated by the audience, and the lecture concluded amidst great applause

The CHAIRMAN I must now ask if there is anyone who wishes to address the meeting

SIR BRADFORD LEEIE said Lord Reay, ladies and gentlemen, I think that the first thing we should do is to thank Mr Kelway-

Bamber for his most interesting lecture. When I came into the room I thought I knew all about Indian railways, but I found I had a very great deal to learn, and I am very much gratified at having been able to attend, and if I am in order in so doing, I have great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Mr Kelway-Bamber for his very entertaining lecture. (Hear, hear)

SIR GILFORD MOLLESWORTH said that he had intended to say a few words, but after having heard the lecture he had no criticism whatever to make. Everything had been so very interesting and so very satisfactory that he had nothing whatever to add. He had intended to make some remarks with regard to railway policy, but he had suggested to the Hon Secretary that he would prefer instead of doing that to read a separate paper on the subject at some future period. (Hear, hear)

SIR STEPHEN FINNIS. I had no intention of speaking this afternoon. I had hoped that my old friend Mr Bamber would have sent me an advance copy of his lecture, so that I might have had an opportunity of considering it with care, but I was not so favoured.

I would call attention first to the very interesting diagrams which show the results of average statistics, and as regards improvements in rolling stock, the figures seem to indicate correctly the advance that has been made, but in considering all average statistics of this kind, one should, I think, always bear in mind the warning of the Simla Statistical Committee of 1890. Any conclusion that may be drawn must be considered as approximate only, and without a careful review of all influences bearing on them, the result cannot be employed as a basis of any accurate comparison or deduction.

The high capacity goods stock is not always a blessing from a traffic manager's point of view, even with the most efficient carriage and waggon department accidents will occasionally occur and defects become apparent in running stock, and if a waggon of sixty tons capacity is cut off at a roadside station, the staff have great difficulty in dealing with it, if, as is frequently the case, an engine is not available.

As regards coaching stock, I first travelled in India from Bombay to Calcutta in 1874, and I can testify to the enormous improvement made in the arrangements for the safety, comfort, and convenience of the passengers since that time.

I had as Manager of the North-Western Railway to travel with the Prince of Wales's train for more than three weeks in 1905-1906, and on all sides I heard the workmanship and design of the coaches forming the royal train spoken of in terms of the highest praise; they certainly formed a new departure in Indian practice, for which Mr Bamber is responsible.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with applause, said. I rise to support the vote of thanks to Mr Bamber. The lecture has been

entirely interesting, and the subject, which might otherwise have been very dry, was made by the lecturer very attractive, and for one minute could one drop one's attention, and the excellence of the lecturer made one feel as if one was back in India again. I must also say to pass a vote of thanks to the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers (Hear, hear) I am sure that not one of the least merits of this paper has been that it has opened to us the doors of this splendid Institution and given us a taste of this splendid lecture hall.

There was one point mentioned in the lecture, which gave me the greatest pleasure, and that was the locomotive passed on the East India Railway. One of the subjects which gave rise to a great deal of correspondence and a great deal of controversy whilst I was in Bombay was getting that East India Railway started, but I had a pleasant surprise in meeting to-day the Chief Manager of that railway, Mr. Callthrop, and to hear from him they were contemplating a great expansion of the Railway, and that all the plans were ready, when, unfortunately, the War intervened, and Mr. Callthrop stepped in, because the issue of new shares for the War is dependent on the approval of the Treasury. Another vivid recollection of my period of office in Bombay was connected with the Porbandar Gondal Railway. When I turned the first sod of that Railway, and when, I believe, not quite two years of my office had still to run, the engineer in charge said to me "Now you have turned the first sod, and we guarantee that you will also be here to open the Railway," and that was done. I have always considered that a highly creditable engineering feat.

Ladies, ladies and gentlemen another good result of this meeting has been that Sir Gaisford Moleworth has promised us a paper on Railways. I am quite sure that nothing could give us a greater satisfaction than to have from so superior an authority the promise of a paper. (Hear, hear) It is a great satisfaction to have, but we are never in difficulties with regard to papers, thanks very largely to our Secretary Dr. Pollen. Now I will call upon Mr. Bamber, if he wishes to refer to any of the observations which have been made on his paper.

The SECRETARY, in reply, said that with reference to the comment that a copy of his paper had been supplied to the audience, he ought to have explained that as the letter press was not complete until Saturday last it had, unfortunately, not been possible to issue correct copies before the meeting.

With regard to the question of averages, he was aware that they must be accepted with caution. He had taken his averages generally for periods of five to ten years, and felt them to be reliable.

With reference to "high capacity" waggon and shunting difficulties, he could not but feel that the time had long passed for the moving of waggon in his colliery districts by hand. What could be done in one country ought certainly to be possible, under

similar conditions, in another, and if in South Africa and in America they could move waggon weighing from 60 to 80 tons, he did not think there could be any difficulty in handling them in India. The objection raised should not, he felt, be allowed to stand in the way of the great advantages which would undoubtedly follow if such waggon were used for the transport of coal and other materials.

He had nothing further of importance to say except to thank them all very much for the kind vote of thanks they had accorded him.

DR POLLEN said he wished to add his appreciation of Mr Bamber's kindness in regard to all the trouble he had taken in preparing the lecture for the meeting. They would agree with him that not only did Mr Bamber do his work thoroughly well, but he was an admirable lecturer also. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The vote of thanks was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

COLONEL YATE, M.P., said that before the meeting concluded he would like to ask them all to join with him in passing a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, Lord Reay, for so kindly presiding over their meeting. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He had presided over the Council Meeting immediately before, and must have been sitting in the chair for nearly three hours. That was a considerable strain for anybody, and he felt they owed him a debt of gratitude for that. They had all thoroughly enjoyed the paper, and had learned something of Indian railways, and how great the improvements in transit had been in India since many of them then present had left that country. They were all interested in seeing the various schemes for labour saving, especially when they considered the enormous mineral traffic and the great transportation of goods that had grown up of late years. All those things were of the greatest interest to all of them, and they would all join with him in thanking Lord Reay for having come to take the chair. (Hear, hear.)

This was put to the meeting, and carried by acclamation.

LORD REAY. I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, it has given me great pleasure to be here on so auspicious an occasion.

The proceedings then terminated.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF ISRAEL

"THE SOCIAL LEGISLATION OF THE PRIMITIVE SEMITES By Henry Schaeffer, Ph D (*Mr Humphrey Milford, for Yale University Press.*) 10s net.

"ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH FUTURE.' By various writers, edited by H Sacher (*Mr. John Murray, Albermarle Street, W*) 2s 6d net

In the two works before us we are able to trace, not only the gradual evolution of the Bani-Israel from the time when it was composed of a tribe of nomads, knit together by uterine ties, until it found a settlement in Palestine, from thence until its dispersion, but also, after following its wanderings and lodgments in many lands during a period of nigh upon two thousand years, to learn its present-day aspirations and to endeavour to form some reasonable conjecture as to its possible future

In the first-named of these works Dr Schaeffer points out, not only that survivals of matriarchy (a system whereby the mother takes precedence of the father in the determination of kinship) are to be encountered in some of the oldest portions of the Torah, but that a similar condition of things at one time existed among the Arabs, and, on the strength of the material available, deems it to be within the limits of probability that the matriarchal clan was the dominant form of organization among the Hebrews prior to their settlement in Canaan

With the acquisition of land, a new economic factor arose, which, acting upon social integration, resulted in the transition of maternal to paternal relationship Hence in the early chapters of the Book of Genesis we find the eldest male parent to be absolutely supreme in his household, his domain extending to life and death, and his being as absolute an owner of his children and their houses as he was over his slaves and "his ox and his ass or anything that was his" The full exercise of these rights, however, was checked by the edicts incorporated in the Book of Deuteronomy, which, while they permitted parents to chastise their children, prohibited them from putting them to death, the stubborn son being ordered to be brought before the elders of his city, and his punishment to be inflicted by the community

In dealing with the position of women in ancient Israelitish times, Dr Schaeffer is of opinion that, generally speaking, wives were excluded from inheritance, inasmuch as they themselves were regarded as the property of their husbands, "the only passages to the contrary being met with in the Book of Ruth. "Then he (Boaz) said to the kinsman, 'Naomi who has returned from the land of Moab is about to sell a parcel of land which belonged to our brother Elimelech,' for 'on the day thou buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou buyest Ruth, the Moabitess, the widow of the dead, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance." That the inheritance had fallen to Naomi must be attributed to extraordinary circumstances. The narrative informs us that Elimelech had two sons, who no doubt succeeded to the inheritance left by their father. In course of time both Mahlon and Chilyon die without issue. Their Moabitish wives have no legal claim upon the estate whatever, and hence the property reverts to Naomi, the widow of Elimelech. Whether this mode of inheritance is the remainder of a once established custom in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah is a matter of inference resting upon the somewhat similar law concerning daughters mentioned in the Book of Numbers. However this may be, the passages just cited from the Book of Ruth cannot materially affect the assertion of Dr Schaeffer regarding the older period of patriarchy, owing to their post exilic origin. Commenting hereupon the author aptly remarks "With patriarchy on the ascendant and with the practice of marriage by purchase, the legal status of women is reduced to an extremely low level. It is important to bear in mind that wives are in a chattel relation to their husbands. This alone, apart from religious motives, would account for the exclusion of women in matters of succession."

Dr Schaeffer proceeds to contrast this custom among the ancient Hebrews with that in vogue among the Arabs. He says "According to the Nabataean inscriptions the women of northern Arabia must have occupied a high social position. They might even own large estates and engage in trading pursuits. Whether this implied the right of inheritance is doubtful. Before Muhammad's time only warriors could inherit, 'none can be heirs who do not take part in battle, drive booty, and protect property' (Koran, Sura, IV, 8, 26). That the women of Medina had no capacity for inheritance, at least so far as landed property is concerned, is in perfect agreement with the above principle, as well as with *la al* marriage, or marriage of dominion. In marriages of the latter type the purchase price is paid to the woman's kin. With the rise of Islam, however, the *mahr* becomes the property of the woman, although at the same time a gift of some sort is insisted upon by Muhammad, "be it only an iron ring or half his cloak." This change was rendered possible by the pre-Islamic custom of giving a *sadaq*, or voluntary gift, to a *mut'a* wife. In Islam both *sadaq* and *mahr* are used interchangeably in the sense of dowry. The dowry, the nature of which depended entirely on the social position of the suitor, constituted the most important part of a woman's identity. As in Islam, so among the Arabs of Hadramaut, the *mahr* is handed over to the woman. In addition to this the bride receives from the bridegroom a wedding-present, which is regarded as her own special personal property.

Dr Schaeffer gives as his opinion that "of all the Pentateuchal laws, that pertaining to the property rights of daughters is one of the latest"

One of the most interesting and instructive portions of the work is that which deals with the development of individual land ownership in Israel. When the nomadic tribe settled in Canaan, the institution of private property would appear to have been co-ordinate with the introduction of agriculture, and in this respect we see an analogy between the Israelitish custom and the law of Islam, whereunder all lands which have never been cultivated or occupied by houses become private property (*mulk*) by being "quickenened," or brought under cultivation. Communal ownership by the clan would appear to have remained the custom for many generations posterior to the conquest of Canaan, but in course of time the numerous influences affecting the social fabric of the community gradually displaced the simple tribal arrangements of the earlier period, and in process of time many estates, originally constituting part and parcel of the lands assigned to various Hebrew tribes and their subdivisions, or "families," fell into the grasp of the wealthy classes residing in the cities. At all events under the Hebrew monarchy, the concentration of landed property had become an established custom, and probably was one of the causes of the poverty and distress among the peasantry, and of the subsequent legislative enactments on behalf of the poor.

"With the consolidation of the kingdom under David and Solomon the tribal life of Israel assumed a different aspect. But the tenacity of the old tribal system was such as to leave its impress on the internal administration of the various communities, the royal government contenting itself apparently with the receipt of the usual taxes and tribute. All the essential functions of government in the towns and villages of pre-exilic Israel were in the hands of a council of elders, composed of the heads of families or clans residing in each community. During the exile the elders appear as the official representatives of the clans, acting on their behalf on every important occasion. The return from the Babylonian exile, it may be noted, was a concern of the clan as a whole, and not a matter of individual initiative. The "elders of the Jews," the *sabé yehudaye*, as we learn from the Book of Ezra, were recognized by the Persian satrap as the hereditary representatives of the Jewish community.

Leaving Dr Schaeffer's interesting record of "the dead past," we turn to consider "the living present," as portrayed in the work edited by Mr Sacher, and at once come face to face with the problem of endeavouring to fit into the modern world of a national group, which, despite a continuous series of most cruel and bitter persecutions, has survived from ancient times without the ordinary attributes of nationhood. For the lines penned by the Turkish poet, Shiekh Haroun Abdullah

"The Jew claims no land dear as that devoted to his birth,
Therefore 'tis meet that he should be, a wanderer o'er the earth,"

appear to be as true to day as when they were penned three and a half centuries ago.

"The modern world sets the Jew the problem of maintaining some sort

of distinctive existence without the external props of territorial sovereignty and a political machine, and the Jew sets the modern world the problem of finding for him a place in its social structure which shall enable him to live as a human being without demanding from that he cease to be a Jew "

The present Great War brings this Jewish problem into tragic belief " It is not merely that hundreds of thousands of Jews have been turned into homeless wanderers, exposed to the ravages of famine and disease, and with the slenderest prospect of ever recovering such economic stability as they had before. That is the external aspect of the Jewish contribution to the tale of war suffering, and it is sufficiently appalling to arrest attention even at a time when horror stalks through the world. But the inner side of the tragedy, of even more awful significance for the Jewish people, is the destruction of the homes of Jewish life and learning, the break-up of the social organism, which, despite its lack of freedom and of material and political strength has embodied most fully in the modern world what is vital and enduring in the character and ideals of the Jewish people. The havoc brought by the war to the Jews of Poland has been compared to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and the comparison is by no means fanciful. For the fearful blow strikes beyond the individuals at the very heart of the nation. " As a solution of this problem, Mr Sacher, and his fellow contributors to the volume before us, thinks that the creation of a purely Jewish state in Palestine would make it possible for large numbers of Jews to settle there and live under conditions in which they could produce a type of life corresponding to the character and ideals of the Jewish people. When this is accomplished, says Mr Sacher, " Palestine will be the home of the Jewish people, not because it will contain all the Jews in the world, but because it will be the only place in the world where the Jews are masters of their own destiny, and the national centre to which all Jews will look as the home and the source of all that is most essentially Jewish. Palestine will be the country in which Jews are to be found, just as Ireland is the country in which Irishmen are to be found, though there are more Irishmen outside of Ireland than in it. And similarly Palestine will be the home of Judaism, not because there will be no Judaism anywhere else, but because in Palestine the Jewish spirit will have free play, and there the Jewish mind and character will express themselves as they can nowhere else ' "

In support of this theory the authors of the work give a very interesting sketch of Jewish history in Europe from the period of the French Revolution to date, and also furnish some extremely interesting details of the Jewish colonization movement in Palestine, from which we learn that forty five Jewish colonies exist in Palestine to day, with a population of about 15,000 souls, and cover a total area of 110,000 acres, or about two per cent of the whole area of the country.

One omission we note in the book, and that is that it never alludes to the attitude taken up by the Sephardic Jews, who have been settled in Palestine for many generations, towards the large immigration of Ashkenazi Jews into the country. This omission may of course be accidental,

but, in our opinion, it is unfortunate, as unless the goodwill of these earlier Jewish inhabitants is well assured, the comparison which Mr. Sacher draws between Ireland and Palestine may find a realization in a manner more striking than desirable.

There is also another factor which the authors of the work—and indeed nearly all Zionists—do not seem to ever take into serious consideration—namely, the position which the large Muslim and Christian populations of Palestine may assume towards the Zionist movement. The problem of the settlement of the Jews in Palestine bristles with difficulties on every side, and while we cordially welcome this book as a valuable contribution towards Zionist literature, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that much water will have to flow down the Jordan Valley before a Jewish State in Palestine becomes *un fait accompli*. We make this statement out of no spirit of hostility towards the ideals of Zionists, for the welfare of the Jewish race is, perhaps, as dear to our heart as it is to the authors of the book, but from our personal knowledge of the country and its peoples, and a sincere desire to call attention to dangerous shoals and reefs, which if not known and guarded against may wreck and bring to naught the well meant and laudable ideals of the promoters of Zionism.

HENRI M. LEON, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.

June 11, 1916.

THE GERMAN PRESS AND THE GRAND ALLIANCE By G. de Wesselsky
author of "Russia and Democracy" (*Fisher Union*) 1s.

The author's name is familiar as that of a distinguished Russian journalist, who has represented the *Novoye Vremya* in this country for many years, and served as President of the Foreign Press Association in London. He is descended from the Serbian Bozhidarovitch family, and as son and grandson of Russian Generals entered upon a military career, soon abandoned for the study of history and philosophy at Heidelberg. Extensive experience of Germany and contact with representative men enabled him to foresee better than many statesmen and diplomatists the trend of political events. A *persona grata* with Prince Bismarck, M. de Wesselsky was afterwards expelled from Prussia by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

This pamphlet contains an address delivered at a gathering at the Central Hall, Westminster, in March, under the auspices of the Russia Society, presided over by the Speaker. M. de Wesselsky begins by pointing out dangerous and eccentric theories resulting from German scientific studies, though he rightly pays homage to genuine science. Family "reform" has led to hideous developments, and megalomania claims every great man and every civilization as due to Teutonic origin. His main theme is the relations of Teutons and Slavs from early times, a branch of history which Germans have endeavoured to obscure, but which Polish historians like Boguslawski have investigated with unexpected results. The history and memoirs of the former Slavs of the Elbe and Baltic have formed a leisure study of our author, who has explored

their lands on foot and collected local traditions. Many professional historians will learn for the first time that—

Between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries, while Europe was mostly plunged in darkest barbarism, and ancient culture found refuge only in Constantinople and the Greek Black Sea colonies, a vast country, stretching from the Baltic to the Middle Danube, called *Germania Magna sed Slovenia*, was, alone in Europe, densely peopled, orderly, and prosperous, with many towns and some large cities

Traces of former Slav inhabitants of modern Germany are indicated by such purely Slav names as Strelitz, Stargard (Oldenburg), Strielov (Stralsund), Pomerania (*po more*, by the sea), Kolberg (*okolo bere*, a, along the shore), and Leipzig (*lipa*, linden, the Slav sacred tree). The State of Prussia (*po Russa*) is the outcome of one of the German marks, instituted by Henry the Fowler against the Slavs. Boleslav the Brave of Poland attempted unsuccessfully in the eleventh century to unite all the Slavs politically. The names of leading Slav Princes like Godescalc (Gottschalk), Krut (Krooko), Pribislav, and Niklot, their last hope, who fell fighting against Henry the Lion, are almost forgotten. Lack of cohesion prevented the Elbe Slavs from holding their own against their aggressive Teuton rivals, which the Poles and Czechs were better able to effect. Professor Josef Perwolf wrote a very complete Russian account of the Germanization of the Baltic Slavs, and there are references in an article on the Yugoslav question in our February issue. In the last German oath given by our author, *Der Deutsche* (devil) *hat dich*, the word used is *Dudscher*, a corruption. Prussian militarism is thus explained by M. de Wesselsky

The basis of its organization was the blind submission of a robbed of all, downtrodden, and starved out race, for whom even serfdom was a salvation from total extinction. The Wends bore on their shoulders, like Caryatides, the whole edifice of Prussia, and are now bearing that of the whole German Empire, which if they failed it must crumble to pieces

Modern Prussia has benefited from a past Germanized Russian Government, and others have done their share of work *pour le roi de Prusse*, but all Europe is alive to the consequences. Other aspects discussed are Prussification of Germany (a yoke bitterly but impotently resented by many subjects), "double nationality," the sham Prussian "Order of St John," approaches to Jesuits, Jews, ultra-Conservatives, and ultra Radicals, with an outline of peace conditions. M. de Wesselsky rejoices at the growing understanding and friendship of England and Russia.

It is tempting to enlarge on this work, which offers much food for thought and original suggestions. SLAVOPHIL.

"ARISTOCRACY" By Sir Charles Waldstein, LL.D. (Murray, 10s. 6d.)

Sir Charles Waldstein's new book is a lengthy plea for such conditions as might in future prevent war, and, in fact, introduce an era of international peace and goodwill. Much as one may admire the intention which led to

the writing of this book, one might wish that instead of a portly volume Sir Charles had split his material into two shorter and less inconclusive volumes. The first part of his work is devoted to a study of the conditions which in Germany have led to a state of "swelled head," and the author's statement about the older generation of Germans—*i.e.*, those educated before 1870—will, we think, be readily agreed to by his readers. Although there can be no doubt that Bismarck's efforts succeeded in making a coherent unit of what had been before him a heterogeneous medley of small nationalities, each with its prejudices, customs barriers, and the like, it is not to be wondered at that the members of those national units, when associated together into a greater nation, became overbearing. The Belgian device "*L'union fait la force*" finds itself justified there with a vengeance, but nevertheless each of the individual units seems to have kept a somewhat better opinion of itself than of its neighbours. The German Empire is, in fact—to use a geological expression—a sort of pudding stone, or rather a breccia with the rough angular units cemented together rather than bound by the Prussian administration. Granted, then, that the older Germans were on the whole of a different class and of a different temperament than the modern Boche, yet the horrors of the 1870 war, short as it was, have to be remembered, no Frenchman then alive, or born shortly afterwards, is likely to forget them. Shall we say that they were due to the psychological effect of masses? Then we must recollect that the inhibition of the controlling and restricting functions of the thinking cells over the mere animal functions is the greater when the controlling cells are less numerous or less active, and we shall postulate and demonstrate in the same breath that the modern German is very near the brute in mentality. Sir Charles would have us think otherwise, but we must refuse to accept his plea. Take a German singly, he may be in appearance a decent enough person, he will try to be pleasant, but always with an eye to the main chance, his decency has a string to it. Put two or more such Germans together, and the mass action will at once be evident—the *Deutschtum* which the single individual concealed for the sake of his own gain becomes assertive. These men have been trained thus. The whole German system of education is, as Sir Charles readily agrees, subject to the control of the Imperial Administration. Liberal thought, if it exists, is gagged, and a cast of mind is produced which is so readily swayed by superior orders that the individual must lose all individuality and personal control when the affairs of his country are at stake. The author calls this chauvinism—it seems a very large extension of the original meaning of the word. Chauvinism is a disease of patriotism—an hypertrophy, but the German state of mind alluded to is more than that. We see in it another type of growth—like cancer, or sarcoma, shall we say?—a malignant growth which destroys all the critical faculties. A Frenchman may find everything wrong that is not French, an Englishman also, in different ways well known to all observant people, the German is made to despise others, he merely asserts that Germany must and shall rule the world because he has been told so at school and every day of his life. Indeed, the Boche is a self-abused person. What has he done in science? Compilations of great value, *qua* compilations,

but without a spark of genius in them. Any bookworm can be a compiler. It may be said that since 1870 neither in chemistry nor in physics, nor indeed in anything else, have the Germans *invented* or led; they have adapted, compiled, accumulated facts, and they have turned all they could into money. Their drug trade has sprung from the necessity to turn into money the by-products of their chemical shops; their hard-working, plodding qualities have enabled them to "make good" in the workshops; and their snake-like obsequious travellers and representatives have undersold their competitors. Thus it became possible for them to believe that after peaceful penetration they might own the world. That is not chauvinism, it is self-delusion. We insist on the point because Sir Charles sees in chauvinism the *fons et origo* of all wars: we do not. He fancies that chauvinism was beginning to find root in England before the war. Would to God it had, then England would have been prepared and the war would not have happened! The Boche might have waited long for a selected moment if the national defence had not been relegated behind party politics—in fact *sabotée* by visionaries, socialists, and worse, spreading blindly in hollow words doctrines made in Germany for export. There is, then, much special pleading in the first part of Sir Charles's work, and the second portion is merely a lengthy disquisition on morality, intended to support the plea for throwing overboard "chauvinism" and adopting what seems to be a policy of international non-patriotism. We have no doubt that, deeply thoughtful as is Sir Charles's book, it will not convince many people, unless they be already of his opinion. We look upon enlightened patriotism as a necessity, and it is part and parcel of efficient patriotism to know the defects of one's enemies as well as their qualities. In the study of German psychology most French and English have signally failed before the war. It is hardly to be thought of that after the terrible fight in which both nations are freely spilling the best of their blood the younger generations will be imposed upon by verbose disquisitions. Rather do we believe that from the war will emerge a race of men of action to whom the failure of philosophers and word-mongers, of preachers and speech-makers, will be such an indubitable fact that Sir Charles's plea for denationalism will fail or be ignored. The appendices to the book are curiously irrelevant to the subject-matter.

H. L. J.

THE NEAR EAST

SYRIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE. By E. S. Bouchier. (Oxford: *Blackwell*.) 6s. net.

Mr. Bouchier is well known to readers of "Great" at Oxford as the author of "Life and Letters in Roman Africa" and "Spain under the Roman Empire." It may at once be said that the present volume is in every way worthy of the predecessors. For us it has an additional interest, in that it treats of a region now famous in war, and, as we hope, destined to be still more famous in the peace to come—that is to say, on account of a looked-for change of rule. But apart from the research and scholarship revealed by the author, it may be said that Syria, on account of its

proximity to the Parthians, presented similar problems to the Romans as "The Frontier" does to the authorities in India. And for that reason the subject is of peculiar interest to our readers. We learn that the Romans, like the British, were inclined to make the frontier tribes themselves the guardian of the *limes*. That was the earlier policy, to be superseded by legionaries permanently garrisoned there. But as these legionaries were largely drawn from the population on the spot, the older principle in part prevailed.

THE SLAVS OF THE WAR ZONE By the Right Hon W. F Bailey, C.B.
(Chapman and Hall) 10s. 6d net.

In this volume the author sets forth the iniquities of the ramshackle Empire with which the public is now only too familiar. But we think that he has been so occupied in flogging this admittedly dead horse that he has given us too much of the Austro Hungarian and too little of the Slav. Those who have read the works of "Scotus Viator," Mr Steed, and Mr Drage, are thoroughly conversant with the former, but still look for an exhaustive account of the habits and customs, as apart from the hopes and fears, of our friends the Southern Slavs and Cechs.

INDIA

REMINISCENCES OF THE INDIAN MUTINY (1857-58) AND AFGHANISTAN (1879) By Colonel Sir Edward Thackeray, V.C., K.C.B., late R.E.
(London Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place) 1916

Much valuable literature is permanently lost to the reading public by the fact of its publication in the ephemeral pages of reviews and magazines and we therefore welcome this small volume, in which Sir Edward Thackeray has collected some of the papers which he originally contributed to this REVIEW, to the *Royal Engineers' Journal*, and to the *Cornhill Magazine*. The gallant author is already well known by his works entitled "Two Indian Campaigns," "Biographical Notices of Officers of the Bengal Engineers," and his "History of Sieges in the Nineteenth Century", and in the present *réchauffé* of his mingled official and personal recollections he has given us narratives of the memorable sieges of Delhi and Lucknow of four months' campaigning experiences in Afghanistan, with brief memoirs of some of his comrades in arms. Sir Alexander Taylor, General and C.C.B. of the Bengal Engineers, the dashing partisan leader, Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, Brasyer, of Brasyer's Sikhs, and two other well-known officers of the Corps of Bengal Engineers—General James Macleod Innes, V.C., C.B., and Colonel Joseph Taylor, the repairer of the Taj Mahal.

To these are added some incidents in the siege of Bhurtpore by Lord Combermere, extracted from the journals kept by officers serving in the siege, and an account of the heroic self sacrifice of a jemadar of Sappers, one Faiz Khan, in the Afghan War, together with some notes on the

natural history of Assam, compiled from the observations of the author when employed in that province. We doubt, however, if Sir Edward is right in calling the Hornbill of Assam a Poucan. The accounts of the fighting in the Indian Mutiny (more properly designated the Mutiny of the Bengal Native Army) make us realize the complete change that has taken place in the conditions of warfare within the last half century, due to the increased range of weapons and the use of high explosives. At Lucknow a large body of the enemy's troops was observed crossing the front of our position, but was just out of range of our artillery. Sir Edward says: "A few shots were fired from the heavy guns of the outpost, but the range at the nearest point of their line of march was upwards of two thousand yards." The casualties that occurred in the actions of those days seem absolutely trivial in the light of the recent results of the fighting in Flanders. The siege operations which resulted in the capture of Lucknow in March, 1858, lasted three weeks, and Sir Edward Thackeray writes "The losses on our side during the operations were about twenty five officers killed and fifty wounded, and eight hundred men killed and wounded."

Now that the metal helmet which formerly defended the heads of our soldiers of all arms is again being adopted by our infantry, it may be of interest to note that our author remarks, in describing the battle of the Hindun on May 31, 1857 "The Carabineers—the 6th Dragoon Guards—wore their brass helmets during this action, without cover or protection of any kind, and strange though it may seem, there were but few cases of sunstroke, the burnished surfaces causing the heat to be reflected from the helmets." On the same day twelve men of the Sixtieth Rifles were struck down by the sun, of whom four died. A metal helmet affords complete protection against the sun, at that time the British officers of the Scinde Horse wore silver helmets.

The battle of the Hindun was followed by the victory at Badli ka Sarai gained on June 8, and that date was selected for the annual banquet held in London to commemorate the siege and capture of Delhi. Nearly sixty years have now passed since that memorable exploit, and when the veteran Field-Marshal Lord Roberts presided over the gathering in 1914 for the last time, the number of the survivors had dwindled to twenty.

It is a matter of regret that Sir Edward has concluded his memoir of Colonel Brasyer with the suppression of the Mutiny at Allahabad, and gives no account of the subsequent career of that eccentric and picturesque personality. By the bye he calls Brasyer's famous regiment the *Ferozshah*, instead of the *Ferozepore Sikhs*, now entitled *King George's Own*, and boasting the King-Emperor as their Colonel in Chief. But there are several similar little slips in the text, owing, no doubt, to an insufficient revision of proofs. The description of the field of Charasiab at p. 140 leaves us in doubt whether the word "edges" has not been substituted for "hedges" by a printer's error.

In the topography of Lucknow, p. 107, it is stated that "the town is bounded on the north by the Gumti, and on the east by a canal which runs northward from the river." A passage of considerable length relating the death of the gallant Hodson on p. 103 is repeated verbatim on p. 123.

There are also some printer's errors in the spelling of Indian places and proper names—e.g., p. 46, Chandene for Chandnee, p. 142, Bala Hisan and Sherpun, p. 146, Mupoorree should probably read Mynpoorie, and p. 170, Jerdan for Jerdon. We only notice these trifling errors in the hope of seeing them corrected in future editions.

F. H. T.

THE TRIUMPH OF DELHI, AND OTHER POEMS. By Nanikram Vasanmal Thadani Sarkar (Calcutta *Badur and Sons*.)

A collection of poems possessed of charm, of which the shorter ones call for special praise, and particularly "In Memoriam K.," from which we quote

' He passed away, and thou, O sorrow cease,
A husband, son, and friend, is gone, and bare
A mother's bosom and a widow's home "

The author has a simplicity of diction which is rare among Indian poets writing in English, and which they would do well to imitate.

RUSSIA

ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT. By R. Scotland Liddell (London *Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Ltd.*)

A book written to the accompaniment of guns amidst the noise of battle. It tells tale after tale of Russian heroism, of the marvellous courage of suffering Russian men, and the patient devotion of tender Russian women. A book that shows the Russian people as they really are, full of faith, and braced by a splendid self-forgetfulness, with their cheery "Neechevo" when everything seems to be going dead wrong.

The author has felt and vividly describes the immensity of Russia, with its great soul and giant strength, and the account he gives of the Russian infantry soldier, his child like faith and schoolboyish pranks, his splendid endurance and simple hearted self-abnegation and disregard of personal suffering, is moving and accurate.

The British people little realize that the Russian soldier's pay in war time is one shilling and sixpence a month, and in peace-time threepence a week, and that the wives only get something less than twelve shillings a month, and the children under ten about six shillings.

The way the Russian soldier does all kinds of hard work in all kinds of weather, and marches over impossible roads or wades through quagmires and across moving sandhills, *singing all the time in perfect harmony*, is well described, and though the Russian soldier himself is happy and contented, his job (as Mr. Scotland Liddell tells us) is certainly "not a good one."

Our author writes of Warsaw in superlatives of praise, but we do not think he has overdone it in any way.

There is always a Dublin levity and "a happy-go lucky goes you-pleased-

ness" about Warsaw, and the way the people pass from grave to gay is strikingly Hibernian.

The descriptions of the burial of the Russian soldiers, and the scamped and hurried funeral services, are very impressive; and the way "the Sisters" move silently about amongst the mounds tending the individual graves tells of the devotion of the Russian women. The story of the great retreat and the fall of Warsaw is vividly told, and the burnings and devastations wrought by the retreating Russians so that the pursuing Huns might find "all cupboards bare" are strikingly portrayed.

At times our author feels savage with the Russians for having to retreat at all, at their want of what in India is called "bundobast," their lack of ammunition, their absence of success, and the way the officers and Generals get out of the danger zone before the simple soldier, and in front of the cartloads of following wounded and the streaming refugees. But he realizes that Generals and the Staff are of more importance than the common soldier, and that the great thing is to secure and safeguard the retreat.

Incidentally the author bears witness to the generous treatment afforded by the Russians to their Austrian and German prisoners. Russian, German, and Austrian wounded used to sit and have their meals together, and were quite friendly one to the other, and this in spite of the fact that in some instances the brutal Huns had cut out the tongues of Russian prisoners because they would not give information.

Then at last the end of the great retreat comes, and Russia greatly stands at bay; and the book closes with the preparation for a fresh advance of the Russian hosts "for Truth, for Tsar, for Motherland."

The book as a record of an eyewitness is well worth thoughtful study.

J. POLLEN.

RUSSIA AT THE CROSS ROADS. By C. E. Bechhofer, with an Introduction by A. H. Murray. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.) 1916.

To try to explain Russia to herself is somewhat of an ambitious undertaking. What young nation ever did understand itself? The first duty of a nation, as of an individual, is to grow, and Russia is yet in the growing stage; and the next duty is to toil, to eat bread in the sweat of the brow, and Russia is toiling now, and has not as yet reached the stage when she can rest and reflect, or, as it were, turn inwards upon herself and begin to reason about her existence and her destiny. But the trend of the nascent nation has undoubtedly always been towards the sea, and the religious yearnings of the Russian true believers are certainly directed with ever-growing intensity towards the golden dome of St. Sophia (the Vatican of the East) and the sepulchre of our Lord in Jerusalem.

The manner in which the rising Russian nation has been dexterously exploited by the Germans, with all their Machiavellian cunning, is well set forth in this book, and the author is not far wrong in declaring that "the Russian's despair has often been the creation of necessity."

There is also much in the contention that "the restoration of the capital to Moscow will be the reflection of the vital renaissance of Russia," for the Russian nation chiefly consists of the Great, Little, and White Russians, who recognize in Moscow their "little mother"

We think it is hardly fair to speak of the Armenians in the mass and in the small as "unprincipled and treacherous", and with regard to the exploitation of Russia, it is hardly true that the foreigner is not favoured. The Scots have always been welcomed in Moscow, and the German has been favoured and encouraged all over the country with the fatal results we know of

In the chapter on the "Wealth of Russia" the question is asked, "Could Russia be further developed?" A most unnecessary question, seeing that it is admitted on all hands that Russia is hardly developed at all, and that private enterprise in Russia takes the form of indiscriminate slaughter of fur animals, the reckless deforestation of lordly woodlands, and generally the killing of the geese that lay the golden eggs. Our author thinks that all this waste and want will disappear with the opening of the Dardanelles, and that the increase of trade with England, France, and America will permit the establishment of a high protective tariff against Germany, and that Russia will emerge as "a willing and productive great nation" It may be said she is this already. All she really needs is guidance and direction on sound lines of development, and the author seems to suggest that the merging of the "Mir system" in agriculture and the "Artel system" in commerce into State-directed economic institutions of national co operative guilds might supply this guidance and direction.

The chapter on "Peter the thrice Great" seems to have little connection with "Russia at the Cross Roads," but sets forth the merits of the mighty autocrat with fidelity, but we think the author is quite mistaken in the views he takes of the actual nature of Russian autocracy and of its effects on Russian character and humour.

And we fear we must say there is but little point in the chapter on "Russian Character," and there is little to be learnt from the chapter on the "Church and Russia", but in describing "The Russian at Home," the author is right in insisting that the Russian women remain the most markedly womanly women in Europe, and that their actual influence is as vast as it is unobtrusive.

J P.

TWO MONTHS IN RUSSIA JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1914 By Rev W Mansell Merry (Oxford *Blackwell*) 2s 6d net

It is worthy of record that while Anglo Russian friendship was still in its infancy here (and was being nursed through its first stages by Madame Olga Novikoff and Mr Stead), those adventurous spirits who crossed "the roof of the world," and descended on the other side on the soil of Holy Russia, fearlessly recorded their admiration for India's Northern neighbour. To-day we no longer look so much for admiration of Russia from our English travellers—that is now shared by every man, woman, and child—but rather for a narrative of things seen.

Accordingly, a description of days spent there at the time of the outbreak of this war cannot fail to attract general interest. To this may be added the pleasure of reading Mr. Merry. He divides his book into three parts "Before the War in Petrograd," "The Outbreak of Hostilities," and "During the War." He points out that through prohibition the Russian Government have had to forego £93,000,000 annual revenue. We might conclude that the way to tea totalism lies through Government liquor monopoly! Very fine is the description of the demonstration at the British Embassy. He concludes with an account of his return to England through Scandinavia.

A PRACTICAL GUIDE FOR RUSSIAN CONSULAR OFFICERS AND ALL PERSONS HAVING RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA. By Baron A. Heyking, D.C.I., Imperial Russian Consul-General in London. Second edition, revised and amplified (*P. S. King and Son*) 12s. net.

The above is not only a very thorough account of the duties of Russian Consular Officers, as the title implies, but also a mine of information for all those who wish to have commercial and other relations with Russia, and we may presume there will be many after the war. Accordingly we draw particular attention to Part X, entitled "Legal Position of Foreigners in Russia," where, in a commendably concise form, this subject is treated in all its aspects. In the last pages of the book the Consul-General makes an eloquent plea for a closer co-operation between local authorities and Foreign Consular Officers in the future. He asks for a definite statement which can be incorporated in consular conventions for the exemption of Russian Consular Officers from serving on juries or inquests. Another, a somewhat humorous complaint, is that in this country there is a lack of any administrative power vested in Consuls over those of their own country men who are mentally deranged. He recalls some of the strange requests made to Russian Consuls in the past. Thus, the official in Bombay was asked by a Russian scientist to make a collection of Indian minerals for him. On another occasion the Russian Consul in London was requested to gather pamphlets and books on astronomical matters, also on the treatment of lunatics in the different asylums of the United Kingdom, and at the same time to give an essay on this question. He naturally protests against being treated in this manner as a Jack of all trades. The extent to which Consuls can be of service to subjects of their country is shown in the case of a Russian sailor who, in a fit of jealousy, committed a murder, and, after having been condemned to death, obtained a reprieve on the initiative of the Consul.

But it is evident that in many cases the Consul's time is seriously wasted, and he says in this respect ladies are the worst offenders. Russian students also are sometimes not a little helpless. Baron Heyking quotes the case of one who came to the Consulate General in London, and stated that he had arrived the day before and put up at a boarding house. He had left his luggage there and had gone out into the street, and had since been unable to find the boarding-house. He did not know the name of

the street in which it was situated, he could not speak English, and was, in fact, utterly helpless. He had to be sent back to Russia.

The question of our own Consular Service has attained much greater importance since the outbreak of war, and reforms in this department are, we understand, urgently needed. We may add that this volume contains many hints which we may ourselves take with that object in view.

CONSTRUCTIVE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

THE TROPICS. By C. R. ENOCK, F.R.G.S. (*Grant Richards*) 16s net

"Empires and civilizations have risen and fallen, and will continue to rise and fall until man strives to lay the basis of a science of corporate living on the earth." In the introduction to this richly illustrated volume of 450 pages the author makes an eloquent plea for the study of a new science—viz., constructive human geography, which, he explains, bears somewhat the same relation to geography as medicine does to anatomy. Accordingly he gives the reader not only a description of the Tropics, their scenery, inhabitants, and industries, but also, as far as possible, outlines their future in each case on a basis of self-development. This is, we think, the first book written with this admirable purpose, and also the first that treats the subject of the Tropics situated in all the continents as one composite whole.

But if these two features make the work remarkable, yet another great merit it can show is the thoroughness of the information given and the suggestiveness of the conclusions drawn.

It is natural that in a work of this scope India could only be allotted some dozen pages. But we note with regret that in his opinion "the Indian in his abject poverty, ignorance, and *heathenism* [the italics are ours], strikes a note both of pity and reproach in the observer's mind."

On the whole it may be said that the author is at his best when he deals with the lesser known "Tropics."

ORIENTALIA

AMENTIT. By Alfred E. Knight. pp. ix + 274, five plates and line blocks. (*Longmans and Co., Spink and Sons*)

A very useful compilation to help collectors of Egyptian images of the gods, scarabs, and amulets, and incidentally calculated to advertise the stock or collection of Messrs. Spink and Sons, if one judges by repeated allusions thereto.

J

DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY. Loan Exhibition of Antiquities at the Coronation Durbar, 1911. Rupees 20.

This handsome work in the usual format of the Archaeological Survey publications contains seventy-four plates in half tone, illustrating about

twice as many specimens or groups of specimens of arms and armour, standards, farmans, calligraphy, paintings, dresses, and furniture, etc., creditably engraved by the photo-mechanical department of Thomason College, Roorkee. This book might have been more valuable to collectors of pictures, particularly if dates had been added to the descriptions. In most cases one is left to conjecture at what date during the life of the subject or after his death a portrait was painted.

MISCELLANEA

EUROPEAN AND OTHER RACE ORIGINS. By Herbert Bruce Hannay, Esq.
8vo, xxv + 491 pp. (London *Sampson Low, Marston and Co, Ltd.*)
21s net

Many years ago a number of books were written to prove that England was the home of the Lost Tribes, whilst a writer sought to locate them in Japan. Now the present book is a fresh attempt to try and demonstrate that the English are the descendants of Isaac or Beth Sâk. To read it right through required patience, and we closed it with a sigh at so much labour wasted, and if we say wasted it is because we feel that the writer, barrister of distinction though he may be, has not made his case, his inspiration apparently sprang from a few brassed books, and he bolstered his premises with unsatisfactory evidence. Philology is a useful tool, but it is hardly a satisfactory one, and when a writer spurns Ripley and Deniker's opinions merely to offer in their place variations upon words he cannot expect to be followed. Indeed, his philology appears often at fault. An example will suffice. Quoting an obscure French work, the author finds that the bantering Frenchman ragging a foreigner uses "*une sorte de narvete feinte . . . cela s'appelle la gouaille*" (p. 135), and on p. 139 the author shows his manifest ignorance of French by writing the Portevin name *Gouattiles* meaning "strangers" or "foreigners" . . . Now to derive from that an explanation of Γαλλοι, Galli, Gauls, etc., is advocacy only fit for an ignorant panel, it is on par with the classical proof that the Japanese are not Malay because one says *susu* for soot and the other *susu* for milk
ab uno disce omnes

The author says that he is willing to continue his search for truth if he has failed, we respectfully submit that he should take up the search again. He wishes for traces of Sugnûdhan (read Sogdian—the author's phonography is peculiar) civilization to be found by Sir Aurel Stein, that is a bit late in the day. He might refer to Stein's own published work and to the Tung Pao—there to find that his wishes were duly fulfilled eight years ago.

H. L. J.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

THE FAR EAST

From the July issue of the *Far East* we learn

"The Yordzu Choho says the whole navy of China under the command of Admira Li, Commander-in Chief, assembled at Wusung recently, and made a declaration to the effect that the fleet must refuse to obey the command of Peking authorities pending the restoration of the old Constitution, the re-convocation of the Diet, and the appointment of a responsible Ministry. The declaration added that the step taken by the navy did not mean that they harboured any hostility against President Li. On the contrary, they reposed implicit confidence in the President, who, however, was no more than a mere figurehead, being unable to say and act as he pleased, and the whole machinery of the Chinese Republic was in the hands of despotic militarists. Hence it is that they declared for independence of the Northern Command.

"In this connection a certain inside observer of the Chinese situation remarks that the mutiny of the Chinese navy must have been long contemplated. The political power of China has long been in the hands of the militarists, while naval men have been forbidden to enter the sphere of active politics. The feelings of vengeance they have entertained against the military men have been revealed in the present uprising, which is chiefly directed against General Tuan Chi jui, the Premier, and his followers."

INDIA

THE RAILWAYS

It is a common delusion of hasty idealists to suppose that railway practice is an arbitrary code invented by capricious directors. As a matter of fact, the principles of railway management are the same wherever rail ways are found, and, this being the case it is only reasonable to conclude that they are founded on universal experience, and cannot be abandoned without grave risk of failure and loss. It is easy to point to this or that rule which seems to be harsh or illogical. But, as soon as the case is examined, the chances are that the regulation is found to be based on commercial necessity, and to be in reality to the public advantage. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola proposes to substitute for this body of established railway practice, common to all countries, the whims and fancies of Indian politicians.

'HOMER RUFF' ONCE MORE

To the *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1916, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Madras contributes an article on "India after the War," and makes the following observations:

"But if on the one hand Englishmen in India need to cultivate the spirit of idealism, on the other hand there is an equal necessity for a change

of attitude on the part of educated Indians. They need to realize far more than they do at present the enormous difficulties that lie in the way of the realization of their ideal of a self-governing India. To begin with, India is a continent, not a country. It is inhabited, not by one race, but by forty. Its vast population is split up by divisions of race, religion, and caste. . . . There is a singular lack of ordinary business capacity, governing power, and political instinct, among the vast majority of the Indian people. . . . There is at present very little foundation on which to build any form of popular government, really expressing the will of the Indian people as a whole. There is hardly any trace of democracy in India, the only forms of government known are despotism and bureaucracy. . . . it is extremely difficult to develop any system of real self government under the shadow of the existing bureaucracy. It is one thing to associate Indians with Englishmen in carrying on a European system of civilization, but it is another thing altogether to train the peoples of India to govern themselves, and to develop their own civilization on their own lines."

It is interesting to compare with this view the one expressed by an Indian writer, Mr. Rau, who is Lecturer at the Madras College of Engineering, and who writes thus in the June issue of the *Indian Review* :

"The last and the most essential requisite for the industrial regeneration of this peculiarly situated continent, with its immense natural resources, is enterprise, in which it is not wanting. Since the first cotton mill started in Bombay in 1855 by C N Davar, 85 out of the 266 cotton-mills of India have been started in that city alone. The hydro electric works and the steel works of Messrs. Tata, Sons and Co are, in fact, India's reply to the contention that the sole function of India in the Empire's commerce scheme is the production of raw materials. It is needless to multiply instances to prove the character and capacity of Indian enterprise.

"As India stands to day, her industrial future rests entirely with the patriotic efforts of her captains of industry, who can hold their own against any in the world. It is in their power to make it or mar it. The isolated efforts of individuals cannot go a long way. What is needed at this hour is the combined efforts of our leading business men. They must exploit the resources of the country not only for their benefit, but for the benefit of their countrymen."

THE NEAR EAST

Dr. E J Dillon, in the August *Fortnightly Review*, thus concludes an article on "Greece":

"If the Greek people is allowed to vote without undue pressure, the Venizelos party will, it is calculated, be represented by about 250 deputies, as against 70 partisans of his adversaries. But even if he become Premier, what will his position be? Essentially what it was when he last took over the reins of Government. He will represent his country and manage its affairs to the same extent as he did then—that is to say, subject to an arbitrary royal veto, from which there is no appeal. Suppose that

he again favours armed intervention on the side of the Allies, discusses the ways and means with their Ministers in Athens, and asks for and receives munitions for the purpose. Can it be supposed that, with all those zealous, enterprising, and well informed agents in high places who are now serving Germany's cause in Greece, and their high born patrons, any political negotiations, any military plans, could long be kept secret from Berlin? Nay, can Greece be other than a south-eastern forepost of the Teutons, a confederate of the Bulgars, and a menace to the Allied forces at Salonica, so long as the Germanizing agencies and their chief are allowed free scope? That is the question which sober-minded Greeks at home and abroad are putting for the protecting Powers to answer. For they would much rather accept a solution from them than be constrained to impose one themselves."

RUSSIA

Professor Bernard Paris, in the July issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, sounds this note of warning under the heading "Russian Hopes and Aims".

"The gap left in the economic life of Russia by the withdrawal of so many Germans offers a unique opportunity to Englishmen. The pity is that we have made hardly any preparation for filling it, and that we are in danger of seeing an unregulated and confused crush of purely personal interests, directed by dubious middlemen, and trampling their narrow path through this fine field of economic and political promise. The common economic interests of the Allies will continue after the war, and on the Russian side their importance has been so well appreciated that something in the nature of a Standing Imperial Commission is being planned to deal with them. It is sincerely to be hoped that we, on our side, shall be no less far sighted and no less alive to the issues involved."

The Earl of Cromer writes in the July *Quarterly Review* as follows

"To sum up, it is the contrast between East and West rather than their similarity which constitutes the great attraction of Eastern politics. No European can really deal effectively with Eastern affairs unless he has sufficient powers of observation to notice these contrasts in small things as well as in great, and sufficient imagination to realize their consequences. . . . The power of appreciating the humorous side of Eastern affairs is also not amiss. A dismissed Egyptian official, who was apparently possessed with a desire to express his views in highly idiomatic English, once wrote to me, 'Oh Hell! Lordship's face grow red if he know quite beastly behaviour of Public Works Department towards his humble servant.'"

CORRESPONDENCE

'A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR'

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TURK

IN the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of April 1, under the above heading, Sir Edwin Pears condemns my humble efforts to obtain a hearing for the Turkish point of view. He is so kind as to express an admiration for me as a novelist, but considers that my excursions into the region of Turkish history show imagination. "He should confine his imagination for use in his novels."

Now, it seems to me that, without imagination, working upon some experience, neither novelist, nor statesman, nor historian, can hope to give fair judgment to an alien race. I, on the contrary, would plead for more, not less, imagination in all who deal with these vexed problems of the East. Objectivity is a product of imagination, and some degree of it is necessary in the present instance, or there can be no understanding, much less sympathy, for a people radically different from ourselves.

Now, I contend that Sir Edwin Pears, in his life-long advocacy of the Christian minority, has acquired a decided bias against the Muslim majority in the Ottoman dominions, whose ethics and ideals he has never seriously studied, and whose point of view he thinks a subject for derision rather than consideration. He has never for a moment dreamt of putting himself in the position of a Muslim by an effort of imagination. The circumstances of my life have forced

me sometimes into that position, and I can assure him that the activities of Christians in the Near East, seen from thence, present a different aspect from that beheld by their conventional admirers. I have read a good deal of Sir Edwin Pears' work, and I cannot find that he has ever made allowance for this Muslim point of view; he would seem to be unaware of its existence. Otherwise he would not view the Turks as conscious malefactors, and their Christian subjects as poor martyred innocents. I may be wrong in ascribing to him personally any such view; but that is the impression left upon a reader of his published work. That he intends to be more just is evident from his frank admission of a Muslim virtue when this has forced itself upon his notice.

"Let it always be remembered," he writes, "that it is not the *ulema* who have been behind the cruelties perpetrated by the lower-class Moslems, but the creatures who were influenced by Abdul Hamid and his gang."

I would add: Let it always be remembered that the Christian priests in Turkey have too often been behind the cruelties committed by the lower-class Christians upon Muslims. It is a fact not without significance that every Muslim Turk without exception believes in the inherent justice of the Muslim case against the Christians, though very many Turks deplore the massacres as much as I do. It seems never to have occurred to Sir Edwin Pears that there is a Muslim case, another side to the whole question. More than once in his writings I have found a mention of the massacre of Greeks at Chios and the executions at Constantinople in 1821-22; but not once have I found a mention of the previous massacre by Greeks of all the Turks in the Morea and many thousands in the northern part of Greece. It is the same with the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876. He expatiates upon the horror of the Muslim cruelty, but fails to mention Christian cruelty which had preceded it.

Sir Edwin Pears refers to an article of mine in the

Nineteenth Century, which he declares "startled the foreign communities in Constantinople"—perhaps because it contained an idea—and also to his reply to that article, which he seems to think should have annihilated me. He denounced me as an enemy to Christendom! I was only attacking the fools' paradise of self-complacency in which, it seems to me, most Christians live. I wrote at the time a categorical rejoinder, acknowledging some inaccuracies on my part, and calling attention to some serious mistakes on his; but the editor did not see his way to publish my retort, and now I fear that I have lost the manuscript, or I would send it to Sir Edwin Pears for his amusement. His reiterated statement that "government by massacre" is "the only one which the Turks have ever practised" towards their Christian subjects is rubbish, I submit with all due deference; and Sir Edwin Pears can only have derived so false a notion from the works of early Christian writers—before objectivity was in demand—and from the talk of native Christians, who reckon it a sacred duty to speak evil of the Turks and magnify their faults a thousandfold. I adhere to my original contention, which so shocked the foreign communities in Constantinople, that "wholesale massacre of subject Christians by Muhammadans was practically unknown before the nineteenth century." I doubt whether Sir Edwin Pears can find a single instance of it prior to the massacre of Chios in 1822.

There are definite Koranic rules with regard to the status and treatment to be accorded to subject Jews and Christians by a Muslim Government—rules which, in their most fanatical interpretation, entail the grant of a considerable measure of self-government and free exercise of their religion. These rules were in force throughout the Turkish Empire. It is true that the position of the Christians was inferior and at times ignominious; they had to put up with a good many hardships and restrictions where their Muslim neighbours were unfriendly or absurdly

arrogant. In the time of the weakening of the Imperial authority, the Muslim feudal lords and local officials behaved to them with the same lack of all consideration with which nobles in some Christian countries at that period treated their own tenants, or Protestants behaved to Roman Catholics in Ireland.

On the other hand there is the Koranic text—one of many to the same effect—*الْفِتْنَةُ أَكْبَرُ مِنَ الْقَتْلِ* ("Sedition is worse than slaughter"), which had a special application for the early Muslims, but is extended by the vulgar to include all seditious attempts to overthrow the Muslim Empire; and there is also the law of retaliation. I submit that the wholesale massacres of Christians in the nineteenth century must be regarded as the immediate and direct (and, in the uneducated state of the majority of Muslims, the natural) result of revolutionary movements by the Christians, egged on by some Powers of Europe—movements which were marked by considerable atrocities committed on the Muslim population, and aimed at the extermination of the latter; and that this must be taken into account by anyone who desires to frame a sound historical theory of those events. All the inhabitants of the Near East are deficient in our horror of bloodshed; atrocities have never been on one side only; and the bitter feeling of injustice which exists upon the Muslim side can only be increased by the spectacle of educated Europeans appearing as the sentimental partisans of Eastern Christians who are themselves not sentimental, but exceedingly fanatical.

There was one point on which I did think, after reading "Forty Years in Constantinople," that Sir Edwin Pears and I might be in cordial agreement—we both had kindly feelings for the much-maligned Committee of Union and Progress. But now I know not what to think, for my opponent writes:

"I have only, in conclusion, to express my regret that a man of Mr. Pickthall's talent should be so blind as not to see the faults of a Government which assassinated Shevket

Pasha and other opponents, and has finished by the murder of the Crown Prince, Yussef Izzedin."

Now, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the "Young Turk" Grand Vizier, of whom I was a great admirer, was assassinated, not by any Government, but by a conspiracy of the reactionary party, with which I am not at all in sympathy. Probably Sir Edwin Pears wrote Shevket by an oversight for Nâzim Pasha, who, however, was not assassinated by the Government or the Young Turk party as a whole, but by one hot-tempered individual on about as strong provocation as one man can give another when the blood is up. I noticed in Sir Edwin Pears' memoirs that he attached full credence to the highly seasoned narrative of this unfortunate event which passes current among partisans of the late Nâzim Pasha; and I think it possible that he may be in like manner deceived as to the fate of the ex-Crown Prince, Yûsuf Izz-ed-dîn, if his information is derived from the same quarter. I cannot see a motive for that Prince's murder after he had been deposed. But if he died by his own hand, in despair or rage at the indignity of deposition, the reactionaries would be sure to circulate the story that he had been murdered. Sir Edwin Pears will remember the parallel case of Sultan Abdul Azîz.

In conclusion, I should like to assure Sir Edwin Pears that, though I am not annihilated by his previous onslaught, I am not at all embittered or enraged thereby, and am glad of this opportunity of a more friendly argument.

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

INDIA AND THE SUGAR BOUNTIES

DEAR SIR,

In his article on "Indian Industry and Commerce" in the current number of this *Review*, Sir Roper Lethbridge quotes largely from an article of his own in the *Asiatic Review* of October, 1912, but carefully avoids referring to

the obvious reply to his argument which duly appeared in the *Asiatic Review* of January, 1913. This method of ignoring the other side is characteristic of the practised controversialist (like Mrs. Besant and the Editor of *India*), but it is not calculated to inspire confidence.

Sir Roper is, of course, pleased at the duty of 10 per cent. on sugar imported into India, because it will "protect" Indian sugar; but he objects to its being imposed on Mauritius sugar, because it "will grossly injure that loyal colony," whereas it will leave Mauritius exactly as it was before, and will probably not even reduce the amount of sugar imported, because India must have sugar, and cannot any longer supply her largely increased requirements. No doubt she might and ought to grow all she wants, if her methods of cultivation and manufacture were more up-to-date; but at present she cannot. Protection against all outside competitors might in time enable India to grow sugar for her own consumption, though it is still a fair question whether we ought to tax 99 per cent. of the population in order to compel them to eat Indian sugar grown by the remaining 1 per cent.

I am not so "fanatical" as to imagine that a scientific tariff, (if we could get one,) would *ruin* this country or India; but as one of the "ignorant or fanatical" Free Traders—(so-called, for, of course, we have never tried real Free Trade, only "Free Imports")—whose ideas are characterized in one scathing paragraph as "silly, foolish and fraudulent" (I must protest against the last adjective!), and "childish," I should like to point out that, whatever Sir Roper and his allies may intend for the future, it is quite certain that the Indian statesmen he refers to do most strongly object to being put on terms of equality with Lancashire as far as the cotton duties are concerned; and it is not, I think, because they know that such protective duties would "terribly enhance the cost of the scanty clothing of Indian Ryots." That seems a curiously inconsistent argument, because we are generally told that an import duty does not enhance

the price of goods, and that internal competition prevents anything of the kind.

Sir Roper apparently endorses the Hindus' fear of Japanese competition, which is quite evidently a mere question of superior intelligence and enterprise.

Yours, etc.,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

3, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.

MRS. BESANT AND "HOME RULE"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

With reference to your July notes on the "Home Rule for India League," it may perhaps interest your readers to see, from the subjoined extract, how cordially the *Wednesday Review* (an Indian paper printed in Trichinopoly) agrees with you in your general conclusions on the mischievousness of the Home Rule for India Movement.

It is to be feared that Mrs. Besant, never very careful in her statements of fact, has positively lost all sense of proportion since she has abandoned "the Occult" for "the Seeming," and has so rashly embarked on the seething sea of sorry politics!

A kind of political Will-o'-the-wisp, she seems bent on leading the youth of India into a quagmire of silly contradictions to the evident detriment of all that is essential to the prosperity of the people of the Great Peninsula whose welfare she fain would persuade herself she has at heart.

Faithfully yours,

J. P.

"We are afraid Mrs. Besant's advice to students at Nellore will not be of much help to them in fighting the battle of life. Though delivered with eloquence, it was throughout needlessly doleful in tone. Most of it was illogical in conception, and will be found to be unworkable in practice. A little reflection will show that her position

is quite untenable in regard to students and service under the Government. There is really no ground for the lugubrious picture she drew of the prospects of students in entering Government service. To say that all avenues of honourable service are shut to them may be rhetoric, but is not a fact. To tell them that their ambitions might soar higher than a stool at a public office, and they can do better in one or other of the learned professions, is quite different from saying that they are deliberately barred from cherishing honourable ambitions open to the youth of all other civilized countries, in their own lands, and as a solace to prophesy, 'please God, these disabilities shall ere long disappear.' Nobody suggests that every young man should be enamoured of service under Government. The competition there is keen enough in all conscience, and it is certainly a wholesome piece of advice that the students should look to other means of earning a living. But it is unfair to them to suggest that they must set their faces against Government service, at any rate till a better day dawned upon them. It may be that Mrs. Besant by her super physical powers can fix that auspicious day, and we should like very much to know when it is coming. In the meanwhile, however, it is wrong to suggest to the students that they must shun Government service as if it were a plague, and the one reason of Mrs. Besant against it is that it reduced them to drudges. No doubt the routine of administration is mostly drudgery, and somebody has to do it all the same, lest the machinery of Government should come to a standstill, which can do no good to the country at large. Will it not be a piece of real patriotism to drudge at the machinery of administration so that the work of the country may go on uninterrupted?

"Even supposing that the higher ranks of public service are shut to the sons of the soil, as Mrs. Besant suggests, there is still most important work to do in the lower ranks, and does Mrs. Besant suggest that even that work should be done by outside agency or by men indifferently qualified

and equipped? It is a simple proposition that the administrative departments of a country, whatever its political constitution, should be manned by efficient men who will not shy at drudgery, and put their hearts into the work before them, however prosaic it may be. All good work except platform orations involves an amount of drudgery which has to be done, in the interests of the commonwealth, especially the work of administration, and to scare away young men from it is to ask them to be unpatriotic and false to the land of their birth. As 'Miles' very rightly says, the guarantee for good administration depends upon the maintenance of an incorruptible Civil Service of the highest character. How will that be possible if young men of a country should be advised to studiously avoid having anything to do with the administration of it? What is the alternative which Mrs. Besant would suggest to our young men? Turn ~~ye~~ all into lawyers, was her advice, and it is certainly regrettable that so serious a lady as Mrs. Besant should have grown suddenly facetious at the expense of poor students."^{*}

* *Wednesday Review*, June 23, 1916.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIÉTÉ INTERNATIONALE DE PHILOLOGIE, SCIENCES, ET BEAUX ARTS

THE cosmopolitan character of the Société Internationale de Philologie, Sciences, et Beaux-Arts, was fully exemplified during the recent annual conference of that body, held on May 30 and 31, and June 1, 2, and 3, last. At the reception many nations, from every continent in the world, were represented, many of those present wearing their national robes, speeches were delivered in twenty two languages, including French, Italian, Russian, Roumanian, Hebrew, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, etc. At the same gathering, Madame Slava Krassavina, the Russian prima donna (Petrograd and Moscow Opera Houses), sang several Russian songs, Mr. Wladimir Yelin played several of his own compositions, and Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy and Miss Sophie Moscow gave several recitations. During the evening a scene from "The Daughter of Judah" was played, the respective characters being borne by Mr. and Mrs. Duse Mahomed and the Signora Claudia Auti.

Prince Abdul-Karim Khan presided over the Poetry section, where, amongst other papers, one was contributed by Mr. Syed M. El-Bakry, on "Antar, the Arab Poet." In the Philological section, over which Dr. John Pollen presided, a lecture was given by Mr. Matthias Watts (Birmingham), on the "Advantages of a Knowledge of Foreign Languages." In the Oriental section, lectures were given by Dr. H. M. Léon, on "The Turkish Massalji, or Story-teller", by Mr. Harendranath Maitra, on "A Comparative Study of Civilization in the East and West", by Mr. El-Bakry, on "The Influence of Islam on Oriental Peoples", and by Dr. John Pollen, on "Eastern Mysticism from an Occidental Point of View." Lord Rothschild, G.C.V.O., F.R.S., presided at the meeting of the Natural History section, when papers were read by Dr. Léon, on "The Shield covered

Reptiles of Palestine", by the Rev J. J. Pool, F.R.C.S., on "Gigantic Tortoises of the Galapagos Islands", and by Mr Joseph Lambert, M.R.M.S., on "Protective Coloration of Insects and Animals, and Mimicry." Lord Rothschild also presided at the Ethical section, at which papers were read by Sir John A. Cockburn, A.C.M.G., on "Agreement and Difference (the Love and Hate of Plato) as Factors in Evolution", and by Mr Dudley Wright, on "Druidism." Mr Leopold J. Greenberg (editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*) presided at the Hebrew section, at which papers were given by Mr Isaiah Wassilevsky, Ph.D. (Manchester), on "Chassidim—A Résumé of Modern Hebrew Mysticism", and by Mr Joseph Leftwich, on "Yiddish Poetry." During the Conference papers were also read by Mr Jaakoff Prelooker, Ph.D., Miss Grace Cowell, Mr J. R. Penty (York), Mr. H. C. Thompson Kelly (Carlisle), Mr Herbert N. Flewker, Dr Charles H. Betts (Birmingham), Dr Harvey R. Foote, and Dr S. J. Abelson.

The Conference was brought to a close on Saturday, June 3, by an excursion to Tring, where the party were entertained to lunch by Lord Rothschild, and given the opportunity of inspecting his lordship's private museum.

The Secretary of State for India presided over the meeting of the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section), at which Sirdar Daljit Singh, C.S.I., member of his Council, read a paper on "The Sikhs." He dealt at length with their religious history, and emphasized their devoted loyalty from the days of the Gurus to those of August, 1914, when the European War broke out, when, to quote the Sirdar's words "My own people of all ranks hurried to their depots, anxious to strike a blow for the Empire they have learned to look upon as partly their own. It was not as if the permanent Sikh army of 30,000 men had merely been willing to do their duty as soldiers of the King Emperor. From villages, towns, and great cities came out even retired and old Sikhs eager to fight the enemy of their 'beloved Sarkar.'" The Sirdar maintained that the five words which usually sum up all that is known of his people—"The Sikhs are excellent fighters"—do not set forth the essential fact, which is that they are devout disciples of a religious teacher. "The very word Sikh is itself a symbol of self surrender, giving at once an idea that religion is not a thing of the outside world but of heart, not of form but of soul." The peace loving believers eventually became the recruiting ground for the Singh's—the lions. In the course of a touching account of Guru Nanak, the circumstances of his time, his long tours within and beyond the boundaries of India, the Sirdar pointed out the unique characteristics of the teaching of the first Guru. Unlike the saints who had preceded him, he taught that good men were not to withdraw from the world as the fakirs did, or to shirk those duties which Nature had laid upon them, but were so to live in the world that their virtue should subdue the evil in it, he prohibited all kinds of worship except that of the Absolute, he preached the equality of men, abolishing the caste system and founding a democratic brotherhood. He held that the true

way of self surrender is in service to others, and that the key to all such service is a pure and high morality. Before his passing away, said the Sirdar, Guru Nanak selected his successor, a recent convert whose devotion and fidelity he had quietly marked. By this choice he was the first Indian teacher to honour the fittest without respect to rank or parentage. Up to the time of the fifth Guru, who compiled the *Granth*, which to this day is respected as "the living Guru," and was the originator of the system of primary education in the form of *Dharamsalas*, there was no hint of a warlike spirit in the new religion, but at this time the Moghul rulers showed signs of a different policy and the gulf widened between rulers and ruled. It was not, however, till the days of the tenth Guru, Govind Singh, that the Singh warrior class was constituted. In giving the story of his life, the Sirdar told of the dramatic institution of the *Pahul* and the selection of the chosen five, afterwards all who offered themselves were inaugurated in companies of five, and hailed as Singhs, or lions, warriors without distinction of caste. Thus was formed the *Khalsa*, or fighting commonwealth of the Sikh nation. In less than a fortnight 80,000 Sikhs had flocked round the Guru as Singh. As warriors they were enjoined to wear "the five K's" the *lca*, or uncut hair, the *kurpan*, or dagger, the *kanqa*, or comb, the *kuchh*, or short knee breeches, and the *kara*, or iron bangle, to worship neither idols, nor tombs, nor the dead, to abstain from the use of tobacco, and to greet each other with a special salutation. "The *Khalsa* is of God and His is the victory." After the death of Guru Govind Singh, recognized as a great teacher, reformer, organizer, leader in war, an ideal of self sacrifice, a literary man and a poet, there came into existence a system of cabinet, or national council, which he had founded, when this met, the *Khalsa* had an opportunity of expressing their feeling as to current events, and the cabinet's decision was known as the *Guru Mata*. It gave the form of a federated republic to the commonwealth of the Sikhs, placing within the reach of each individual the attainment of rank and influence in the State. Educational facilities, said the Sirdar, were much improved under Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, and included a school for girls. The seed sown has borne good fruit. The Sikhs have now a national residential college at Amritsar, affiliated to the Panjab University, colleges in each Sikh State, and more than one hundred high schools, others are being added continually. The schools are managed and taught by Sikhs, and are under the control of a Sikh educational conference which meets annually. The education of girls is also provided for, the Sikhs have a large residential school for girls at Ferozpur, with accommodation for between 600 and 700 pupils, more than twenty four other Sikh schools for girls exist in the Province. "But for State help," added the Sirdar, "these developments would have been impossible for a small community like ours."

The Secretary of State paid tribute to the interest of the lecture, and to the splendid history and devoted loyalty of the Sikhs. The war, he said, was uppermost in the minds of all, and it was well to remember the fine work of the Sikhs as well as of the other Indian soldiers. India, he declared, had sent her sons wherever there was stern work to be done in

defence of the Crown and for the liberty of the Empire. He referred to the presentation of an address to His Majesty the King-Emperor by Indian soldiers just before their departure from England. One of them had fought at Aden, on the Suez Canal, in Gallipoli, in France, and had only one wish—to fight in Mesopotamia, then he would have fought on all the northern fronts. The Sikhs, added Mr Chamberlain, had received nearly 400 out of the 1,300 decorations awarded to Indian soldiers, including one V C., six Military Crosses, two Indian Orders of Merit, First Class, 119 Second Class. He read the official story of the incident of the 14th Sikhs in Gallipoli, and told also the dramatic story of how a number of Sikhs accompanied Lieutenant J G Smyth, who was ordered to take charge of a bombing party on the Western front, and carry two boxes of ninety six bombs to an outpost in danger, it meant crossing two hundred yards of open space under heavy fire and facing other serious dangers, but it was done. Lieutenant Smyth received the V C and each Indian the Indian Distinguished Service Medal. Other speakers were Sir Louis Dane, Sir O'Moore Creagh, General Sir Edmund Barrow, Sir F Robertson, Sir George Birdwood, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, and Sir Krishna Gupta.

At the annual meeting of the Central Asian Society on June 21, Sir Mortimer Durand was re-elected to the chairmanship, Miss Ella Sykes and Colonel Pemberton were elected as additional members of the council. Two recent lectures of the Society have been concerned with the Far East the Rev. A R Mackenzie, after a long residence as a missionary in Manchuria, read a paper on conditions in that country, and the last paper of the session was given by Mrs A S Roe, who has travelled widely in the Far East, on "Changing Conditions in China." Mr Mackenzie dealt at some length with the relations between China and Japan in South Manchuria, in the decade 1905-1915. Japan's professed policy is the maintenance of China's territorial integrity, but she retains complete control of the leased territory in the Liaotung Peninsula, and of the railway zone as far north as Changchun. The Japanese are supremely jealous of their authority in the railway zone, and perplexities arise. They will admit no interference by the Chinese military or police, they make regulations which the Chinese resent, and impose dues against which they protest in vain, but, added Mr. Mackenzie, the South Manchuria Railway has been of great material benefit to the Chinese. "The Japanese have been endeavouring to create for themselves a practical monopoly of China's foreign trade throughout South Manchuria, using their favourable position as owners of the railway as a lever. Among the officials of the two countries and in mercantile circles there has been a considerable measure of *rapprochement*, but the bulk of Chinese popular opinion seems to be increasingly anti-Japanese." One of the reasons given by the lecturer was the establishment of Japanese "medicine shops" for the sale of morphia and hypodermic needles under the protection of the Japanese Government, but contrary to treaty rights Chinese vendors of the drug would be severely punished by the Chinese authorities. The growing trade is

nullifying, said Mr. Mackenzie, 'China's splendid fight for the abolition of opium. Japanese subjects may lease or buy land in South Manchuria, travel or reside in the region, and carry on any kind of business. It is difficult, added Mr Mackenzie, to give an idea of the many enterprises of the South Manchuria Railway. It runs newspapers in Japanese and English, it has established hospitals for Japanese and Chinese patients at every important place along the line, and founded a splendidly equipped and well-staffed Medical College at Moukden for Japanese and Chinese students through the medium of the Japanese language. It has made roads, built hotels for Western travellers, supplies gas, electricity, water, runs tramways, encourages shipping, and fosters many industries, it has agents with a roving commission travelling all over the world to pick up ideas. "The larger the South Manchuria Railway becomes, the more its capital grows, the harder will it become for China to face its purchase when it comes to have the option in course of time. The agreement concluded between Japan and China in May, 1915, has the effect of extending the rights of Japanese subjects from the railway zone indefinitely into the interior of South Manchuria. It puts Japan into a position of advantage such as no other foreign nation enjoys anywhere else. Japan feels she ought to occupy this privileged position because of her sacrifices in two costly campaigns twenty and ten years ago, and especially because of the broad identity of interests between the two nations of the Far East." "On the other hand," commented the lecturer, "China and the Chinese resent coercion into what is to them an unfamiliar point of view. The growing influence of Japan is the salient feature of the present situation in Manchuria."

Mrs Roe's lecture emphasized the same fact. "While German influence and trade has waned considerably of late, that of Japan is increasing by leaps and bounds. Japan is quickly and surely enlarging her borders. In almost every inland city of importance the Japanese have found a niche somewhere. They teach in schools, open new shops, start factories. At the end of 1914 they were beginning to make excellent German beer, they are engaged as military instructors, as mining and railway engineers. They are clever, quick, and capable, besides which their services are distinctly cheap. Above all, they leave no stone unturned. They run steamers to places on the Chinese coast and on the Chinese rivers that no other steamship companies have thought worth while, but to the Japanese every effort is worth while, and the prize is great, for Japan knows better than many of us the enormous possibilities of this great land of promise." The rest of Mrs Roe's lecture was devoted to an account, half humorous, half pathetic, of the effect of the changing conditions of China on the manners and customs of the people. She arrived in China on her last visit at the end of the revolution. Dr Sun Yat Sen was installed at Nanking as first provisional President of the new Republic, in the north Yuan Shi Kai was busily engaged in playing his own cards, and played them so well that "smilingly the Manchu rulers gave up all claim to the

Dragon Throne, and smilingly Yuan Shi Kai became provisional President of the Republic instead of the self-effacing Sun Yat Sen." Meanwhile, added Mrs. Roe, the people were divided those who did not know that anything had happened or did not care, and those who thought the establishment of a "people's kingdom" meant the beginning of a golden age. The old officials went "to cultivate their gardens" or "to be turned into lawyers," while, to many, the new officials, who had studied in America or Japan, with their craving for the abolition of slavery, infanticide, gambling, etc., were more aggressive than the officials of other days. There was great demand for bowler hats, frock coats, leather shoes, handshakings, and other Western customs, idols, associated not quite fairly with the fallen Manchus, were destroyed, and temples turned into barracks or schools. Those who had very little knowledge became professors of music, literature, and foreign languages, and Chinese girls desired to manage their own matrimonial affairs. Provincial assembly halls were built all over the country with, as a rule, a clock over the entrance—sometimes only a clock face. Elections took place, and members then debated "new laws and loans and the trimming on schoolgirls' dresses." Still, said Mrs. Roe, there is no doubt that China has gained during these years of change, in spite of much that is discouraging, according to the public declaration of a Chinese, "under a crust of paganism, Christian virtues are accumulating like anthracite." China has started to climb, she has more than commenced a new era. Every year, observed the lecturer, will see China better equipped in the matter of teachers, and some Government educational institutions have forged bravely ahead, as well as the ever-increasing number of schools and colleges conducted by foreigners. Mrs. Roe paid warm tribute to the wonders worked by China in the anti opium crusade, and described an "opium refuge"—a kind of prison, in which victims elected to remain until they had broken the habit. They were a motley crowd prosperous merchants and farmers, ne'er do well loafers, rough coolies, agricultural labourers, and beggars, to whom a talented English woman was medical missionary. Some came on their own initiative, and stayed as "paying guests." Thousands of acres which once grew poppies now grow vegetables, and forty millions of revenue have been sacrificed. Mrs. Roe gave some interesting particulars of her experiences in the city of Si An Fu, the capital of Shensi, and formerly a Manchu stronghold. "The wilderness place," as the Chinese call it, was very medieval with its carts without springs, its unmade roads, its rough lumps of silver which had to be weighed before a bill could be paid. Yet the revolution had brought many changes, particularly in the mental attitude of the people, in things material, Mrs. Roe noticed telephone wires being put up, "and the last new thing in aeroplanes, manned by French pilots, had been sent in pursuit of the White Wolf, a brigand chief."

Last year's experiment of arranging for a cricket match between Indian students and a military eleven at Lord's, by courtesy of the M.C.C., and under the auspices of the Hospitality Committee for Indian students, in

which Sir Frederick Robertson, a veteran cricketer, took an active and practical part, has grown this year into a series of matches which have aroused considerable interest. In the first, played at the Oval against Mr C F Iufnell's eleven, the Indians, captained by K S Pratapsinghi, nephew of "Ranji," were badly beaten, the scores being 282 against 84. At Lord's, however, they turned the tables on their opponents, Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey's eleven, the scores being 182 and 154. The Indian eleven included three nephews of H H the Jam Sahib, another umpired, and a fifth was reserve man, also a nephew of H H. the Gackwar of Baroda, and Mr M. P Bajana, who used to play for Somerset. K S Pratapsinghi again captained the Indians and made the fine score of 75. At one part of his innings he was partnered by K S Hamatsinghi, so that the spectators were able to see two nephews of "Ranji" at the wicket together, and the latter contributed 51 to the score. The best score for Lieutenant Colonel Bailey's eleven was made by A A Burke, an Australian, who played for his State against the last English team that visited Australia; one remarkable over gave him twenty-two runs. There were five Australians in the eleven, which also included Mr K M Carlisle, an old Oxford captain. In the match against the Essex Club, played on the county ground at Leyton, the home team was beaten by the Indians by thirty nine runs. "It is a long time," writes a British expert, "since more polished display has been given at Leyton than that of H Gunasekara, who has every stroke in the repertoire, and uses his wrists so cleverly and times the ball so accurately that it is a pleasure to watch him at the wickets." He made the highest score, sixty one, and K S Pratapsinghi batted and bowled well.

An Indian Students' Indian Prisoners of War Fund has been formed. Parcels are sent to Indian soldiers in Germany and have given great satisfaction. Students in many parts of this country are co operating and the president is Mr A Yusuf Ali. Princess Sophia Duleep Singh is vice-president, the hon. secretaries are Mrs A. Sattar Khan and Miss Dora Dove, and the hon. treasurer is Miss E J Beck. The meetings for preparing and packing the parcels are held in the evening at 21, Cromwell Road, where all information can be obtained. The committee will welcome the financial and personal help of friends.

Sir Charles Bayley presided at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association on July 6, and in commending the excellent work of the Association in this country and in India in social, educational, and war service, made a special appeal to the younger generation to encourage and support the education of girls, the demand for which he declared to be one of the most gratifying and remarkable features of recent years. Sir Murray Hammick spoke of the work of the Association in Madras and of his long connection with it, Lady Hamilton, with reference to Calcutta, urged that the great need in Bengal, as elsewhere, is for improved facilities

of education for Indian girls. How can we better repay the debt we owe to India for her valued service in the great crisis of the war, she asked, than by enabling the girls and women of the land to take their part in preparing India to occupy her fitting place among the sister nations? A special interest of the meeting was Miss Beck's report of her recent visit to India. She visited most of the branches of the Association and emphasized the work done in Lahore, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, to promote the education of girls. In many cases the Association gives scholarships, and Miss Beck urged that members should visit girls' schools in their districts to encourage the teachers, stimulate the scholars, and enlarge their own interests. She commended the long and devoted service to education and social progress of the veteran, Mr. Sasipada Banerji, at Baranagar and in Calcutta, of Mrs. Ranade in Poona, and spoke of new developments, such as hostels for Hindu widows who are studying important and useful subjects. Miss Beck said that she could not adequately express her appreciation of the hospitality and kindness shown to her throughout her tour, which was most enlightening and enjoyable, but came to an end all too soon. The fund, organized by the Association to provide extra clothing and comforts for Indian soldiers, is now being used to send parcels to Indian prisoners of war in Germany. The recipients write with gratitude for the parcels received, and the hon. secretary, Miss Beck, will be very glad to receive further subscriptions at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington.

The question of the education of girls in India was also the subject of Miss Beck's address to the Women's Indian Study Association recently. In many country districts prejudice has still to be overcome, but other difficulties are the early marriages among the Hindus, the strict purdah system among the Muhammadans, and the lack of qualified teachers of good social position. There is no lack of desire on the part of the girls, said Miss Beck, who told how she found them quite as bright and intelligent as boys, and in every way fitted to take their place as part of the educated community of India. Their eagerness to continue their education will, she considers, play an important part in raising the age of marriage, and in relaxing the strictness of the purdah system. One of the most interesting recent movements is the establishment of schools for married Hindu ladies in Bombay, started at their own request. One was begun by Mrs. Nikamba in 1913, the other by the Seva Sedan in 1914. There are about 150 pupils at these schools, and the hours are from 1 to 3 p.m., in order to avoid interference with home duties. Pointing out the great need for well-trained girls of good families as teachers, Miss Beck urged the Women's Indian Study Association to consider the possibility of granting scholarships to enable girls to follow a course of training as teachers, and so help forward the education of girls, which is of vital importance to the country. Lady Sydenham presided, and, pointing out the need of women teachers, urged a system of travelling teachers. Miss Mercy Ashworth spoke of girls' education in the Bombay Presidency and the alertness of many little girls. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali showed many beautiful and interesting lantern slides.

In view of the crying need for women doctors in India, where only one qualified woman is available for 300,000 women and children, excellent work is being done at the Women's Christian Medical College, Ludhiana, Panjab. The College was established in 1894, its primary object being to train Indian Christian women as medical missionaries for India. At the request of the Panjab Government it admits non Christians up to one third of its total number of students, and is now recognized by the Government as the Provincial Medical School for Women. At a meeting on July 12, held by kind hospitality of Mr S N Holmden, a member of the London Committee of the College, at his house at Laling, an interesting account of the work was given by Mrs F. Pollen and others. Mrs Pollen spoke from personal experience, and emphasized the practical way in which the College meets, to the utmost of its possibilities, the need for medical help for the women and children of India. According to the latest report, there are 115 students under instruction: 41 in medicine, 18 in pharmacy, 29 in nursing, 16 in midwifery, 45 medical students have already obtained their diploma as licensed practitioner in medicine and surgery, which is granted by the Lahore Medical College, the L.C.P.S. of Bombay is also open to the Ludhiana students. The faculty consists of seven women physicians and surgeons and five Indian assistants, there are also four staff nurses from Great Britain, two Indian assistants, and a certified dispenser. Clinical work is provided at the Memorial Hospital, which has one hundred beds, last year 1,957 in-patients and 22,598 out patients were treated. The Panjab Government makes an annual grant of £2,226 towards the support of the College and Hospital, which is practical evidence of its recognition of the good work carried on, but Mrs. Pollen pointed out that the estimated annual expenditure was £5,300, and made an earnest appeal for help. About £1,000 is obtained from fees and other grants, and special appreciation was expressed with regard to the generosity of the Founder and Principal, Miss Edith Brown, M.A., M.D., who receives the professional fees, paid by her private patients, to the support of the work of the College and Hospital. Those who are interested may obtain all information in this country from the Secretary of the London Committee, Miss Clara Benham, 15, Holwood Road, Bromley, Kent.

An evening was devoted to India at the Second Biennial Conference of the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, held in London last month. Lady Muir Mackenzie presided, and pointed out the need for women teachers and doctors in India. Sir Krishna Gupta, who with Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Mr A Yusuf Ali, and Mr Syud Husain, spoke at the meeting, said that the question of woman suffrage did not arise, as men were not yet enfranchised in India, but he felt confident that if ever the franchise were given to India it would be shared by both men and women. With regard to education, degrees in Indian Universities were open to men and women, and on that point India was in advance of Great Britain. He spoke of the part the women of India had played in past times, and of the matriarchal system which prevails among the Nairs in Malabar. He

rejoiced that women were beginning to take a keener interest in India, for the result would be a better understanding between the people of India and the other parts of the Empire. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree was warmly applauded when he said that he had always voted in favour of Woman Suffrage Bills when he was a member of the House of Commons. He spoke of the progress of education among women in Bombay, the women of India, with their high ideals of service, would, he said, if properly treated, help in the ultimate solidarity of the British Empire. Mr Yusuf Ali argued that, judging by the achievements in the past and the present of Indian women, good hope may be entertained for the future. There is a woman ruler in India who holds in her hands all the strings attached to questions of State, one of India's greatest modern poets is a woman, papers are edited by Indian women, and a women's University is being organized. What India needs is greater facilities for education for girls, given these, they will take their share in moulding the intellectual, social, and political life of the nation.

A. A. S

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

INDIAN PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

THE Secretary of State for India in Council has, subject to the usual conditions, appointed the under mentioned gentlemen to be Assistant Engineers in the Indian Public Works and State Railway Departments

Frederick John de Souza

Abdul Rahim

Reginald Charles Bonnaud

TELEGRAM FROM VICEROY, REVENUE DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, DATED
JULY 25, 1916

The week's rainfall has been scanty in Bay Islands, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Punjab (south west), Sind, Konkan and Madras Coast (north), fair in Burma, Rajputana (west), Gujarat, Central India, Berar and Central Provinces, in excess in Assam, Bihar, United Provinces, Punjab (east and north), Bombay Deccan, Mysore, Madras (south east), and Madras Deccan, and normal elsewhere. No large change is likely.

TELEGRAM FROM VICEROY, REVENUE DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, DATED
AUGUST 1, 1916.

The week's rainfall has been scanty in Chota Nagpur and Central India (east), fair in Lower Burma, Orissa, Central Provinces (east), and Madras (south east), normal in Bay Islands, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces (east), and Central Provinces (west), and in excess elsewhere. Good rainfall is likely.

A POEM BY FIRDAUSĪ'S NEPHEW

BY H. BEVERIDGE

THE Persian epic called the Bāhmannāma belongs to the Shāhnāma Cycle, and relates the deeds of King Bāhman. According to Mohl and Rieu, the author is unknown, and apparently his name does not occur in any of the extant copies. But in the *Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn* by Tāhir Muhammad of Sabzwār there is a prose abstract of the poem, and at the heading thereof it is stated that one Maulāna Masūd Majdūd was the author, and that he was Firdausī's sister's son. Majdūd has several meanings; one is "the descendant of a celebrated ancestor" (jadd), a description which would certainly apply to a man who was a collateral descendant of Firdausī. The *Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn* means "The Garden of the Pure," though perhaps Tāhir, the author, also meant to imply that it was "Tāhir's Monument." It is a general history of Central Asia and India, beginning with Adam, and ending with the death of Akbar. If we regard the traditions about the early Persian dynasties, and about the Hindu gods and mythical heroes, as historical, the *Rauzat* begins its history at a more primeval period than the days of Adam. Tāhir was of Persian extraction, but he was born and bred in India, and was for many years in the service of Akbar. The last we know of him is that he was alive in 1015 A.H., or A.D. 1607, and went to Lahore in that year in attendance on Sultan Khurram

(Shāhjahān), and then paid his respects to Jahāngu. His father and uncle were also in Akbar's service. He began to write his history in 1602, and was engaged on it for several years. It is divided into several *Qisms*, or Parts, which again are subdivided into chapters and sub chapters. Part I, after a very brief account of prophets and patriarchs, enters into a very full account of early Persian history, beginning with Kaiomurs, the first King of Persia, and ending with Yazdajird III and the Muhammadan conquest. The author takes his materials from the Shāhnama and Gīrshāspnama, and then gives us a detailed abstract in prose—made by himself—of Masaud's poem on King Bahman. Bāhman was a Persian King of the Second or Kairaniān Dynasty and is said to have reigned for 112 years from 464 B.C. He is identified with Artaxerxes Mākrochair, and Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks and Romans. Some would also identify him with the Ahasuerus of the Bible, and I suppose there is no doubt that Ahasuerus is the Hebrew form of Artaxerxes, but there does not seem to be anything in the Bahmannama which corresponds to the account of Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther. Bahman was succeeded by his daughter Humai. His name appears in that of the eleventh month of the Persian year, which corresponds to January. Copies of the Bahmannama are described in Dr Rieu's Supplement to his Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum. Dr. Rieu thinks that the poem was written in 495 A.H., a date which is not incompatible with the allegation that it was written by Firdausi's sister's son. Firdausi died in 416 A.H., or A.D. 1025, and we are told that a sister survived him; 495 A.H. corresponds to A.D. 1101-02.

The Rauzat T. is such a huge work that very few, if any, copies are complete. They are also rather rare, and the work is but little known in Europe, though said to be much esteemed in the East. Tahir was a most laborious compiler, and borrowed freely. But apparently he has

always acknowledged his obligations. One interesting chapter—taken from the *Nigāristān*—describes Shāhrukh's embassy to China in the fifteenth century. In another chapter—only existing in an extract in the British Museum—he gives an account of Bengal and what he calls its islands, and winds it up with an account of Goa and the Portuguese. He spent a year in Goa in 1579-80, and gives us what he heard from the Goanese of King Sebastian's unfortunate expedition to Morocco—a subject of which Dryden has treated. Sebastian was killed in 1578, and Portugal and Goa fell into the possession of Philip II. of Spain about two years later. Tāhir went to Goa on a mission from Akbar, and waited a year there for the coming of the Spanish Viceroy. After that he went to Cambay, where his father and uncle had charge of the port and bazaar. A year or two previously he had gone to Mecca, in the company of Abū Turāb, who was conductor of the pilgrims, and who had, on one of his visits to Mecca, brought away a holy stone bearing the impression of the prophet's right foot. Akbar went forth to receive this, took it up with great reverence, and carried it for about a hundred paces. An impression of the prophet's left foot had been brought from Mecca some two centuries before, in the time of Fīroz Shāh, and been set up in Delhi.

There is a good copy of the *Rauzat Tāhirin* in the British Museum, Or. 168, and there is another in the Bodleian; and the Asiatic Society of Bengal has an imperfect copy which formerly was in the library of Tipu Sultan. There is also a copy at Petrograd which M. Velieminof Zernof obtained at Orenburgh. I possess a very dilapidated and imperfect copy which I bought in India many years ago. It contains the account of the early Persian history, with the abstract of the *Bahmannāma*, and it also has Part IV., which describes the four *Yāgs*, and the Hindu traditions embedded in the *Mahābhārat*.

LONDON THEATRES

Strand Theatre — "Ye Gods !" by Stephen Robert and Eric Hudson

This is, we think, an uncommonly able farce, which we are assured has through many nights and matinées kept the London theatre-going folk well amused. It is the story of a young man who is incredulous of the magic of the East, and shows it in a most reprehensible manner by insulting an Idol brought over from the Orient. The result is sufficiently amazing, and the revenge of the Idol terrible in theory, but provokingly humorous in practice. It is destined as the result of the influence of the Idol that every woman, regardless of age or position, falls in love with him and *shows* it. This phenomenon is instantaneous in its manifestations and in its effects, and as the young man at the time of his ill-mannered insult and consequent punishment is staying in a country house which is not innocent of female population, the results as shown to us were ridiculous beyond belief. Within twelve hours, as a result of these amatory but unasked-for advances, our young man finds himself thrown over by his fiancée, and threatened by three men, formerly his friends, with a thrashing (by a prize-fighter), a duel (with a Colonel), and an action in the courts. But his uncle, the owner of the Idol, returns and cuts the knot. The young man apologizes to the Idol, and finds that it was all a dream. The young man is very ably interpreted by Charles Windermere.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER 2, 1916

THE FLOUNDERING OF CHINA

"Ayer fui señor de España,
Y hoy no tengo una almena
Que puedo decir que es mía."

A YEAR ago things seemed to be going well with China : credit was rapidly being re-established ; the public loan was a decided success ; trade and enterprise were regaining courage ; and Yuan Shi-k'ai, seemingly supported by the goodwill of the military and civil governors in the provinces, was to all appearances master of the situation. The true history of the tragic monarchical *volte-face* has yet to be discovered and written. No doubt the eight unfortunate men whose arrest was ordered by the mandate of the 14th of July (under pressure from the implacable southern secessionists) had much to do with misdirecting the ambitions of the late President ; but there are also sordid stories of quarrels and even murders in Yuan's own family circle, and it will be remembered that last year, when they offered him the kingly crown (which he did thrice refuse), the German and Austrian Governments were reported (I do not know with what truth) to have rushed incontinently in with their recognition. As time goes on, probably the familiar old tale of bribery and palace intrigues will come out in clear detail, but for the present it is futile to lay claim to any accurate knowledge on the subject. It was said of the late Whitaker Wright, after the tragedy that

immediately succeeded his sentence, that nothing he ever did in this world became him so well as his method of leaving it, and it may be some comfort to poor Yuan's "wandering spirit" to know that his pathetic farewell to all dreams of greatness was at least the best thing that could have happened to afford momentary relief to his distressful country. It seems that not a single word of personal grief or regret—apart, of course, from the regulation wails of his own family—can be discovered in any newspaper, official document, or public manifestation; the moral abandonment was complete :

"But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world : now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence."

And yet there was one high official (I think it was the military governor of Shen Si) who had the courage to telegraph a generous and disinterested word, whilst all the others were wiring their congratulations to Li Yuan-hung and already clamouring for "rights" of various kinds. He said : "I hope your Excellency will not forget that *Hiang-ch'êng* (the familiar way of designating Yuan by his birth-place) was one of China's great men, the head of the State, and a man who had performed great services : at least his obsequies should be on a magnificent scale." In other words, he should have a "guid, solid, coastly funeral." And it was done. Moreover, Li's entry into power was signalized by perfect modesty and good taste, and even Yuan's worst political enemies seem to have refrained officially from anything like a gloating, or "It serves him right," "I told you so," attitudes in relief of their feelings. Of course, the yellow press indulged in coarse shrieks of triumph, but the official attitude was "correct" and well-bred ; in a word, it was characteristically French and characteristically un-German, for as we all know the French are passed masters in the art of burying a *fâcheuse situation*.

Two thousand one hundred years ago, when a sort of Armageddon for possession of the Imperial crown was going on all over China, the defeated candidate, King of Ch'u, driven into a corner by the King of Han, composed, before killing his horse and committing suicide, the following poem, which has always been considered in China one of the gems of literary pathos, and may now well be placed alongside of the laments of Don Rodrigo (the last Visigoth) and Mark Antony; the sounds of the original Chinese characters would appear grotesque in Roman letters, but to the Chinese eye the short lines of three pictographs to a line (accompanied, of course, in no matter what dialect, by the correct tones for the ear) are intensely pathetic:

"Strength to raise mountains,
Ambition overtopping creation,
The times are unpropitious,
My steed can no farther.

"My steed can no farther,
What *shall* I do?
Alas! my poor wife!
What *can* I do?"

(These words, of course, sound comparatively flat when translated into matter-of-fact English.)

He then cut his own throat, so that an old friend might decapitate him comfortably and obtain the high rank and heavy reward offered for his head. The State of Ch'u being even then celebrated for its popular songs, ever since that event the verb "*Ch'u*-songed" has had the diplomatic, military, and literary signification of "surrounded on all sides." Thus the "viceroys" Lung Tsi-kwang of Canton, who is now being remorselessly hemmed in by the armies of the "ex-viceroy Shum," is said by the newspapers to be "four-side *Ch'u*-songed."

"Shum" (Cantonese for Ts'ên), generalissimo for the four southern provinces, is the son of Ts'ên Yuh-ying, who as effective viceroy at Yün-nan Fu was usually considered responsible for Margary's murder in February, 1875.

Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan was "ordered," after various other services, to march against Japan in 1894; then, after serving as treasurer in several provinces, he got his chance, as Governor first of Shen Si, and then of Shan Si, to ingratiate himself with the flying Dowager, who rewarded him with the Yellow Jacket. After that he was Governor at Canton and Acting Viceroy in Sz Ch'wan, where (either on this or a later occasion) he gained the good graces of another distinguished lady, Mrs. Archibald Little, by his denunciation of "squeezed feet." But his chief service was against the rebellious Kwang Si province in 1903, when, assisted by his present enemy, Lung Tsi-kwang, and (the new President's appointee to Canton) Luh Jung-t'ing, he gradually "*Ch'u*-songed" the rebels, and finally himself devoured the captured chief rebel's heart, or liver, or both; hence he is often chaffingly called "the cannibal viceroy." As Viceroy at Canton even the old Dowager had to censure him for his "hasty executions"; it was through him that the popular French collaborator, "*le Maréchal Sou*" (General Su Yüan-ch'un), was convicted of peculation, complicity with rebels, etc., arrested, and disgraced. He was very energetic, and as a reform and railway advocate even popular at Canton, but he was rather too given to taking the bit between his teeth in the matter of foreign loans and other matters of high policy. Transferred (nominally) to his father's old post in Yün Nan, he was switched off to Sz Ch'wan once more; but when the Constitution question came to the fore and Yüan Shi-k'ai was ordered to Peking, Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan was also ordered to Peking as an extra "strong man" and appointed to the Presidency of the newly established Board of Communications (then called Posts and Railways). It seems to have been at Peking that he conceived an implacable and enduring hatred of Yüan Shi-k'ai, and next to the latter he undoubtedly was the "toughest nut to crack" in China. [His portrait is given here seated with the notorious Liang K'i-ch'ao, the ablest and most literary of all the republicans, who was



以 兴 超 先 生



The decapitated body of the Viceroy—Chao Êrh-fêng
(sent by an eye-witness of the murder)

sentenced to death with K'ang Yu-wei in 1898; he is now the generalissimo's chief literary mentor and political adviser.] Ordered back in 1907 against his own wishes to Canton, Ts'ên became "nasty," and was retired on the ground of persistent sickness the same year. However, when the revolution broke out in 1911, he was commanded to take up his old viceroyalty of Sz Ch'wan, whilst the acting viceroy, Chao Erh-fêng, was completing his urgent Tibetan arrangements. The ex-viceroy of Nanking, Twanfang (disgraced in 1910 for photographing the Dowager's procession), was given a chance to rehabilitate himself by vigorous military action in suppressing the railway uprising in Sz Ch'wan. Li Yuan-hung was then all-powerful at Wuch'ang, where both Ts'ên and Twan naturally had long chats with him, as they broke their journey there. But Ts'ên, who first tried to coax the Sz Ch'wan *literate* by a "fatherly" letter from Shanghai, was much too wily to put his head into the Sz Ch'wan noose, and having, like Yuan Shi-k'ai, an incurable malady always on official tap, he wisely discovered his impending dissolution unless he went in for a radical "cure." Sure enough, both Chao and Twan were cruelly murdered by their respective soldiers, and when Ts'ên's arch-enemy Yuan became President, the incurable malady was found to require a further prolonged rest cure at distant Singapore. When the monarchist fiasco took place, Ts'ên's atrophied organs suddenly "bucked up," and it will be seen from the appended photograph that he is now by no means a dying man; on the other hand, the accompanying photograph of the unfortunate Chao (sent by an eye-witness) shows how a courageous soldier met the death that Ts'ên slimly evaded. Shortly before Yuan's death, Ts'ên thought he might safely revisit China. Canton was, however, far too "hot" for him, so he chose Chao-k'ing (Shiu-heng), the former inland capital of Kwang Tung, where he set up as Generalissimo of the four provinces of Kwang Tung, Kwang Si, Yün Nan, and Kwei Chou, vowing at the same time by

everything that was holy that all he wanted before retiring into his coffin was the extinction of Yuan, the restoration of the 1912 Constitution, and "the will of the people in Parliament." The sudden death of Yuan immediately brought on premonitory symptoms of Ts'ên's old malady—in case they were wanted for immediate use; but, having now no *locus standi*, he first wired his congratulations to Li Yuan-hung, reminded him of previous happy chats at Wuch'ang, vowed that his only real desire was to lay his ancient carcass down in the imminent coffin, but gave a pretty broad hint that he must *first* see the old Constitution restored. Li's (private) reply was of the sweetest kind; in the most honeyed terms of affection he invites Ts'ên to "give an ignorant man the benefit of his paternal counsel," and take the first "comfortable" conveyance for Peking. Meanwhile the Constitution *has* been restored, the monarchists *have* been "marked out" for arrest, and it remains to be seen how the whole business is going to end. In any case, it is absolutely certain that Li Yuan-hung himself will do nothing dirty, even if Ts'ên does venture to Peking. As Pamela was "beautiful to the bone," so everyone agrees that Li Yuan-hung is honest to the bone, probably the only "simple honesty" known to have existed in China from time immemorial. Yuan Shi-k'ai was honest-minded, patriotic, blunt, frank, and *unusually* honest for a Chinaman in many other ways. I have not the pleasure of Li Yuan-hung's acquaintance, but everyone I have asked, foreign and Chinese, tells me he *is* unmistakably honest; some even say he is a Christian; if that be so, it is not necessarily a fact in favour of his honesty, but a fact in favour of his understanding clearly what *we* mean by truth and honesty, apart from what the Chinese mean.

Meanwhile China is hopelessly *en dérive*. It is useless to say anything more until things crystallize. The very titles of departments, governors, etc., have all changed once *more*; there are new appointees to nearly every post, and most appointees refuse to serve. As T'ang Shao-i recently

remarked: "It really does not matter to the people who governs, for the Chinese people have always governed themselves"—a fact the present writer has insisted upon over and over again. So long as trade goes on, so long as looting is kept within limits, there will always be the equivalent for "cakes and ale" in China: the only dangerous thing is that this facile attitude of the people towards their governors may take a turn extremely distasteful to the verbose politicians if they fail to agree promptly amongst themselves before the war eases off; in other words, each province may, out of sheer weariness, fall under the "protection" of this or that European Power; or vicious politicians may even spite each other to the extent of inviting wholesale Japanese interference—and, indeed, Sun Yat Sen, Hwang Hing, and Co., have already incurred suspicion of betraying their country in this last-named way. Meanwhile (at the time of writing, early in September) Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan, an implacable combination of Mackensen and Bissing, seems to be the leading "power" in China. No German can for a moment be compared with the honest, bluff, and office-hating Li Yuan-hung, who may perhaps fairly be called the Lord Derby of China, because everybody trusts him.

THOUGHTS ABOUT INDIA

THE hot weather this year was robbed of a certain amount of its attendant discomfort by the early break of the monsoon. The month of May was not yet over when the rain came, and with it the perennial anxiety as to whether there would be plenty of it; whether it would be well distributed; and whether "breaks" of fine weather would occur at suitable interval. So far there has been plenty of rain, and it has been fairly evenly distributed. Rajputana, Gujarat, and Kathiawad, were at one time on the verge of famine, the prospect of which appeared to be so imminent that arrangements were made for the despatch of grass from more fortunate districts, with which to help keep alive the cattle that would otherwise die. Such timely precautions are never wasted, even if they only serve as a warning that the year of famine in some part is always now to be reckoned with. Happily, a crisis in this case was averted by a plentiful fall of rain in the stricken districts about the middle of July, which removed—for a time, anyhow—the disaster which appeared to be inevitable. Year after year the famine spectre seems to stare us in the face, and failure or delay of the monsoon is not always the only cause of it. If the year is a good rain year, the cultivators are naturally insured against failure of their crops, and against the fodder famine resulting from there being no grass. Even if grass is scanty, to supplement the scarcity there is usually a fairly plentiful supply of fodder from the "bajri" and "jowari"

stalks. But of late years many cultivators have hoped "to get rich quick" by sowing cotton or other seeds of a non-edible nature. In a good year this has the desired effect, and the high prices paid for cotton by British and Greek firms decides the fortunate cultivator to repeat the process the following year, besides being also an incentive to his less progressive neighbour to imitate him. But perhaps the rains fail, or the cotton crops are otherwise rendered worthless. Then the "jowari" and "bajri" stalks are not forthcoming, and the cattle have to be kept alive by imported fodder.

To guard against the threat of a fodder famine many suggestions have been made, and, amongst others, Mr. Purshotamdas Thakordas, of Bombay, has been trying most creditably for some years to grapple with the problem. The storage of a plentiful supply at various centres appears to be the only satisfactory solution—on famine being declared in a district, the fodder being issued to needy cultivators, and to other cattle owners where relief may be necessary, at rates to suit all cases. The fodder could not be stored for more than a certain time, after which it would have to be sold and replaced by a fresh store. In three good years sufficient fodder might be accumulated to meet the needs of a bad famine year. Private generosity and enterprise in the past have never been wanting when famine threatened, and the moneyed classes of the big towns—notably Bombay and Ahmedabad—have subscribed liberally towards the relief of their less fortunate brethren. A really disastrous famine, such as that of 1899-1900, should now be an impossibility; but famine on a small scale should always be considered as within the bounds of probability somewhere, and arrangements to cope with it should be made accordingly—especially in those districts where the growing of cotton has so largely superseded the sowing of food-producing seeds. This year, however, promises to be an excellent one; and though the rains are not yet over, we may,

perhaps, safely speculate on the harvest being among the most abundant of recent years. Even the usually parched Deccan has been complaining of there being too much rain, while parts of the Panjab have been entirely under water. Wheat and rice prospects are most favourable everywhere—also cotton—and only in a small area in Northern Gujarat does scarcity threaten.

So much has been written and said about the lamented death of Lord Kitchener that there appears to be little left to write concerning either the sad occurrence or the man. In India the news created something of a shock, and expressions of sorrow at the melancholy intelligence were universal. To the average Indian, Lord Kitchener was the sphinx—the man of impenetrable reserve, but of whom all men spoke. His attitude of *Facta non verba* created an immense and lasting impression, and he was clothed in that atmosphere of power and authority which all Oriental peoples admire and respect. By the men of the Indian Army he will always be remembered as "Janji Lal-Sahib," who gave them much more work to do than they formerly had had ("Kitchener Tests" are not easily forgotten), but who also increased their pay, position, and prospects. They revere his memory accordingly; and while they realize that the Empire has suffered an irreparable loss by his death, they recognize also the fact that he has left behind him other men who will see his work through on the lines that he himself laid down, and who will be potent in securing victory in France and Flanders where many of their comrades lie, and where so many of them fought gallantly at Ypres, Givenchy, Festubert, La Bassée, Loos, and elsewhere. Without the reorganization and improved system of training which Lord Kitchener effected as Commander-in-Chief, the Indian Army would have been in no fit state to take its place side by side with its British comrades-in-arms in France, and in the other theatres of war where German methods of organization and armament have been pitted against it.

The Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir William Meyer, and the Member for Commerce and Industry, Sir George Barnes, have recently visited Calcutta and Bombay to confer with the Chambers of Commerce on matters of Indian trade, mainly having some war connection. The results of both visits appear to have been entirely satisfactory, even if only as demonstrating that Indian trade has not greatly suffered by the war. In fact, trade is distinctly prosperous, and hardship or grievances scarcely exist. One of the most important questions discussed was that of the inconvenience caused last cold weather by the failure of the railways to carry from the Bengal mines all the coal necessary for working the mills, etc., in Bombay. There appears, indeed, to have been a partial coal famine in Bombay from this cause, and when carrying rates were increased the colliery firms in Bengal became somewhat annoyed. The matter was brought up at the Calcutta Conference, when the railway representatives explained that for a variety of reasons they were not entirely to blame, and prophesied that no such inconvenience would be experienced in the coming season.

They suggested that, to aid in avoiding a repetition, coal should be sent during the slack season now ensuing, and stored at Bombay. The representatives from the latter city expressed their willingness to this suggestion; but the coal owners' representative declared it to be impossible, since now, also, was the slack season in the mines, the miners being for the most part engaged in cultivation of their fields. There the matter rests, but the arrangements made with and by the railway companies with a view of avoiding the carrying deficiencies last year should insure that next season a regular and sufficient supply of coal will reach manufacturing centres where it is needed. It is unlikely that the ships which usually carry the bulk of the coal will be available for some time to come, unless the war ends more speedily than prospects just now indicate.

Another interesting question discussed before the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay was that of adequate Indian representation at the Allies' Economic Conference. Sir George Barnes removed all misunderstanding which had arisen on the subject by declaring that the recent Conference at Paris was entirely of a provisional nature only; and that the Secretary of State had promised that, when the time came for definite schemes to be framed as regards "after-the-war" trade, Indian interests would be fully represented. He pointed out that Australia and Canada were not officially represented at the Paris Conference by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Hughes and Sir George Foster, but that these gentlemen gave unofficial assistance only at the meeting, which was of a preliminary and non-committal character. All misapprehensions on the matter have now been removed, and adequate representation of Indian interests when an economic scheme is eventually drawn up should prove of great value in defining the position Indian trade is to hold in the Imperial—and indeed in the Allied—markets.

Finally, the Finance Member took the opportunity to explain that he was considering a scheme whereby small investors might put their savings in Government paper. It is well known that there is a considerable amount of hoarded money in India which is neither invested nor deposited in banks—possibly through fear of a depreciation of securities—and the idea appears to be that arrangements will be made whereby money may be invested in Government promissory notes for small amounts, purchasable at treasuries and post-offices. Attention was drawn to the Stock Notes Scheme, which was instituted as an experiment in 1882, but which proved a failure—the generally supposed reason being that the security declined in value. Accordingly, it is desirable that any new scheme should be very carefully thought out, with a view to avoiding any factor which might lead to its not being a success. The small Indian investor is a nervous person. The failure

of many banking concerns has made him extremely cautious, and if he is to be induced to invest in a Government scheme, he must be assured of full repayment of his principal, and after as short a period as possible

It is well known that civil litigation in India is a long and expensive amusement. Institution fees are small, however, and of this fact advantage is fully taken by litigants—many of them speculative—whose numbers are so great that all engaged in magisterial and judicial capacities are among the hardest-worked officials in the country. The Panjab Government are to be congratulated, therefore, on the successful results of a Conference, held at Simla in September, 1915, on the Codification of Customary Law within the Province, with the idea of securing greater certainty, and so reducing appeals to the Courts. The Conference proposed that the power of defining and developing their own customs should be restored to those classes of the community who are recognized as being governed by custom. This power they formerly possessed, and it has now passed into the hands of the Courts. But, before it is restored, all the classes to be affected must be consulted, and the principle of ‘the greatest good for the greatest number’ continually observed. Within the limits of codification will be included the customs as to succession, alienations, adoption, partition, wills and legacies, etc., and also certain aspects of minority and guardianship. Once the custom has been ascertained and laid down in respect of any of the above points, individuals may not have power to renounce it.

A considerable time is bound to elapse before the codification can be effected, especially since so many communities and bodies will have to be consulted. But when the work is done, a real and lasting boon will have been conferred on the great number of dwellers in the Panjab to whom the Law of Custom is specially applicable.

H. W.-B.

THE ROUMANIANS AT HOME AND AT WAR

BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE

Author of "India To-Day," "The Heart of China," etc.

THE intervention of Roumania is an honour to her far-sighted military intelligence and her power of analyzing difficult situations. If after two years careful study of the present struggle Roumania is able to peer through the haze and see the Sun of Victory shining in spite of Germany's untiring efforts to catch and blind her soul, it will not be long before the sympathies of other neutrals gravitate to the side of the Allies who are the Trustees of Civilization.

I do not blame Roumania for waiting in view of the sufferings of Belgium and Serbia, which have been so vividly impressed upon the world, but the situation is very different to-day. The Russians are growing stronger hourly, and advancing steadily in spite of the stubborn resistance of the Central Empires; Italy is predominant on the Isonzo, and has linked up with General Sarrail's composite army, which is the strongest force operating anywhere outside the chief theatres; while on the Western front the weary Germans are dashing themselves fiercely against those imponderable Franco-British prison bars which are so strong and so secure.

In his letters to me, Monsieur Take Jonescu never doubted that when the testing time arrived Roumania would play her part in the great tragedy. Roumania set herself earnestly to see what she ought to do, and then set herself earnestly to do it; and the loftier her purpose is,

the more sure she will be to make the world richer with every enrichment of herself. In joining the Allies, Roumania will achieve an independence of which she had never dreamed, and reach that pinnacle which will enable her to touch that hidden spring and open the door to her sons in foreign countries who have waited so patiently and so long for "the day." In the sixteenth century the Roumanians experienced the effect of a transient union through the conquest of Michael the Brave, which gave him sway over Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania. And even though the period was very short, it was sufficient to increase their ardour and belief in the ultimate realization of their ideal.

King Ferdinand, who has dared to resist the Kaiser's "destructive sword," and broken away from his traditions, has done some hard original thinking. He carefully weighed the evidence, and reason has guided him into the right and human channel. The noble and dignified defence which he has set forth of Roumania's position shows that in his character there is that guarantee of strength and determination which is imperative to do for the nation exactly what they want to have done, enlarging and strengthening the many strands of the Roumanian rope. King Ferdinand must have already felt that sober joy that inspires one who feels that he is modestly helping a great movement, a great cause, a great race.

King Ferdinand's army is well trained and well equipped, and can put into the field 600,000 men. Behind the first and second lines it has available reserves equally as numerous. The soldiers of this carefully-built army have always lived up to the reputation of their renowned ancestors, whom Herodotus called "the bravest and most honourable of all the Thracian tribes." There is something beautifully pathetic in the plaintive war songs of the Roumanians as the following verses will show :

"To the battlefield I go,
There to fight the country's foe.

Wash my linen, mother mine ;
All my linen white and fine.
Rinse it in thy tears, and then
Dry on burning breast again.
Send it, mother, to me there
Where you hear the trumpets blare,
Where the banners droop o'erhead .
There shall I be lying dead,
Stricken by the musket's lead,
Seamed by gashes rosy red,
Trampled by the charger's tread."

The Roumanian peasant is the "knot" of the Balkans, and even when on the battlefield he is very particular about his snowy linen. His sweetheart enjoys the privilege of keeping his frills and foltherols in order, and if he is not so happily circumstanced, his mother or sister. The Roumanian believes that "fine feathers make fine birds," and it is quite a common thing for poor peasants to undergo all kinds of privations in order to be able to dress in the fashion. And yet if we cast our eyes over the world, we will find that this trait is not confined to the Roumanian peasant for the temples of the almighty clothes.

The Roumanian peasants prefer to have their clothes spun, woven, and made at home, to buying them from dealers. They have quite a varied wardrobe, but their everyday attire is a plain linen blouse-shirt, which they wear outside their tight-fitting linen trousers, fastened at the waist with a broad belt in which there are many pockets. In winter they wear much heavier material and a long overcoat.

The many-coloured costumes of the women are comprised of long under-garments, Roman aprons, which they wear front and back, embroidered blouses, tunics, shawls, handkerchiefs, and veils, which they adjust in such a manner as to make every visitor to their country wish he were an artist. Roumanian women are the very soul of industry, and it is rarely that they are seen without their distaffs. They can all spin, dye, weave, and make their

own clothing ; and as housekeepers they have no superiors in the whole world. The men are not very partial to labour other than that connected with their flocks, which they love and tend with great care.

The striking features of the Roumanian peasants left no doubt in my mind as to their Roman origin, and is proof that a race may keep its permanence of type for many generations. They are one of the most fruitful races on the earth, and the low rate of mortality among infants is undoubtedly due to hereditary hardiness.

Bucharest is not only the capital and seat of Government, but it is the largest fortified camp in the world except Paris. It has a population of 340,000, and while it cannot boast of the architecture and historic associations of Athens, it is a rich and pleasant city, with quite a Parisian air. The life of the people in the clean, narrow streets was the principal attraction to me. The noise and bustle were as bracing to my nerves as obliterating to my personality, and I thoroughly enjoyed watching the good-natured crowd, which amused itself by the hour like a child with its toys. Its buoyancy of spirit was irrepressible. Every group chattered as it passed, each member of it sometimes holding forth at once to his own great satisfaction. Who-soever lacks a subject for his fancy to play with, let him go into the streets of Bucharest and piece together tales out of the snatches of talk that invade his ears from the confiding promenaders.

In spite of the pronounced conservatism of the Roumanians, they are unusually liberal in religious matters. All strangers are welcome in their churches, and the popa administers the Sacrament to them, irrespective of cast or creed, for they are the children of God.

When I told the Primate of Roumania of the ways of Western Christians, he said : " It seems incredible that at this day there should be such contradiction and such hatred among the Christians, for it is in distinct opposition to the tenets of their religion. Are we not all the children of

God? And is it not the duty of the clergy, who are the servants of God, to minister unto His children?"

The dignified Primate is truly a man of God called to a great mission. His religion is the solid and sweet fruit of reason and heart in a well-conditioned and wisely cultivated soul; and his name is one of the most honoured in the Roumanian Church, in the government of which he is ably assisted by the Archbishop of Moldavia.

The bearded Roumanian popas, who are recognized and paid by the State, present a picturesque appearance in their flowing garments and broad-brimmed hats. They must marry Roumanians, for they would be regarded as "unclean" if they married a foreign woman, and no congregation would accept them. The popas are not a learned body of men—in fact, some of them are very ignorant, which is quite unpardonable, for there are plenty of facilities for acquiring knowledge in Roumania, where education is free and compulsory.

I had the pleasure of meeting Monsieur Take Jonescu, the old friend of England, who has succeeded in preventing his country from being enfolded in the Teutonic coils. He is a gifted and charming man, and one day at luncheon he told some excellent stories, one of which was in relation to Abdul Hamid. He relates his experiences with such delicately balanced skill that they would not fail to win a smile from the most confirmed "grouch." Kept within proper restraint, and artistically used, the ability to tell a story to the point neatly, with well-chosen words and cleverly-distributed emphasis, is one of the greatest social recommendations. Whether a story-teller is an artist or not may be discovered, as a rule, by the ending of the narrative. If it finishes with the climax, without being weakened by comment or elucidation or unnecessary fondling of the speaker's own bantling, the entertainer may be rated as a public benefactor; but of the numerous *raconteurs*, how few there are who, like Monsieur Jonescu, master all the conditions of their art!

YUGOSLAVS AND PANSLAVISM

By V. R. SAVITCH

(Late Head of the Serbian Press Bureau, Belgrade)

IN preparing the present war, Germany did everything in her power to promote the impression that the danger to European civilization lay in Panslavism. Also during the progress of the war the Germans have not ceased to work in the same direction, trying, notwithstanding all atrocities committed in Belgium and the violation of solemn treaties, to represent themselves as fighters for liberty and progress against "the Panslavonic danger" and "Russian barbarism." But the present world-war, in changing many ideas and dismissing many prejudices about the Slavs, has also among the Western nations effected a revision of the idea of Panslavism.

Panslavism, to trace it historically, is a direct outcome of the dismemberment of the Slav nations which brought in its train weakness and their oppression by more warlike neighbours. Slav authors like to connect the first dim idea of Panslavism with the Polish kingdom and its dynasty of the Jagellons. To them was attributed the tendency to unite all Slav nations in a mightier State in order to be able to cope successfully with the constant encroachments upon Slav territories of Germans and Swedes as well as with the Tartar menace from the East. But although the Jagellons aggrandized and strengthened the Polish kingdom, Panslavism did not progress from the initial success when Lithuania in a brotherly union joined Poland.

When the South Slav countries were conquered by the Turks, many of their nobility emigrated to Poland and

Russia, bringing with them hatred for the invader, grief at the loss of their fatherland, and hopes that Poland or Russia would come to the rescue. Notwithstanding all the entreaties of these emigrants and the patriotic hymns to Polish Kings sung by Serbo-Croat poets of the seventeenth century, the Poles never undertook an organized campaign for the liberation of the South Slavs, although, under Jan Sobieski, they saved Austria by defeating the Turks under the walls of Vienna in 1683.

In the writings of the Serbo-Croat philosopher Krizhanic* may be found a nearly complete and clear vision of Panslavism. He was an ardent and noble patriot, who wished to make Russia strong and prosperous, and see his fatherland, which was deeply submerged under the Turkish wave and totally forgotten by the world, recover some of its departed glories. His idea was to promote the free confederation of all Slav nations, where each of them would enjoy complete political autonomy based upon a democratic constitution. He hoped also through such a confederation to achieve the reunion of the churches. In that Krizhanic never succeeded.

Anyhow, the idea of Panslavism took more concrete shape in the past century, when in 1830 the first society of Slavophiles was formed in Russia, to be followed by two Panslav Congresses, one held in Prague (1848) and the other in Moscow (1867).

The Russian Slavophiles, weighed down by the reaction of Prince Metternich's system as well as by excesses of the revolutions in Europe, thought that the civilization of Western nation was threatened with failure. Their author Kireevski wrote that the progress of the State is nothing but the development of the inner principles upon

* Krizhanic, a Serb Roman Catholic priest, was of noble but impoverished family, he was invited to Russia to assist in the revision of copies of the Scriptures. He was the first Slavophile or Panslavist, and hoped by means of a grammar and lexicon to unite the Slav peoples, with Russia as the older brother. He was exiled to Tobolsk in 1660, it is thought because he vigorously attacked the Greek Church in Russia. He was a sturdy champion of the Russians against German and Greek influence.—A. R.

which it is based. The European States, having begun by violence, must progress through revolutions. Owing to the rationalism upon which their civilization is based, the Western countries have developed the spirit of individualism instead of the spirit of social solidarity. Consequently the Slavophiles wanted to replace this principle of rationalism by a new one, and believed that they had found it in the teaching of the Orthodox Church and in the past of the Slavonic nations, which had been organized on the principles of democracy and communism. They strongly criticized the reforms introduced by Peter the Great, regretted the Westernization of Russia, and demanded the reversion to the time anterior to the Mongolian invasion of Russia. But the Russian Government looked with a very suspicious eye at the movement and action of these "Slavophiles." Their paper was suppressed, and it was only occasionally that they were allowed to publish any books or series of articles. Such a book, "Sbornik" (miscellany), appeared in 1852, and the Russian Minister of Education, Prince Shirinski-Shakhmatov, in his report to the Emperor, wrote about the said "Sbornik": "Kireevski does not pay a due respect to the immortal merits of the great Reformer of Russia and of his Imperial successors." And Aksakov asserts that "the old Russia was organized on the principle of democracy, and in general all authors use much vagueness and allusions, which could be wrongly interpreted by the readers of lower classes." Thus, owing to the vagueness of their ideas, to their severance from the general course of European civilization, and to the suspicion they aroused in the Governmental circles, they failed to exercise any lasting or profound influence in Russia.

The Pan Slavonic Congress held at Prague, 1848, was attended only by the delegates of Slav nationalities living in Austria. The Czechs, who promoted and organized the Congress, wished by the political co-operation of all Slavs of the Danubian monarchy to forge some weapon against the Centralism and Germanization of Austria. The work of the Congress was organized on a practical basis; the

discussions turned around the most urgent political and educational needs of the different Slav nationalities in Austria. It cannot be said that that Congress left no impression or remained without any influence. The ideas and the feelings of Slav solidarity were strengthened, and, as far as it was compatible with political conditions in Austria, some co-operation of the Slav nationalities was achieved in the Vienna Parliament. But it is very probable that the Germans, alarmed by this solidarity of the Slavs, and fearing to lose altogether their predominance in Austria, were induced more easily to grant not only autonomy to the Magyars, but further to deliver to them all other nationalities in Hungary, by the operation of Beust's *Ausgleich*, thus fortifying and insuring their own predominance over the Slavs remaining in Cisleithania.

The same cannot be said of the Pan Slavonic Congress held at Moscow in 1867. All Slav nationalities from Austria-Hungary and the Balkans were represented, with exception of the Poles. The absence of such an important member of the Slav family cast a certain gloom on the proceedings of the Congress. Anyhow, some notable speeches about Slav solidarity were delivered, and measures were proposed for encouraging the independent development of different Slav nations. But a little incident at the end of the Congress slightly marred the good impression created by the proceedings. At the final banquet to the delegates a Russian speaker proposed that a resolution should be passed to the effect that all delegates expressed the wish that the Russian language be accepted as the literary language of all Slav nations, and that henceforward they would all print their books in the Russian language. The Czech delegate, Dr. Rieger, declared that that was a large question, which could not be decided by a resolution, that it necessitated mature thought and a meeting of all the educated classes in different Slav nations. The Bulgarian delegate enthusiastically accepted the proposition, declaring in the name of Bulgaria that they would be delighted to accept Russian for their literary language.

But the Serbian delegate, Mr. Vladan Georgevitch, stated categorically that he was sure Serbians would never accept that proposition, as they considered literature to be the means for the political, scientific, and moral progress of the people, a task which could only be achieved by writing books in the national idioms.

The old Slavophil movement in Russia died out quietly, but a new movement again springing from the small and oppressed Slav nations, was now started, aiming at the closer union of the Slavs, in order to further their economic and political independence. The Czech deputy, Kramarz, was recognized as its initiator and leader. This Neoslavism returned to the Krizhanic's ideas two centuries old. The movement acknowledged all Slav nations as independent and accomplished individual communities, every one of them having the right to full recognition and national development according to their own national and social ideal. Co-operation between them was necessary for the realization of their ideal of freedom and self-government. Besides Kramarz, the most prominent leaders of Panslavism there were Vodnik (Slovene poet), Kollar (Slovak bard), and Shafarik (Slav antiquary), all belonging to small oppressed Slav nationalities of Austria-Hungary, and their teaching was the direct result of the intolerable conditions in which their kinsfolk lived. The movement remained barren of any practical results, and the last Serbo-Bulgarian War was a hard blow to those who dreamt of a general union among Slavs. It was shown once more that Slav nations were liable to put above all other considerations their own interests, and were not prepared to sacrifice everything for the ideal of harmony in the Slav world.

Better knowledge of the facts has now dispelled in every quarter the old representation of Panslavism as an aggressive Slavonic confederation bent on the conquest of Europe, or even of the whole world. Such Panslavism has never really existed even as an idea, except in the heads of certain Germans who wanted to teach the Slavs what Panslavism ought to be. Germans unable to understand the Slav

world, as they failed to understand Great Britain and France, judged the others after their own image. For more than a thousand years Germans encroached upon Slav countries. By fire and sword they have Germanized millions of Slavs, and have incorporated in Germany hundreds of thousands of square miles of Slav territory. But their appetite grew in eating; they were not satiated, and considered the Slav countries and peoples as a lawful patrimony and an inevitable prey. Hence the Slav resistance exasperated and irritated them. Of the Slavs the Germans could say: "*Cet animal est très méchant, quand on l'attaque, il se défend.*" And quite sincerely the Germans complained of the Slavs, who did not understand the blessings of the German Kultur, and seriously meant to put an end to German aggression. For not allowing the Germans to eat them up the Slavs were proclaimed to be aggressive barbarians, and the greatest danger to Europe. So Pan Slavism was described as the most dreadful thing in the world—as a tower of all imaginable evils and perils for European civilization. Pan Slavism has never been what Germans pretended to see in it. But if Pan Slavism were ever to mean a military coalition of Slavonic peoples against the liberties and ideals of other nations, such Pan Slavism will never appeal to the Southern Slavs nor to any other Slav nations. Neither will the idea of Pan Slavism have any chance of success if it were the mere negation of the past and present European civilization. The Slavs are a European and Aryan race. As the youngest member of the family, they are lawful heirs to the vast treasury of moral and spiritual inheritance accumulated by European nations since the days of Homer. It would be a sacrilege not to love or to reject it. The Slavs are unable to commit such a crime. But if Pan Slavism means a pious desire, a lofty aspiration to aggrandize and to deepen the spiritual value of that inheritance by contributing to it some special achievements of the Slav genius, then such a conception of Pan Slavism has a charm and an attraction to which the Southern Slavs will be happy to contribute and willing to

open all their heart. Pan Slavism, to have any chance of success, must be an absolute reaction against the Pan-Germanism which sought to impose its ideals on the world by blood and iron.

In their future freedom and prosperity the Southern Slavs must keep alive the memory of the past misery, the hardships and the humiliations, which were imposed upon them through centuries by a haughty and proud oppressor. Against the German ideal of violence and pride they will set up their ideal of love and humility. They will not attempt to force other nations to accept their ideal, but with sympathy and loving curiosity will try to understand other nations' ideal, and to make it more perfect through love and sympathetic interpretation of it. The Southern Slavs will never forget the enormous sacrifices which Russia sustained for their freedom and happiness. They will always recognize in Russia the noble leading sister on the road to the attainment of a higher spiritual and moral ideal which they believe to be the Slav mission to reveal to the world. They will be happy to pay their debt, not by attacking the frontiers of other nations, but by forming a mighty wall against some rejuvenated desire for conquest and domination in the world. The South Slavs will eagerly flock to Mother Moscow and Holy Russia. With feelings of profound gratitude they will kneel at the immense cemeteries which contain the hundreds of thousands of unknown heroes who sacrificed their lives for the dignity of Slavdom and the freedom of the world. The Kremlin and the Tower of Ivan the Great will not be the object of their pious pilgrimage, but with eager curiosity and admiration they will dwell in places like the Artists' Theatre at Moscow or the picture gallery of the Brothers Tretyakov. And with deep feeling of devotion and reverence they will go on a pilgrimage to Yasnaya Polyana, to breathe in the same atmosphere in which lived and worked the great prophet of Russia in order to be strengthened in his teaching of love and patient sufferings.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY

BY SIR GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E.

THE aim and object of a railway policy should be primarily to develop the industries, produce, trade, and general welfare of the country by the lowest rates of transport practicable. This is especially the case in India, where the distance to the port of shipment is so great. Secondly, the object should be to increase the revenue, and so reduce the direct taxation of the people. Now, the question naturally suggests itself :

“Is the railway policy of India calculated to attain this object to the *fullest* extent?”

The answer to this question must, I think, be in the negative. In explanation of this view, I may quote the words used in a lecture on “The Silver Question,” delivered by me to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce thirty years ago :

“I have always been a strong and persistent advocate of the policy of keeping railways in the hands of the State, so as to reduce railway rates to the minimum. I have always held that railways should be regarded as instruments of development, not of creating revenue. When Major (now Sir Evelyn) Baring asked my opinion of his scheme of private enterprise, I condemned it on the ground that the true policy of Government was to make railways subservient to the

development of the country ; and I pointed out to him that in some cases it might be to the interest of Government to incur a direct loss in railway revenue by low rates of transport, and to recoup that loss indirectly by the increased revenue naturally arising from the improved prosperity of the country ; whilst it was manifestly to the interest of a company to reap the largest amount of direct profit from a railway. . . .

"We have not merely opened out new fields of produce, but our State Railway policy has led to a large reduction in railway rates, thus cheapening the cost at the port of shipment. The construction of the Rajputana State Railway, passing as it does through the heart of India, and carrying produce at low rates, gave us, to a certain extent, control over the rates of other railways in India, and led to a general reduction. Unfortunately, we have lost this advantage by ceding the railway to a company whose interest it is to make as much direct profit as possible, regardless of the development of the country ; but the rates for carrying wheat long distances have been reduced to less than half of what they were in 1873, in some cases making a difference of seven or eight shillings per quarter. The rate of transport of wheat from Delhi to the port of shipment has been reduced since 1872 by Rs 5 84, or by an equivalent of eleven shillings and sixpence per quarter if the rupee were at par.

"I consider that the enormous profit of some of the railway companies is a national misfortune ; for not only does such profit quit the country, but every rupee thus gained directly militates against our export trade, in placing us at a disadvantage when competing with Russia or America.

"I am firmly convinced that the stimulus that our export trade has received since 1872 is wholly and solely due to the extension of State Railways, and to the influence of the State Railway policy of low rates."

Now, the profit of railway companies has increased enormously since that time, and some million pounds sterling are taken annually for the benefit of British speculators, instead of being retained by the State for the purpose of developing the industries, produce, and welfare, of the country in which it has been gained.

To understand how this has come to pass, a brief summary of Indian railway history is necessary.

From 1853 to 1870 railways were carried on through the agency of joint-stock companies, under a guarantee from the Indian Government; but the experience of sixteen years proved that this policy was expensive and unsatisfactory; the divided responsibility and difficulties of dual control were inconsistent with freedom of action; and the interests of the companies were not identical with those of the State.

In 1869 Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy of India, in a very able Minute, formulated a policy of State control and management of railways. He pointed out that under the existing policy the State had to take up all the unprofitable lines for itself, and give all the profitable lines to private speculators, carefully guarding them, however, at the expense of the State, against any possible loss, whether from their own negligence or not; and he wrote:

"I have no hesitation in saying that had proper economy been enforced in the construction of existing lines of railway, the charge on the Government for guaranteed interest would for several years past have practically ceased, and in most cases the lines would have been paying a dividend in excess of 5 per cent.

"The history of actual operations of railway companies in India gives illustrations of management as bad and extravagant as anything that the strongest opponent of Government agency could suggest. . . .

"In no single respect can I see that less efficiency

is to be secured under direct Government control than under joint-stock companies, having their Boards in London. . . .

"My own very decided opinion on this point is that the direct agency of Government would certainly be more economical than that of railway companies. . . .

"The experience in India, with respect to the growth of capital, is beginning to teach the lesson that has been taught on a gigantic scale in England . . . the enormous and ruinous extent to which the capital accounts of some of the English railways have become inflated. . . . I regard this danger with great concern, both in relation to the prospect of existing lines, and our hopes of extending them. If the Government is to avoid it, some means must be found for putting an effectual stop to the insidious growth of the capital of old lines."

In 1870 the Government of India deliberately adopted the policy of constructing and working railways by State agency; and this policy succeeded beyond all expectations, amply justifying Lord Lawrence's anticipations, although operations had been hampered by Home Office interference. But in 1881 Parliamentary influence had been exerted in the interest of "private enterprise"; unfair and misleading comparisons had been made between State and company management, and Lord Ripon came out to India, as Viceroy, pledged to a reversal of the State Railway policy. It was laid down as an axiom that "the State should divest itself of the task of working railways"; and although it was admitted that this policy was by no means good for the State in a financial point of view, it was believed that the "superior fitness of joint-stock companies would so improve the income of the railways as to prevent any important loss of the share of the profits reserved for the State."

It was assumed that "it is impossible to combine the

necessary rigidity of the Government system with the freedom of action required for the successful management of railways." But this assumption was absolutely opposed to facts. The State Railway Manager had more freedom of action than the companies' manager, whose freedom was limited by the Consulting Engineer for Guaranteed Railways, by the Government of India, and by the Board of Directors in London ; whereas the State Railway Manager's freedom of action was only limited by the Government of India.

This proposition met with universal condemnation from the officials of the Secretariat of the Government of India, and minutes exposing its fallacies were sent in by the Under-Secretary for Railways, by the Accountant-General, and by myself as Consulting Engineer to the Government of India for State Railways.

The Under-Secretary for Railways asked why the Government should not equally divest itself of the control of telegraphs, Post Office, and irrigation. He pointed out that, holding the Rajputana line as a State Railway, the Government controlled two-thirds of the districts between Bombay and Northern India, and was thus enabled to enforce a policy of low rates to the port of shipment. He showed that the arguments that had been opposed to State control were based on a condition of things that had long since passed away : that the Rajputana Railway was better managed than many of the companies' railways, and that if the home authorities were as intimately acquainted with the management of companies as the Indian railway officials, the Secretary of State would be less desirous of uprooting one that had proved itself efficient. As Consulting Engineer I wrote the following minute :

In the year 1870 the Government of India, with the full approval of the Home Government, deliberately adopted the policy of constructing and working railways by means of State agency instead of by joint-stock companies. The reasons which induced the Government to adopt this

policy are set forth in full detail in Lord Lawrence's able Minute on the subject, dated January 9, 1869; and although this policy has been successful beyond all expectation, yet after ten years a reversal of it has been proposed, as it is now assumed that it is impossible to combine the necessary rigidity of the Government system with the freedom of action required for the successful management of railways.

I have watched the working of the policy of 1870 most narrowly, as an unbiassed observer, from its commencement; and although there have been individual failures, as might be expected, I can assert without hesitation that there is no ground whatever for such an assumption.

Anyone who is acquainted with the working of State Railways must be aware that the officers in charge of State Railways enjoy as much freedom of action as the officers of the Guaranteed Railways, and that our State Railways have not suffered so much from the *rigidity* of the Government system as from too great *pliability*.

There has, as I had previous occasion to remark, been too much *personal* interference in high quarters involving radical changes of policy, and the increasing tendency to adopt party Government, and to alter with each change of politics in England, has been productive of the worst results by destroying the continuity of administrative action.

Our State Railways have had to contend with immense difficulties. The very large number of miles which we have had to open in a short period of time has been unprecedented in the history of railways in India. The State Railways have, as it were, outgrown strength, and have, as might have been anticipated, suffered in consequence.

There is a very great difficulty in obtaining in India men of the class requisite to work railways. Such a class does not exist in this country, and the importation of railway officers and men is very unsatisfactory. The training of railway officials must necessarily be a work of years: the Guaranteed Railways have had few men to spare, and those mostly their "hard bargains." The State Railways have had to struggle through this necessarily difficult stage of existence; and no sooner has the staff of one railway been approaching efficiency, than many of its best officers have had to be taken away, to assist in the working of lines newly opened. Within twelve months nearly 1,000 miles of railway were opened for traffic in different parts of India. Yet, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the management

has rapidly improved, and we had a large number of officers in training for further railway extension, and a very efficient working staff on most of the State Railways, when a change of policy was proposed.

I do not argue that the management was perfect, or that it was likely to be so for many years; but the Guaranteed Railways have, in their earlier days, had to contend with difficulties of the same character though less in degree, and it is notorious that the management of the Guaranteed Railways, in their infancy, was anything but satisfactory. The working expenses were very high, and were only reduced gradually, after many years of experience, and cannot even now be said to have attained their utmost limit of economy. Many of the State Railways are yielding a far better return on their capital than the Guaranteed Railways at the same stage of their growth.

Most of the comparisons that have been made between Guaranteed and State Railway management have been very unfair and misleading. The Guaranteed Railways, having occupied all the main and best thoroughfares of traffic in India, must, as a rule, have more traffic than the State Railways, and it follows that, the larger the traffic, the more economically it can be worked. They have now been established for many years, and have by degrees become settled in their working; whilst the State Railways have not had time either to settle down or to develop their traffic; and the Government has frequently been forced to open the State Railways in an incomplete condition, when the want of proper conveniences, appliances, and rolling stock has been a serious cause of expense and difficulty.

One very unfair comparison has frequently been made between Guaranteed and State Railways, which has led the Home Government to view State Railway management with unfavourable eyes. The East Indian Railway, which probably works under conditions more favourable to economy than any other railway in the world, has nearly always been taken as the standard for comparison with State Railways:—The character of the traffic of the East Indian Railway is exceptionally favourable to full loads in both directions; its gradients are good; its fuel cheap; its gross earnings per mile of railway six times that of the average of State Railways; the comparison is therefore utterly untenable in every way; but if a comparison be made between the Madras Railway (Guaranteed) and the Rajputana Railway (State), the inferiority of the State Railway vanishes, and yet the conditions affecting the

working are, in these two railways, apparently not dissimilar. I subjoin a comparison which I made on a previous occasion :

COMPARISON, 1878.

	Madras (Guaranteed)	Rajputana (State)
Gauge	5-6	Metre
Mean age (years)	14½	4
Length in miles	857	419
Gross earnings per mile per week	149	137
Gross earnings per train mile	3 08	2 99
Working expenses per train mile	2 34	1 85
Percentage of profit on capital	1 44	3 99

It will be seen by this comparison that, although the Guaranteed Railway has the advantage in length and age, and although the gross receipts and the traffic carried by a train are practically equal in the two cases, yet the Rajputana Railway is infinitely superior as regards its working expenses and returns on the capital.

In making this comparison it is not my intention to imply that the management of the Guaranteed Railway is inferior to that of the State Railway. Doubtless there may be conditions connected with the traffic of the Guaranteed Railway which, if explained, would justify the difference ; but the comparison has been made to illustrate the serious mistake that has so often been made of accepting bare results and crude statistics, without an intimate acquaintance with all the conditions by which they have been affected.

The assumption that has been made respecting the efficiency of the agency of Joint Stock Companies, and the inefficiency of that of the State, entirely ignores the past history of railways in India.* Lord Lawrence in his able Minute wrote as follows—January 9, 1869 :

“The history of the actual operations of Railway Companies in India gives illustrations of management as bad and extravagant as anything that the strongest opponent of Government agency could suggest as likely to result from that system. . . .

“With reference to the Indian agency, both of engineers and other officers, it may quite safely be

* “It is not to be disguised that much of the *wasteful expenditure* which has arisen in connection with Indian railways has been duly pointed out, before it was too late to stop it, by the consulting engineers, and that these officers have not on all occasions been supported by the Government in the attempts to enforce economy.”—Minute of Lord Lawrence, dated August 16, 1867.

said that the Government under a reasonable system could, to say the least of it, secure as great ability with an equal outlay. I have not heard of any useful independent action taken in relation to Indian railways by the London Boards, which would be lost under a well-arranged system of Government management. In no single respect can I see that less efficiency is likely to be secured under direct Government control than under joint-stock companies having their Boards in London. . . .

"My own very decided opinion on this point is that the direct agency of Government would certainly be more economical than that of Railway Companies, and that there would in almost every respect be advantage to the State financially, and therefore to the community of India at large, if the Government were to determine to carry out railways hereafter through its own engineers with money directly borrowed in the market for the purpose."

What has occurred to cause a reversal of this opinion? and why has the policy thus deliberately adopted been abandoned? Simply because there has been a want of that ordinary patience which is necessary in carrying out a policy of such magnitude; and the sudden reversal of it appears to resemble the impatience of children, who dig up the seeds they have sown in order to ascertain whether they are growing.

One point for which probably no credit has been allowed to State management has pressed heavily on State Railways in the crude comparisons that have been instituted. Few can doubt the soundness of the views enunciated by Lord Lawrence in the following words :

"The experience in India in respect to the growth of capital is thus beginning to teach the same lesson that has been taught on a gigantic scale in England—viz., the urgent necessity for resisting the tendency to incur additional capital outlay without creating clear additional paying power in return; the enormous and ruinous extent to which the capital accounts of many of the English companies have become inflated has been for some time past the theme of public discussion. . . .

"I regard this danger with great concern, both in relation to the prospect of existing lines and our hopes of extending them.

"If the Government is to avoid it, some means must be found for putting an effectual stop to the insidious growth of the capital of old lines."

The principle thus ably enunciated had been adopted by me for some years before my arrival in India, and when Director-General of the Ceylon Railway I practically closed the capital account with the happiest results, as the railway has since paid more than 12 per cent. per annum on the capital expended.

I strongly urged the adoption of the same principle on Indian State Railways, as far as practicable, and, in the infancy of State Railways, this line of action undoubtedly burdened heavily the revenue account, and gave an appearance of excessive working expenses when compared with the Guaranteed Railways, on which this principle was not in force. But, although the principle was admitted in itself to be sound, it was, after some time, discontinued, on account of the hopelessness of having comparisons made except on the crude and ill-digested basis of bare results; and I was accused—and I must admit with some show of justice—of having ruined the State Railways, in the eyes of the Home Government, by urging the adoption of this principle, however sound it might be intrinsically.

It has lately been laid down, as a maxim for adoption, that Government should, as a rule, divest itself of the task of working railways after they have once been constructed. Such a maxim violates every principle of political economy, and is opposed to the main grounds on which railway construction should be undertaken—viz., for the development of the country. Clearly the proper policy of the State is to develop the resources of the country by the lowest possible rates of carriage, and it might amply repay a Government in some instances to suffer some loss in railway working, provided that by the adoption of low rates the trade of a district could be stimulated. It is easy to conceive the case of a railway unsuccessful in a commercial point of view, and yet highly remunerative to the State.

A company, on the contrary, can only look to the direct returns of a railway as a commercial speculation. It may be argued that low rates are the correct policy of a company. To a certain extent this is true, but to take an extreme case: supposing that a company by low rates

could obtain double the traffic obtainable by higher rates, but the net returns were the same in both cases—clearly it would not be to the interest of a company to undertake all the trouble of a double traffic without additional returns; whilst, in the case of State ownership, the indirect gains of the double traffic might and probably would be of the highest importance. Those who have studied the past history of railways in India must be aware of the difficulty which Government has experienced in inducing the railway companies to lower their rates, and must also be cognizant of the manner in which the trade of a district has been paralyzed by high rates. The profit made by railway companies must as a rule be considered as taken from the general community and handed over to a select few. But this by no means represents the worst features of the case; for this profit may also be working an incalculable amount of mischief by checking the development of trade and the welfare of the country.

There is another evil which I have already pointed out in the absorption of railways by private companies; and that is, the probability that though private enterprise may, at the outset, give a temporary stimulus to railway undertakings, yet it will eventually result in retarding railway progress, especially in those districts where development is most required.

A company will naturally object to the extension of their system to branch lines, the remunerative character of which may be doubtful; and it will not repay the State to make such branches because the indirect returns from them as feeders will pass to the owners of the lines they feed; whereas if the line so fed were in the ownership of the State, the indirect as well as the direct returns together might make the branches remunerative—at all events to the State, which would benefit by the development of trade.

An argument has been advanced, that a refusal on the part of private enterprise to take up any railway project is "*prima facie* evidence that the project is not required." It is difficult to conceive a greater fallacy. Such an argument, if carried to its logical sequence, would have put a stop to the construction of roads in India; for roads have not, as a rule, yielded returns sufficient to meet the current expenses of their maintenance, far less have they afforded any return as interest on the capital expended. Yet few would venture to argue that roads are not needed. If roads had been made and worked by private enterprise, they must

either have ruined their projectors or the country. I am unable, therefore, to discover the grounds on which it is sought to reverse the policy of 1870. State agency has been tried and has not been found to be wanting. The assumption that the State Railway official has insufficient liberty of action is purely imaginary. The assumed superiority of management by Joint Stock Companies is not grounded on any evidence. The mismanagement of the Ahmedabad transfer station under the officials of a company was so great that it became necessary to take that station out of their hands and make it over to State Railway officials whose management of other transfer stations was all that could be desired; and in many cases when Guaranteed Companies have undertaken the erection of State Railway rolling stock, the cost has been very much in excess of that of similar work executed in the State Railway workshops. And the working of some of the State Railways contrasts very favourably with that of some of the Guaranteed Railways, though apparently under less favourable conditions for economy.

Taking the results of State agency as a whole, there is every reason to be satisfied with it; although in some individual cases there has no doubt been failure and friction, which, however, when compared with that which was experienced by railway companies in the earlier stage of their existence, is comparatively insignificant.

The comparisons that have been instituted between Guaranteed and State Railway management have been untenable and misleading; but the Government has now, in the words of Lord Lawrence, to "*take up all the unprofitable lines for itself, and give all the profitable lines to private speculators, carefully guarding them, however, at the expense of the State against any possible loss.*"

Past experience has shown that, notwithstanding every provision to the contrary, undertakings of this character, should they prove less remunerative than their projectors have anticipated, are almost invariably thrown back on the hands of the Government, which practically takes all the risk with little or no probability of profit. "*Private enterprise*," so-called, is, in India, no *enterprise* at all, but is simply a high-flown and seducing phrase, which will, I fear, prove to be an *ignus fatuus* to the Government of this country.

The Accountant-General, in his Minute, characterized the despatch of the Secretary of State as an attempt to

make the most of a bad case, containing an amount of special pleading that might well take in anyone not well posted up in the history of Indian railways.

He asked how it was possible that the substitution of private agency could compensate for the heavy fine the scheme would inflict on the revenues of India.

He pointed out the folly of expecting better results from a Board in London than from that of one possessing such practical knowledge and experience as the Director-General of Railways.

He stated that the control of railway companies gave more trouble to the State than the control of State Railways.

He showed that the State had borne the burden of bringing the State Railways to their valuable and efficient condition, and that it was absurd to invite so-called "private enterprise" to step in and share the profits, taking so much out of the pocket of the Indian ratepayer.

He quoted Sir Henry Durand's Minute on Lord Lawrence's policy :

"We have everything to gain by a positive, not a nominal, control; everything to lose by a feeble sham control."

He said that State Railways had been eminently successful, and that State management was more economical than that of companies.

He was convinced that the revenues of the State would have been largely enhanced had the State constructed and worked the railways at the outset.

He estimated the annual loss owing to these lines not having been carried out by State agency at £1,750,000, in addition to which the premium that would have to be paid for purchasing the Guaranteed Railways would be about £27,000,000.*

* All the old Guaranteed Railways have become State Railways by purchase, but are worked by companies. The premia on the purchase of these lines has varied from 25 to 50 per cent. of the inflated capital.

He urged that with these gigantic losses, practically all withdrawn from India, every endeavour should be made to stop further drain.

It was reasonable to suppose that these strong protests emanating from officers of such high position, might have been the subject of a Select Committee to investigate the question; but when these minutes were submitted to Lord Ripon, he noted upon them: "This may be allowed to drop quietly.—Ripon." India was sacrificed to political exigencies.

Subsequently the Director-General of Railways made an exhaustive analysis of Indian railways, showing strong evidence in favour of State management. He pointed out that comparisons were valueless, unless made at a similar period of their development; and, taking the eighth year after the opening for traffic, the percentage of working expenses to gross receipts, for the whole of the State Railways, had been 57 per cent., as against 64 per cent. for the Guaranteed Railways.

According to the statistical abstract for British India (1916), in 1913-14 the net earnings of the several railways in India was £20,436,000, and the net revenue to Government from railways for the same year was £4,789,533, leaving a balance of £15,647,267. But this balance includes interest and redemption of annuities paid by the State for the purchase of the Guaranteed Railways. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that this purchase has been made on the basis of inflated capital, part of which has been contributed by the State, and the premia paid on such capital has varied from 25 to 50 per cent.

I am of opinion that the reversal of Lord Lawrence's railway policy of State construction and management has been disadvantageous, and the continuance of such reversal is, "in the interests of the people of India generally," to be strongly deprecated!

Every effort should, in my opinion, be made to bring about a better state of things, and while increasing the

revenue from railways, decrease the burden of direct taxation, and stimulate the construction of railways under direct State control and management throughout the country.

If the policy which I adopted in Ceylon, of closing the capital account and paying off the debt from revenue by degrees, had been pursued, the State might now have been in the enjoyment of the net earnings of Indian railways.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a Meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W, on Monday, July 17, 1916, a paper was read by Sir Guilford L Molesworth, K C I F, on "Indian Railway Policy," Sir Stephen Finney, C I E, in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon Lord Lamington, G C M G, G C I E, and the Dowager Lady Lamington, Lord Strathbolgie, Sir Frank C Gates, K C I F, C S I, Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee, K C I E, Major-General Sir Alexander Wilson, K C B, and Lady Wilson, Sir Bradford Leslie, K C I E, Lady Finney, Sir Daniel Hamilton, Sir Alfred and Lady Kensington, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C S I, Sir Fred A Robertson, Mr A Porteous, C I E, Colonel M J Meade, C I E, and Mrs Meade, Mr T G Walton, C I E, Capt Meade, Mr J B Pennington, Mr Thorburn, Mr Coldstream, Mr Sen, Mr T S Hajj, Mr E Benedict, Mr M A Azim, Mr Chowdhury, Capt Rolleston, Mr G G Reshumwale, Mr Duncan Irvine, Mr H C West, Mr H R Cook, Colonel D G Pitcher, Mr Khaja Ismail, Mr H H Lambert, Mr S C Coombes, Mr F H Brown, Mrs Drury, Mr H Kelway-Bamber, M V O, Mr W M J Williams, Mr Guiry, Mr Birch, Mr G V Utamsing, Miss Prendergast, the Rev Mr Broadbent, Miss M Finney, Mrs Kinner Tarte, Mr Law Gisiko, Mr F C Channing, Mrs Jackson, Mr Callard, Mr H B Molesworth, Mrs Phillips, Colonel and Mrs A S Roberts, Mr Yusuf Ali, Mr Edwards, Mr Aziz, Mr M W Hassanally, Mr S G Eridge, Miss Wade, Mr Sands, Mrs Waring, Mr S D L Agarwala, Mrs and Miss Corkery, Mr and Mrs Blaise, Mrs Jones, Miss Marsh, Mrs Hawkes, Mr and Mrs E Dennis, Mr and Mrs H R Wilkinson, Miss Webster, Mrs A P Rainbird, Mr W Frank, and Dr J Pollen, C I E, Hon Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, ladies and gentlemen, Sir Guilford Molesworth needs no introduction, he is already well known to members of this Association. He has read papers here on several occasions, and many of us are acquainted with his books, and other publications. Only three months ago he read to us a paper on "The Common Origin of the Religions of India," and Sir Krishna

Gupta, who presided on that occasion, drew attention to the variety of subjects in which he took interest, and indeed we who have followed his career for many years as a great and eminent engineer (I was myself an assistant engineer under him in the middle seventies) have often wondered at the manysidedness of his intellectual activities. On engineering matters, of course, he speaks as an expert of the highest rank, and he is also an authority on questions of finance, mechanics, entomology and theology, and I dare say many others of which I cannot tell you.

This afternoon he is to give us an address on "Indian Railway Policy," a subject with which he is eminently qualified to deal. When he was quite a young man, he received the important post of Director-General of Railways in Ceylon. A few years afterwards he was appointed as Consulting Engineer for State Railways in India, and for many years helped the Government of India to frame their railway policy. Government benefited greatly, and might, it used to be said, have benefited even more from his knowledge and advice, and India owes him a heavy debt of gratitude for the share which he has had in mapping out and constructing the railway system of India.

But I am sure you are anxious to hear his lecture, and I will now call upon him.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH. My Lords, ladies and gentlemen, before commencing the lecture, I should like to explain that, since I wrote it, I have received through the kindness and courtesy of our Chairman, Sir Stephen Finney, information which has induced me to modify that which I originally wrote, and I will now read my paper as modified in accordance with that information.

(The lecturer, who was received with applause, then read his paper.)

THE CHAIRMAN. My Lord, ladies and gentlemen, I propose to make a few observations at the close of the discussion. I will now ask our Hon. Secretary, Dr. Pollen, to read certain letters which he has received.

THE HON. SECRETARY stated that he had received letters from their Vice-Chairman, Sir Arundel Arundel, who had intended to have supported the Chairman, and who was looking forward to being present to hear Sir Guilford. Unfortunately, however, Sir Arundel was prevented at the last moment by illness from attending, and had sent a telegram expressing his regret. The absence of Sir Arundel was all the more to be deplored because he, as an ex-Public Works Minister to the Government of India, could have thrown much light on the debate. The Hon. Secretary had also received a letter from Mr. Neville Priestley, who had intended to take part in the discussion in a spirit not exactly favourable to the conclusions of the lecturer, but Dr. Pollen gathered that some of Mr. Neville Priestley's criticisms had been met by the alterations made in the paper by Sir Guilford on the suggestions of the Chairman. Dr. Pollen

then read the following note by Mr Neville Priestley on the paper as originally drawn up by Sir Guilford

"Sir Guilford would appear to be under a misapprehension as to the profits which have accrued to companies operating railways in India

"At top of page 2, and again on page 13, of his paper he assesses the profits of companies at fifteen million odd pounds I think we who manage company railways in India would be very glad if that were the profit which the shareholders derived from the investment of their capital in India

"The net earnings of railways in India in which the Government have a financial interest in 1912 13 were actually £17,981,716, not £15,617,000 only Out of this sum of seventeen million odd pounds the Government paid £8,926,610 to those who had lent them the money with which the railways were constructed That left surplus profits of £9,055,106, and of this sum of nine million odd pounds the companies received only £709,642 The balance of £8,345,464 accrued to Government, and went to swell the general revenues of India"

SIR BRADFORD LFSLIE The lecture to which we have just listened is a valuable contribution to the history of the policy that, varying as it has from time to time, has given India a railway system second to none in the world This satisfactory result, I concur with the lecturer, is largely due to the reform of State control, and introduction of direct State construction and management inaugurated by Lord Lawrence, though as an eye witness I am inclined to attribute a large share of the credit to the late General Sir Richard Strachey, KCSI, whose hand I trace in the able minute of 1869, and still more to the professional skill and energy of the author of the lecture in designing and supervising the construction of the network of metre gauge railways which so efficiently serves the districts where traffic is of less density, and the standard gauge too costly, and supplements the standard gauge where intensity of traffic is more than the latter can cope with This was perhaps the most valuable feature of Lord Lawrence's reform of railway statnation in India in 1869 The second was the stimulus given to the nascent export of agricultural produce by reduction of rates, the necessity for which the guaranteed companies had been slow to recognize

As to State construction, management, and working, the experience of forty six years is now available The superior economy anticipated by the minute of 1869 has not been realized in any respect

Allowing for initial mistakes, such as providing costly standard gauge lines for a traffic of under Rs 150 per mile per week, as instanced in the statement quoted in the lecture, and having to buy their experience in bridge design at the cost of some failures, I submit that the company lines were on the whole economically constructed It would be easy to quote instances of extravagance in

State Railway construction far worse than any that can be brought against the guaranteed companies. It is true that its railways cost India some 15½ millions sterling per annum for interest, sinking fund and other charges, but at the present time all the railways are practically the property of Government. Out of £330,000,000 the companies' capital is only a little over £18,000,000, and the surplus profit paid to the companies during the year 1913-14 was £440,000, rather less than 2½ per cent. on the total capital of the companies.

The company-worked railways are the Bombay, Baroda and Central India, the Bengal and North Western, the East Indian, and the Bengal-Nagpur Railways.

The State lines are the North Western, the Oude and Rohilcund, and the Eastern Bengal Railways.

I readily admit that a certain mileage of the Indian Railways, notably the frontier lines, must continue under the direct administration and management of the State, but as I understand the lecturer still advocates that not only the control, but the construction and management of all the railways throughout India should be by direct State agency, which is not in accordance with the conclusions at which I have arrived. I submit certain facts, extracted from the last Administration Report, showing that for representative company and State-worked railways in the year 1913-14 the company lines carried their coaching traffic at 45 per cent. and their goods traffic at well over 100 per cent. less than the corresponding traffic was carried by the State lines—doubtless the cheap fuel of the East Indian Railway is a disturbing factor in the comparison. It is therefore interesting to see what the respective lines do with their coal when they get it. The duty obtained from a ton of coal is quite distinct from its price; this duty was in the case of the State-worked lines 2,670 ton miles against 4,580 ton miles realized by the company-worked lines. Another item of expenditure which is practically independent of the price of coal is maintenance of permanent way. In respect of this it will be found from the Administration Report that the representative State-worked lines carried 1,553 gross ton miles per rupee of maintenance expenditure against 2,488 gross ton miles per rupee carried by the company-worked lines. The East Indian is handicapped by an excess of up over down traffic of not less than 200,000,000 ton miles per annum, involving a corresponding amount of down empty running. These instances of the superior economy of company-working are confirmed by the ratio of total expenses to earnings, averaging in the case of the representative State lines 55½ per cent. against 43½ per cent. in the case of the company lines. These instances by no means exhaust the case in favour of company administration, but time is limited, and I will therefore give place to other speakers.

Mr. BENEDICT remarked that he did not feel capable of dealing with the big question raised; he had always been a working engineer, and had only been able to spend the money, not to make it.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE thought the lecturer had done an act of justice to India by advocating the policy of the State control and management of railways there. Under the prevailing system of working them through the agency of Companies with their controlling Boards in London, the needs and convenience of the travelling public were not attended to quite to the extent they should be, trade facilities were withheld, and the extension of railway restricted if there was any apprehension of the profits and so-called vested interests of the companies being affected. He knew of schemes of new lines being opposed by companies owing to fear of competition within what they assume to be the area of their established traffic, although such new lines were necessary in the public interest. If the railway administration of India was conducted by the State, Government would be responsible to the public in all such matters, and they would unquestionably direct their policy with a due regard for the development of the country, and the comfort and convenience of the people. They would also be expected to afford facilities in the railway offices and workshops for the training of the people, and fit them to occupy important posts and positions in the locomotive, traffic, and other departments. At present no such opportunities were open to Indians. All throughout the company-owned railways there were scarcely any Indians filling high appointments; even for minor posts the supply was always obtained from England, and no serious effort had ever been made during the long period of the existence of railways in India to prepare them for taking their due share in what was after all a branch of public service. If Government had the control and management of those lines, he (Sir Mancherjee) was sure the interests of the people and their claims would be better safeguarded. (Applause.)

Mr. YUSUF ALI said that he could not speak as an expert, but he would like to put before the meeting three standpoints from which, apart from the interests of the railway companies, the railway policy of the Government of India could be viewed. First there were the interests of the export and import houses in the Presidency towns; secondly, the interests of the small traders engaged in the internal trade of India; and thirdly, and most important of all, the interests of the whole of the people of India. He thought that hitherto the discussions had looked too much to the interests of the large export and import firms. He knew of many instances of inequality of freights, and quoted one instance of a district up-country about an equal distance between Bombay and Calcutta, where he had been told by traders that the freight to Calcutta was very much less than the freight to Bombay, with the result that the traders' interests up-country and in Bombay suffered. There was a chronic shortage of rolling stock, accentuated by the management of the different companies in water-tight compartments. He thought that the railway policy of headquarters had not in the past taken sufficient account of the ramifications of the internal trade

whose healthy growth was so essentially necessary for the economic progress of the people of India. The speaker also thought that the interests of the third class passengers, the mainstay of passenger traffic, had not obtained sufficient recognition, and that if State management was universally introduced it would be possible for public opinion to exercise an influence in that direction which would not only be for the advantage of the Government, but of the people of India. (Applause)

Mr H KFLWAY BAMBUR said he could not agree with the remarks of one of the speakers with reference to the non appointment of Indians to responsible positions on the railways of that country.

The company with which he had been associated had given many such appointments to suitably trained Indian gentlemen, and other railway companies were adopting the same policy. For many years past a very complete course of training had been open to the sons of Indian gentlemen in the workshops and offices of many lines.

With regard to the conveyance of Indian passengers in goods waggons, this practice, of recent years, had practically ceased, at least on the main lines of India, on which rolling stock of the most up to date character, specially equipped for the conveyance of pilgrims, had been provided, and was greatly appreciated.

The CHAIRMAN. My Lord, ladies and gentlemen, we are indebted to Sir Guilford Molesworth for an eloquent address on a very important subject, and his views are set forth with his usual vigour, and in no uncertain terms. On the other hand, from certain remarks that have been made, it would seem that there is a difference of opinion regarding the policy that should be followed in Indian railway management. The subject is one which is of particular interest to me, because I was for twenty nine years directly employed in the management of State railways. I was for sixteen and a half years the manager for two of the most important of them, and subsequently for five years, until I retired in 1913, I was in indirect touch with the administration of both State and company railways. Some twenty years ago I delivered a course of lectures on railways at the Sidpur Engineering College at Calcutta, and I wished to set forth to the students the points for consideration in regard to the merits of both systems of management. I quoted from a very capable and entirely impartial authority, Professor Hadley of Yale, who wrote as follows. "To sum up, the arguments advanced by the advocates of Government ownership start from the idea that Government means of transportation will be managed, not with a view to high profits, but for the good of the community. They will thus, it is said, offer low rates based upon cost of service and equal facilities without discrimination. The evils of speculation will be avoided, there will be no waste of capital, no construction of two lines where but one is needed. Capital will be put where it will do the most good for the development of the country. Finally, we shall no longer be at the mercy

of combinations of capitalists who manipulate and tax us for their own interests. It is further urged that the post-office shows how Government secures to all men low rates, equal facilities, and security against extortion, and it is claimed that the same result might be secured with a Government telegraph, or perhaps with Government railroads.

"On the other hand, the Italian Commission of 1878 sums up the arguments on the other side by saying, first, that it is a mistake to expect lower rates or better facilities from Government than from private companies. The actual results are just the reverse. The State is more apt to tax industry than to foster it, and when it attempts to tax industry it is even less responsible than a private company, second, State management is more costly than private management, and a great deal of capital is thus wasted, third, political considerations are brought into a system of State management in a way which is disastrous to legitimate business and demoralizing to politics." At the time, in 1896, I did not think it proper to tell the students what my opinions were on the subject. Now I think I can safely say that, for India, both systems of management are in my opinion necessary, but that, as a principle, company management is to be preferred. (Applause)

Conditions have a good deal altered since 1896. At the present day, all railways adopt the same principles in fixing their rates and fares. The cost of management does not differ in either. There is no speculation in railways at least, I never came across it in my experience. nobody proposes to make two lines where one would suffice. the companies certainly do not, and the country is not at the mercy of the capitalists. I think probably some of the capitalists would say that they are at the mercy of the Secretary of State, but that need not be discussed here. One drawback to company railway ownership is, as Sir Guilford Molesworth has well described, the apparent loss of money to the State, but I shall deal with that later on, and I do not think it is of great consideration.

Another matter that I had in my mind was that referred to by Mr Yusuf Ali, regarding the alleged neglect of local industries. During my career I have had a good deal of experience of this question, and I have on many occasions, by quoting special rates, used my best endeavours to foster certain local industries. I remember that there was a match industry at Ahmedabad and a glass factory in the Punjab, and there are others I have had to look into. Of course, in all these matters one must be very careful to differentiate between the interests of the country as a whole and the interests of any particular trader or set of traders—e.g., the match-makers of Ahmedabad and the glass blowers of the Punjab—and hold the scale evenly. I confess I failed to do very much in the matter. I hope, with the advent of the committee which has been referred to, of which Sir Thomas Holland is the chairman, that progress will be made. In this matter I feel quite sure that the

company-managed lines will be willing to co-operate as readily as the State managed lines

Mr Kelway Bamber has dealt with the question of the carriage of third class passengers. I can certainly say that, during the last five or six years I was Manager of the North Western Railway, no question received greater attention than this at the hands of the administration. I do not say for a minute that we achieved all that was desirable, but we really endeavoured to make the third class passengers more comfortable. The number of carriages has since then very largely increased, and various conveniences are provided in them for the third class passengers. I dare say a great deal still remains to be done, and I feel sure that the matter is receiving constant attention both at the hands of the State railways and at the hands of the company lines.

Then comes the question of feeder lines, and here again difficulties are met with, if the lines are not made on some sort of commercial principles. For example, if concessions are given for a feeder line in Bombay, it may be partly at the expense of people who live in Assam or Lower Bengal, who have no interest whatever in feeder lines in Bombay, and whose money goes to assist people in Bombay, with whom perhaps they have no particular concern. I say that in my experience, which has been large in the matter of feeder lines, I can hardly recall a branch line in which a concession of some sort has not been asked for.

Then there is another matter that Mr Yusuf Ali spoke about, namely, with regard to places which were equi-distant from Bombay and Calcutta, where different rates were charged. Railway rates are really a matter to be dealt with on purely business principles, but it may be said in answer to Mr Yusuf Ali that the country to Calcutta may be much easier than to Bombay, and the railways may cost very much less to construct to Calcutta than to Bombay. Then one may allege the difference in the cost of working.

With regard to the Indian staff, as has been said, the Indians, with a few exceptions, have not yet attained to the high appointments, but they are making a start. On the State railways there is one Indian friend of mine who is Chief Engineer of a railway, and another who was Chief Storekeeper, but they began their careers many years ago. I have three or four Indian friends who are now employed on company lines, and they are making steady progress towards the good posts. I hear from them occasionally, but as yet they have not arrived at the highest ones, that may come in time.

These are a few matters which were not referred to in Sir Guilford Molesworth's lecture.

With State management there are certain drawbacks, one of which is with the staff, this has been recognized by the public in some cases. For example, a railway in Calcutta with which I was concerned had, after I left it (I was there eight years as Manager) five managers in four years, and the heads of departments were

frequently changed too. That certainly militates against efficient working. The claims of seniority are perhaps rather too unduly pressed on State railways. In making these remarks, I do not wish in any way to reflect on the qualifications of the State railway staff, because I consider they are just as competent as those employed on company railways. There is, further, as is also mentioned by Professor Hadley, the political danger in State railways. I do not know whether it exists very much in India, but if politics come into railway working there are considerable risks. To refer to one aspect only of the danger—politicians in different parts of the country may advocate, and with success, their claims for facilities in the direction of special trains and special rates for their districts which the traffic does not justly demand, and other questions may arise which in the interests of the country it is desirable to avoid.

I think really that the question resolves itself into two heads—one, State ownership, and the other, State management. The points should be considered separately, and I have dealt to some extent with the latter. As regards ownership, I think the State should certainly own, or have an opportunity of purchasing, all the lines at certain stated intervals. If this canon is observed—and it is—the lucrative lines will not fall into the hands of the companies. But it does not follow that the State should work and manage the line, or even that it should construct it, and from a financial point of view there are no doubt occasionally advantages to Government in raising capital for a railway by the agency of a company, and not directly by the State. No doubt, when railways were first made in India, there was some extravagance, and some waste, but experience had to be bought and paid for. In the early contracts, too, the conditions for taking over the lines at the end of the contracts were perhaps too easy for the companies; they were too much in their favour. But all this has been altered now. Under modern contracts, the State has its proportion of earnings according to capital, and also from four fifths to nineteen twentieths, or some fraction of that kind, of the surplus profits, and the companies the remaining portion, which is not large. With a net gain to the State of, say, £4,000,000, the companies would receive probably about one tenth of that amount—it varies from year to year—and for this they relieve the Government of the inconvenience of the direct working of the railways. Some of the railways, however, are State railways now, and I think they should remain so—the North Western, the Eastern Bengal, and the Oudh and Rohilkund Railways. It is necessary, seeing the large pecuniary interest that the State has in the railways, that they should be able to select well-qualified men to criticize projects, and to look into the traffic proposals of the companies' lines when they come up. They must be able to review them, and if necessary to advise or to address the companies regarding them.

There is one point in Sir Guilford Molesworth's lecture in which

I was much interested, that is the closing of the capital accounts. This is a matter which has always been of great interest to me, and which I should very much have liked to have seen carried out, but on the company worked lines, with a very limited tenure of the undertaking, it would be scarcely fair to call upon them as lessees to effect extensive betterments at the cost of revenue. The Government does to some extent redeem capital by annuities, but at the same time, if the finance department approves, there is absolutely no reason, from a railway point of view, why the £4,000,000 of annual net profit, or whatever it is, should not go to form a sinking fund for the eventual redemption of all the capital of the railways which would come in time. That is a matter for the financial department to decide.

In conclusion, I much regret to find that my views on Indian railway policy do not march eye to eye with those of Sir Guilford Molesworth, but with the conditions now prevailing in India, I feel bound to say that the advancement in the direction of management by the State of the railways would not be a great consideration, while the burden imposed on Government would be great, and I am confident that the country would not be materially benefited (Applause)

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH: In reply, I may say, with regard to the remarks of the Chairman with reference to State management, that the management carried on by the State as it commenced was very satisfactory at the time, and there is no reason why it should not have still been carried on satisfactorily. If, as the Chairman suggests, things have changed, then I am afraid that it is the Government of India which has changed its character. When the railways were handed over to companies, almost all our State railway officers were handed over to the companies and managed for them. At the time I was in India, and at the time I wrote the minute I have quoted, I consider that the Government of India was the purest and best government in the world, and that it was far superior to the Home Government, which interfered with its policy.

With regard to what Sir Bradford Leslie has said, I quite agree with him that the East Indian Railway to which he referred was splendidly managed. It was the best managed railway in the country, and a good deal of that good management was due to the talents and ability of Sir Bradford Leslie himself. In my minute I have shown how unfair the comparisons were between the East Indian Railway Company and the State railways. It must be remembered that, in that minute, I wrote of the conditions as they existed at the time. Sir Bradford Leslie has said that the conditions are different now from what they were, but at that time the comparison, as I have shown, was most unfair.

SIR FRANK A. ROBERTSON said that though the discussion was closed, he must be permitted to recall an instance of gross injustice in connection with feeder railways. He was traveling in the Inner

Himalayas, and came across a gentleman who owned fifteen acres of land on which he grew fruit, and had subsequently received from him innumerable letters urging upon the Government the necessity of building a railway into the heart of the Himalayas in order to bring out the produce of his orchard! On the relative advantages of State and private management, he had not an impartial mind, because the only railway with which he had been intimately associated was managed as a State railway by his friend Sir Stephen Finney, with whom he had had the pleasure of making an extended tour in the Manager's "self-denial" carriage. He had very great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman for kindly presiding, and for his most interesting "summing up."

Mr. WILLIAM COLDSTREAM thought that the discussion had been very interesting, although during the first part of it he had felt rather left in the clouds, and was not sure whether the balance of opinion was in favour of management by the State or management by companies, but that no doubt many non-professional people would adopt, at least provisionally, and till clearer evidence was available, which might be a long time, the opinion of the Chairman that the ideal condition was management by companies and ownership by the State. He was sure that everyone would agree with him that cordial thanks were due to the Chairman for presiding, and for his illuminating remarks. He also wished to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer. He had had the honour and pleasure of knowing Sir Guilford Molesworth for many years, and well remembered the period when he was such a valuable servant of the Government of India at Simla, and was a humble member of a large circle of friends who regarded Sir Guilford with admiration and respect.

The vote of thanks was carried with applause.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Forty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held at the Institution of Civil Engineers, Great George Street, Westminster, SW, on the afternoon of Monday, June 19, 1916, at 3 p.m., when the Annual Report was considered and the Accounts passed.

The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, KT, GCSI, GCIE, occupied the chair, and the following members were present: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, Sir Krishna G. Gupta, KCSI, Sir F. C. Gates, KCIF, CSI, Sir Frederick S. P. Lely, KCIE, CSI, Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, KCIE, Sir Bradford Leslie, KCIF, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagere, KCIE, Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Stephen Finney, CIE, Colonel C. E. Yate, CSI, MP, Lieut. General F. H. Tyrrell, Mr. Owen Dunn, Mr. Duncan Irvine, ICS, Mr. C. E. Buckland, CIE, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. Carkeet James, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. K. D. Hormusji, Syed F. F. Ali, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. Hajj, Mr. E. H. Ibbak, Mr. I. C. Channing, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Gayatonde, Mr. J. B. Pennington, and Dr. John Pollen, CIE, Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY read letters of apology from the following gentlemen regretting their inability to attend the Annual Meeting: Lord Lamington, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, Mr. Thorburn, Mr. Henry Marsh, Sir Henry Proctor.

By unanimous consent of the meeting, the Report and Accounts were taken as read.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts, said: "The Report is in every respect satisfactory, both as regards the increase of members and the financial aspect of our affairs. I heartily join in what was said in one of the letters, that we owe our best thanks to our energetic and indefatigable Secretary—(hear, hear)—and we congratulate him on the success of his 'Omar Khayyam', and we have also had great pleasure in hearing his lecture on Russia, and it is certainly to his credit that I believe twenty-five years ago he urged the establishment of cordial relations with Russia. We all know—I mean those who belong to my generation—what formerly was the general opinion

in India about Russia, and it is a very remarkable fact how these relations have now become absolutely cordial, and how we have discovered the virtues and merits of the Russian race, and how the Russians have also come to the conclusion that subjects of the British Empire are good comrades in warfare (Hear, hear) I am sure that now we must be very grateful for the extraordinary revival—it always was there, but it was latent—of Russian strength which shows itself in so many quarters of the globe at present, and on which we may rely as a material contribution to our final victory (Hear, hear)

I wish also to thank Mr Pennington, whom we are always glad to see, and who so constantly devotes himself to the interests of this Association (Hear, hear) It also gives me pleasure to allude to the fact that our clerk, Mr King, who is a most efficient official of this Association, has joined the army—(hear, hear)—and this is another instance of the great part which is played by women everywhere—namely, that Mrs King is now filling his place

I wish to allude to a few of the members we have lost In the first place, to the late Raja of Rajpipla He was in every way a loyal Chief, and he left the details of his administration to his Divan, and kept on a very excellent footing with him Mr Dhanguliah was a most excellent servant of the State You will be pleased to hear that Mr A Shewan, who was at one time Administrator of Rajpipla, and who did most excellent work, continues to follow events carefully after his retirement, getting the annual Administration Report, and those Administration Reports always show improvements in that State, of which I believe one of the most important features is its fine forests

In the next place, I wish to allude to Sir Colin Campbell Scott-Moncrieff, who was a personal friend of mine, and also a neighbour of mine for some time in Scotland, and who up to the last was most active, he was a most remarkable man, and we all know the great work he did in Egypt—(hear, hear)—and he was also an excellent Permanent Secretary in the Scottish Department

Well, the next name I have to allude to is one which I mention with great regret, Sir Robert Lairdlaw He was one of those men who in India are indispensable He was the head, as we all know, of a very great trade in India, and his interest in India and Indians, and, I may say, in the East altogether, was remarkable He also was a neighbour of mine in Scotland, and only this last autumn I visited him at the place he had bought, Wolfelee, and the interesting feature was this He was the son of a farmer in the Lowlands of Scotland, and after having made his fortune he bought the property in the very heart of the district where his father had been a farmer and where everybody had known him as a boy—(hear, hear)—so that the people talked to him as they did when he was a boy That shows how entirely free he was of anything

which tended to make him appear as other than what he was, and he was not—as I am afraid is often the case—afraid of his antecedents, and was even proud of hailing from the Border country. We have also to regret the death of Sir Patrick Playfair, so well known on the Bengal side, who was at one time President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, an additional Member of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, and Governor-General and Sheriff of Calcutta. We have lost, too, Mr Bomanji Pelt, one of the leaders of industry in Bombay. We also have to mourn the death of Sir Chunabhai Madhowlal, who was exceedingly charitable, and at the head of an important industry in Ahmedabad. I also wish to recall to your memory the late Mr Dikshit, who was an Advocate of Bombay, and a man who took a great interest in all social questions, and who was not superficial, but went very deeply into all questions which he undertook to investigate. What makes his death tragic is that he went down in the *Persia*, which, as we all know, was sunk by a German submarine, he was one of the victims of that warfare which every civilized person hopes will come to an end, as it is really opposed to all human and Divine precepts. He wrote a paper on the "Economic Conditions of the Indian Workman," and this paper was read here after his death, on the 26th of April.

Then the question which will become very actual after the War—it is not a new question, but a question which I remember as far back as when I was in India—was discussed, and that is the question of grant of Commissions to gentlemen of Indian birth. On this subject this Association has sent a memorandum to the India Office. I need not say that after the heroism displayed by the Chiefs, a great number of Indian officers—and I certainly would add also the rank and file of what I may call our heroic Indian Army—it will be our duty to give them proper recognition for their patriotic attitude in this crisis.

We have had as usual very interesting papers read during the past season, and I hope you will allow me especially to congratulate my friend Sir Fredk Lely on the paper which he gave to us, which I consider was a very interesting paper.

This Association, gentlemen, has fulfilled, I think, its part. That we have been able to do so has been in great part due to Dr Pollen, and as long as he is our pilot I am not afraid but that this Association will continue to be a flourishing and prosperous Institution. We must do everything in our power to make the man in the street understand what is meant by our connection with India. I believe that we can do more than we have done. We must begin in the schools, and I consider it nothing less than a scandal that it is still the exception for Indian history to be taught in our secondary schools. You may depend upon it that if India was a German dominion—which, fortunately for India, it is not—Indian history and all subjects connected with India would be not only

taught in all the secondary schools of Germany, but would be made a prominently compulsory subject. It is not to our credit that hitherto we have not in the various programmes which are issued for our schools found this knowledge of India made into a prominent subject. We hear a great deal now about the respective claims of science and of classic in our school, but that, to my mind, is of less importance than that on both sides there is a great neglect of history, because that is a subject which both sides need. In the examination for the Civil Service, and especially for the diplomatic examinations, I think it would be very desirable that more should be made of the importance of our knowledge of the East in general. Egypt, Turkey, and the whole of the East should be better known, and those of our future diplomatists who are likely to be appointed in such places as Constantinople, Teheran, and others, should have special knowledge of Oriental subjects.

I do not know that I can add anything more, except to say that we ought to be very thankful that the War has interfered with us so little. I believe there are very few societies who can say that they have so little felt the effect of this War, of which we may hope we shall see the end in such a way that peace will be established on a firm and enduring basis. (Hear, hear.)

I now beg to move the adoption of the Report.

LIEUT.-GENERAL TYRRELL, in seconding the proposition, said that he himself went out to India straight from school into the army, and he had always looked on India more as a home than the United Kingdom. He still continued to receive letters from men in the Indian Army who had risen to the rank of commissioned officers, and they always expressed their loyalty and affection to their old officers.

He thought the Society was doing a great deal of useful work in fostering such good feeling in the connection between England and India. (Hear, hear.)

He said he had much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.

The CHAIRMAN, on putting the motion to the meeting, said they would be pleased to hear that Lady Willingdon, the wife of the Governor of Bombay, who was at present in London, had told him there were a large number of wounded soldiers in the hospitals in Bombay at present. He asked her if she had come to ask for money for those hospitals, because he had read that Lady Carmichael, the wife of the Governor of Bengal, was pleading for gifts. Whereupon she had said to him: "Money! If I asked for a lakh in Bombay I could get it immediately." (Hear, hear.) As ex-Governor of Bombay, he had felt rather proud of that display of generosity in Bombay.

The adoption of the Report was carried unanimously on being put to the vote.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN said it was his pleasing duty to propose his lordship, Lord Reay, as President for the ensuing year. Lord Reay possessed every qualification they all desired in a President for such an Association (Hear, hear). Perhaps it was his natural prejudice, but he considered it a qualification that he was also a Scotsman. They all knew the class of Scottish men who had worked for India, and they had to day to lament the loss of men like Sir John Scott Moncrieff and Sir Robert Laidlaw. He had had the privilege of serving under Lord Reay for a considerable time in Bombay, and he knew the strong feeling of affection that existed amongst all sections of the people in Bombay for him, both on account of his great public work and his private kindness. The various views the Association put forward were carefully considered by the Government, and they could not have a better representative than Lord Reay to state the measures that were now necessary in regard to the new position which India was to occupy in the British Empire. As a Scotsman he was cautious, and he had great experience of India. He (Sir William) had great pleasure in moving his appointment as President for the coming year (Hear, hear).

SIR MANCHERJI BHOWNAGREJI, in seconding the proposition, said that as a Bombay man himself he could bear testimony to the fact of the great affection, esteem, and reverence in which Lord Reay was held by the various Indian communities there, on account of his large hearted sympathy with their aspirations and their interests. Although in his time it was a rare thing for Government House to invite the representatives of the people of India either socially or for consultation and advice, it was Lord Reay who, even in the face of a good deal of official unwillingness, tried that experiment with such happy results that it has developed to a very great extent under his successors. It has borne the very good fruit of bringing the sentiments of the people of India before the Administrators of Bombay, with advantage to both sides. He trusted that the example would be followed there and in other provinces in an increasing degree, it would make for the stability of British rule if the sentiments and aspirations of the people were understood as Lord Reay tried to understand them (Hear, hear). It was a great privilege to the Association to have Lord Reay year after year for its chairman, and he trusted many years would elapse before his place was surrendered to any other person, but he did not think any successor would surpass Lord Reay either in his advocacy of the true interests of India, or, as expressed by Lord Lamington in his letter just read, in the discharge of the duties of their President. He had great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The proposal, on being put to the meeting, was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN I am very much obliged to you, gentlemen, for

your renewed trust, and it gives me the greatest pleasure that it was moved by my old friend Sir William Wedderburn, who, as we all know, has devoted his whole life to the best interests of the Indian people, and in his old age he is as energetic as he was when I first knew him. I cannot say that I get younger, but as regards my feelings towards India, they are exactly as warm as they have always been, and I am still of opinion that we can never do enough to show our sense of responsibility and to acquit ourselves of the great trust that God has put upon us towards the people of India (Hear, hear)

The HON SECRETARY Sir Robert Fulton and R. A. Leske Moore, Esq., resigned their seats on the Council during the year, and Sir Henry Procter and Henry Marsh Esq., were co-opted in their place. The following Members retire by rotation: Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.F., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.F., J. B. Pennington, Esq., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., S. S. Thorburn, Esq., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., G. O. W. Dunn, Esq. I propose these Members be re-elected, and that Colonel Meade and Nirmul Chunder Sen be elected Members of the Council.

This was seconded by Mr. COLDSTREAM, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN said he had great pleasure in proposing Lord Hardinge as Vice President. They all knew how excellent his conduct of affairs in India had been, and that he left India extremely popular with the European and Indian elements of the population. Lord Hardinge certainly belonged to the front rank of our ablest statesmen, and, as they all knew, the moment he came back he was appointed to investigate Irish affairs, and now he would go back to the Foreign Office in the capacity of Permanent Under-Secretary. It was greatly to the credit of a man who had governed India as Viceroy that he should at this moment, when affairs were so critical, return again to the Foreign Office in which really was one of the most important positions in the Civil Service, that of Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said he would like to make a short remark, not exactly in connection with the business of the meeting—but regarding the Association as discharging the function of a recording agency for the useful and sympathetic lives and activities of Indians and Europeans who have lived their lives for the good of India, he hoped it would not be considered irrelevant—with regard to what the Chairman had said about Sir Robert Laidlaw. In his early youth in Edinburgh he (the speaker) was befriended by a gentleman, Sir Walter Elliot of Wolfelee, then recently retired from the Madras Civil Service, and it was remarkable that Sir Robert Laidlaw, himself a great lover of India, should have succeeded to the estates owned for a long time by that very distinguished Indian Official, Sir Walter Elliot. Sir Walter Elliot was a man of great ability, very learned in Indian history,

archæology, numismatics, ethnology, philology and natural history—a quite extraordinary range of erudition. He took much interest in education, and supported Christian missions. He served as Private Secretary to Lord Elphinstone, Member of the Board of Revenue, Member of Council. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society,* and perhaps after that of Sir Thomas Monro no name among Madras officials has been more distinguished. The speaker therefore thought he was justified in mentioning it in connection with what the Chairman had said (Hear, hear). He had great pleasure in seconding the proposal that Lord Hardinge be elected as Vice-President.

The CHAIRMAN. I only wish to endorse what Mr Coldstream has said about Sir Walter Elliot. I knew him, and he was certainly a very remarkable man. He belonged to the same clan as Lord Minto, to whom India owes so much.

On being put to the meeting the proposal was carried unanimously.

A very hearty vote of thanks was then proposed to the Chairman. This was seconded by Mr OWEN DUNN, and carried with acclamation.

* Buckland's "Dictionary of Indian Biography."

THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the working of the Association during the year 1915-1916, the fiftieth year of its existence.

Sixty-five new Members were proposed and elected during the year, of whom more than one-half were Indians. Sixteen Members resigned and seventeen died. The number of resignations was below the average, but the deaths were nearly twice as many as in the preceding year.

The sense of the loss the Association has suffered by the death of Mr. R. F. Chisholm (a Member of Council), early in the year under report, has been recorded in the Proceedings of the General Meeting held on June 26 last, and since then the Association has had to deplore the death of one of its Vice-Presidents—H.H. the Raja of Rajpipla—to whose son and successor the condolences of the Council have been conveyed.

The question of the grant of Commissions in the Army to gentlemen of Indian birth engaged the earnest attention of the Council during the year, and it was considered desirable to approach the Secretary of State for India on the matter. The Hon. Secretary was accordingly directed to invite attention to the views of the late Sir William Plowden, K.C.S.I. (formerly of the Bengal Civil Service and afterwards M.P. for Wolverhampton West), as set forth in a paper read before the Association on April 24, 1912, and to

the general support accorded to these views by the late Lord Minto, who, when Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief and the members of his Council, had addressed a despatch on the subject to the Secretary of State for India. The Hon. Secretary was further instructed to add that, "without pledging themselves to the particular suggestions made by Sir William Plowden and Lord Minto, the Council felt that the question was one that called for prompt and judicious handling, and that it was desirable to find a solution calculated to remove the impression that the people of India were in all circumstances debarred by reason of race and colour from holding commissions in the Imperial Army—a privilege enjoyed by most other subjects of the British Crown." The Council, therefore, urged that it would be prudent and politic to secure without delay some practical solution of the difficulties surrounding the question, and thus meet as far as might be found possible loyal Indian aspirations. This expression of the views of the Council was placed by Lord Islington before Mr. Chamberlain, and the whole subject is now under consideration.

The desirability of presenting an address on behalf of the Association to the Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford, G.C.M.G., was also considered and discussed by the Council, and the Hon. Secretary was authorized to ascertain the views of the Viceroy-Designate on the subject. Lord Chelmsford expressed his readiness to receive such an address, but in view of his anxiety to avoid public speaking in England, preferred that the address should take the form of a letter. Lord Lamington accordingly, as Chairman of Council, wrote to His Lordship the following letter :

*To the Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford, G.C.M.G.,
Governor-General-Designate of India.*

March 4, 1916.

My LORD,

On behalf of the Council of the East India Association, I beg leave to offer to Your Lordship their united congrat-

ulations on your appointment to the high office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and to express their confident hope that during your term of office the loyalty to Emperor and Empire which India has abundantly shown during the stress of the present war may be everywhere confirmed and established, and that her peoples and races may continue to increase in comfort and well-being, and grow more and more fitted to take an active share in the administration of public affairs.

Among the many subjects of profound importance and interest to India that will claim Your Lordship's attention, the Council trust that they may be pardoned if they express their hope that the following in particular may not lack the sympathy and support of yourself and your Government.

- (a) The appointment of a representative of India to share in the anticipated Conference between the British Government and the Dominions and Colonies of the Empire.
- (b) The settlement of the vexed question of the grant of Commissions in the Imperial Army to gentlemen of Indian birth—a subject on which the Council have recently had the honour of addressing the Secretary of State for India.
- (c) The reduction of the indebtedness of the agricultural population by the multiplication of Village Co-operative Societies on the Raiffeisen plan, with a careful safeguarding of the members from the risks of unlimited liability inherent in the system.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
(Signed) LAMINGTON,
Chairman of the Council of the
East India Association.

And received the following reply—

March 9, 1916

DEAR LAMINGTON,

Will you convey to the Council of the East India Association my thanks for their congratulations?

I am taking out with me their resolutions, so that I shall have them in mind when I assume office. I feel sure

that they will meet with the most sympathetic consideration from the Government of India.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) CHELMSFORD.

No fresh "Truths about India" were compiled during the year under report, but the contents of the existing volumes have been carefully indexed, and the Council has sanctioned the binding of fifty copies, which will now be published with index complete.

The meetings of the Association were largely attended, and much interest was displayed in the papers read; and the Council tenders its hearty thanks to the various lecturers.

Papers on the following subjects were read during the year:

May 10, 1915.—"Akbar, the Great Mogul (1542-1605): His Life, Character, and Opinions," by Vincent Arthur Smith, Esq., M.A., I.C.S. (retired). The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., in the chair.

June 29, 1915.—"Russia and India," by Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., I.C.S. (retired). Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., in the chair.

October 25, 1915.—"The Problem of Education in India," by Pandit Shyama Shankar, M.A. (Foreign and Educational Member, Jhalawar State). Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

November 15, 1915.—"Indian India and its Rajas: Their Relations with the British," by Saint Nihal Singh, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Francis Young-husband, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

December 13, 1915.—"Hindus and Muhammadans," by G. C. Whitworth, Esq., I.C.S. (retired); read by J. B. Pennington, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). The Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., in the chair.

January 24, 1916.—"Indian Women and National Well-Being," by Lady Muir-Mackenzie. C. W. Saleeby, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.E., in the chair.

February 21, 1916.—"A Forgotten Page in Indian History," by Sir F. S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair (in the absence of Sir John Jardine, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.P.).

March 20, 1916.—"The Common Origin of the Religions of India," by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E. Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

April 26, 1916.—"The Economic Condition of the Indian Workman, with Suggestions for its Improvement," by the late S. M. Dikshit, Esq., M.A., LL.B., read by J. B. Pennington, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the chair.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

1. Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E.
2. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohamed Ajmal Khan, Esq.
3. John J. Barniville, Esq., I.C.S. (retired).
4. N. N. Wadia, Esq.
5. Lieutenant-Colonel Sisley Richard Davidson, I.A.
6. The Hon. Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi.
7. F. M. Garda, Esq.
8. J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy, Esq.
9. Charles Carkeet James, Esq.
10. K. H. Ramayya, Esq.
11. The Hon. Sir William Henry Hoare Vincent.
12. Rustomji Faridoonji, Esq.
13. Sardar Daljit Singh, C.S.I.
14. Rai Sahib Kishan Nand Joshi.
15. Parasharam Krishnarao Bivalkar, Esq.
16. S. S. Setlur, Esq.
17. Pandit Shyama Shankar, M.A.
18. Narayan Vishvanath Mandlik, Esq.
19. Bhalchandra Krishna Gokhale, Esq.
20. Mrs. Breeks.

21. Colonel Robert Neil Campbell, C.B., C.I.E., I.M.S.
(retired).
22. Sadashin Maninarayan Dikshit, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
23. Syed Mohammad Kazim, Esq.
24. Bepin Behary Varma, Esq.
25. Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Lionel Showers, C.S.I.,
C.I.E., I.A.
26. Frederick Victor Sharp, Esq.
27. Jal Dinshaw Nicholson, Esq.
28. Shankar Pandurang Desai, Esq.
29. Philip Salmon Taylor, Esq.
30. Trevor Jocelyn Matthews, Esq.
31. G. S. Arundale, Esq.
32. C. M. Shujauddin, Esq.
33. Henry Hewat Craw, Esq.
34. Shantaram Gopal Gayatonde, Esq.
35. Sir Alexander Pedler, C.I.E.
36. Wishwanath R. Pandit, Esq.
37. T. C. Ranganatha Row, Esq.
38. Lieutenant-Colonel John Shakspear, C.I.E., D.S.O.,
I.A.
39. Madhavji D. M. Gokuldas, Esq.
40. Major Andrew Alexander Irvine, I.A.
41. Sidney Reginald Daniells, Esq.
42. Jaikaran Nath Misra, Esq.
43. Syed Erfan Ali.
44. Lieutenant-Colonel H.H. the Maharao of Kotah,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
45. H.H. the Raja of Sunth.
46. Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. G. Cole, C.S.I., I.A.
47. Francis Chorley Channing, Esq.
48. Frank Thomas De Monte, Esq.
49. Charles Campbell McLeod, Esq.
50. John Tarlton Whitty, Esq.
51. G. G. Reshimwale, Esq.
52. Dr. Fram Gotla.
53. Dr. S. H. Mody.

54. Mohini Mohan Dhar, Esq.
55. Khwaja Ahmad Ali, Esq.
56. Taruknatti Sadhu, Esq.
57. Thomas Smith, Esq.
58. Henry Cuthbert Streatfeild, Esq., C.I.E.
59. Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Christian Hare, D.P.H.,
I.M.S.
60. Pratap Chandra Chatarji, Esq.
61. Miss M. Sorabji.
62. Ibrahim S. Haji, Esq.
63. Raghunath Gupte, Esq.
64. Alexander Hay Benton, Esq.
65. James Lawrence O'Connell, Esq.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

W. Corfield, Esq.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
K.C.S.I.

Raja Manmathanath Roy Chowdhury.

William Douglas, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. Downie, D.D.

Colonel Sir Reginald Hennell, C.V.O., D.S.O.

Sir John Jardine, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.P.

Daniel Jones, Esq.

William Charles Foster Leggatt, Esq.

Sir James Monteath, K.C.S.I.

Ross Arthur Leslie Moore, Esq.

James Edward O'Connor, Esq., C.I.E.

Mrs. Pennell, B.Sc., M.B.

Charles Herbert Payne, Esq.

P. C. I. Pillai, Esq.

Thakurdas Vasanmal Thadani, Esq.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

Henry Beverley, Esq.

Robert F. Chisholm, Esq.

Sadashir Maninarayan Dikshit, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
 J. E. D. Ezra, Esq.
 Andrew Harvey, Esq.
 Herbert Olive Denman Harding, Esq.
 Sir Robert Laidlaw.
 Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B.
 Eric Stuart Matthews, Esq.
 Sir Chunabhai Madhowlal, Bart.
 Colonel Sir Colin Campbell Scott Moncrieff, K.C.M.G.,
 K.C.S.I.
 Bomanji Dinshaw Petit, Esq.
 Sir Patrick Playfair, C.I.E.
 H.H. the Raja of Rajpipla, K.C.I.E.
 Sir Lionel Dixon Spencer, K.C.B.
 G. E. Ward, Esq.
 Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Lionel Showers, C.S.I.,
 C.I.E.

Sir Robert Fulton and R. A. Leslie Moore, Esq., resigned their seats on the Council during the year, and Sir Henry Procter and Henry Marsh, Esq., were co-opted in their place. The following Members retire by rotation :

Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.
 Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.
 J. B. Pennington, Esq.
 Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O.
 S. S. Thorburn, Esq.
 Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.
 G. O. W. Dunn, Esq.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £336 16s. 8d. (including cash and postage in hand), as compared with £226 5s. 10d. last year.

SUPPLEMENT

EDUCATION IN EAST AND WEST*

By T. W. DUNN

(Late Fellow of Peterhouse)

THIS is a good and opportune book, the work of a scholar and teacher of experience, somewhile of the Indian Educational Service and Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta. In a short historical review, Mr. James vindicates the past and present educational efforts of the Government. He sees no reason for a new departure or breach of continuity in procedure—a process of advance by trial and failure. Mistakes are corrected and defects made good as they are disclosed by experience. What has been all along, and is still, at fault, and is recognized as such, is the inadequate salary and low status of the teacher. He should take rank in both respects, in the higher grades at least, with the higher Civil Service, if he is to command the deference of the Indian student and sow the seed of loyalty to authority where it can best take root. To be sure, the English administration, the commerce of ideas as well as of industrial products now unifying the world, our arts, railways, and countless other influences, are at work in the same sense, and go far to justify our presence in India; still, the training of the young, if not a panacea for all that is

* "Education and Statesmanship in India, 1797 to 1910," by H. R. James, Ch. Ch., Oxford; Indian Education Service; Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta. Longmans, Green and Co.

remediable of ills complained of, remains the high road by which so much of Western culture as can be assimilated may best advance, and the cost of the work should be, as Mr. James says, the first charge upon the public revenue, if it cannot be defrayed otherwise. The cheap is worth no more than what is paid for it, and service sinks to the level of its price. The cost of education, however great, is of a nature to recoup itself the more abundantly the more there is spent on it. The Civil Service of India is admirable because it is well paid, and the work of education there will continue to be unsatisfactory so long as it is ill-recompensed and the calling of the teacher held in low esteem. For the same reason our schools at home, the Church, and professions generally, are suffering from the drain of our best-disciplined young men, the flower of our Universities, for the better-paid Civil Services. If a fair number of these men of scholarly attainments and high character could be diverted to serve as Principals of Indian Universities, Colleges, and High Schools, and they were left to their own discretion, inspiration, and responsibility, safe from the chilling and rigid drill of Inspectors, they would soon, by reason of pride in their work and emulation, create from within an organization of education with life in it which cannot be infused from without. All service grows trustworthy in proportion as it is trusted, and efficient in proportion as it is well paid, duly honoured, and advanced in recognition of merit. So treated, native teachers, too, who will have to be called in in great numbers, will be found to respond to all demands made upon them, and graduates of the Universities, said to be disloyal, though this is disputed by Mr. James, and dangerous for want of employment, will find in schools a career that will satisfy their aspirations. Culture, he says well, "hates hatred," and makes for "sweetness and light," enabling those who acquire it to air their grievances, and so providing as a sort of safety-valve, and awakening energy which only need be better employed to be the

virtue the Hindu lacks, for it is in executive energy that he is most to seek, and this, therefore, above all else, it should be the business of the education we provide to develop or supply. Knowledge of itself will fail to do this, for though in its essence knowledge is the rehearsal of performance, it is apt in the mere scholar and the sedentary to stop short of action, witness the academic *ἑποχή* or irresolution which is a common reproach of the erudite. The Englishman is, we are often told, above all things practical and efficient. He can have become such only by active habits, and not by study, and these habits he acquires as a boy by his addiction to outdoor games. Play the ordinary English boy will, but study he will not, if he can help it, and here he is taught by nature and is wiser than his teachers. It is ancient wisdom not to yoke a colt, and they are on the wrong road who would make education apprenticeship and the applied sciences its staple. In play with his fellows a boy learns the social virtues, not in the classroom, to "play up and play the game," to do as he would be done by, to play fairly, and "fair play" sums up these virtues, or most of them, and goes far to make the gentleman—a type of man we allow ourselves to think more in evidence in England than elsewhere—in whom we look for energy, rectitude, decorum, and prudence, and the character varies only as these elements vary. It is mainly the product of our great boarding-schools—and residential colleges and Universities, where open-air games assert themselves as an integral part of the life of the student. These they manage for themselves, elect their officers, obey their own ordinances and the conventions which regulate their contests with rival schools. In their play they have a keen eye for opportunity; they resign their chance of distinction for the good of the game, and fling themselves whole-hearted into the struggle, integrating all their powers of body and mind, as they do nowhere else, in strenuous and sustained effort. This spirit they carry with them everywhere; they work at their play, and play at their work when they work, which is not always,

for they affect not to be Jacks of all trades, but masters rather of one, not caring to do what they cannot do well.

If our public schools and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and not the non-residential London University, were made, so far as possible, the models for Indian institutions, what is most wanted would be done for Indian education. Wealthy private persons would do well, and native princes would find their account, in founding such institutions, which should be away from great towns. If such education as they would impart were once secured for the sons of the directing class, the leaven would work gradually through the whole population till it reached the vernacular schools. Private schools should not be discountenanced, nor should they require a licence for sending up candidates for admission to those of higher grade. Salaries of teachers should be made up partly of capitation fees. Rules and regulations should be not more than necessary. *In pessima quaque republica plurima leges.* Some of these will be ignored, and the rest will lose authority. They should everywhere be introduced in a preamble stating why they are called for, for blind obedience is the vice of slaves. English school methods—the outcome of long experience—should be transferred *mutatis mutandis* to India. The direct or parrot method of teaching a language is not educative, as is seen in bilingual populations of border lands. Training colleges do little for the born teacher, but assure mediocrity in the inept. If quality is secured for the élite few, quantity is sure to follow for the many, who come to see what education gives. Above all, it must never be left out of sight that as a propædæutic and entrance upon social life education must itself be throughout social.

Readers at home in school matters cannot fail to find themselves almost everywhere in agreement with Mr. James, and if he had cared to write a less critical and more constructive book he would have anticipated probably most of what I have found to say.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

RUSSIA IN ASIA

MY SIBIRIAN YEAR By M A Czaplicka (*Mills and Boon*) 10s 6d net

To the average reader "Siberia" means no more than the place of exile of Russian political prisoners without any close emotional significance such as even this bare meaning had for the author of this book in her childhood. Miss Czaplicka, the distinguished Polish student of anthropology and the holder of the Mary Ewart travelling scholarship at Somerville College, Oxford, says "When as a child I heard the word 'Siberia,' it meant but one thing for me—dire peril to the bodies, sore torture for the souls, of the bravest, cleverest, and most independently minded of our people." Then, as she grew older, she knew of Siberia as a place in which her fellow-countrymen had lately begun to seek opportunities for the development of their abilities—opportunities which were denied them at home by their Russian rulers, and finally, as a research student of the Oxford School of Anthropology, her interest was turned "towards those little known people who, before the Russian introduced the Pole, or the Cossack the Russian, into Siberia, have lived from immemorial times on those broad lands, and, though their hunting grounds have shrunk before the advance of Europeans, still hold their own in regions which no European will ever dispute with them." And at last she, too, was sent to Siberia, but as a voluntary exile and member of an English expedition of four to pursue anthropological research in the regions of the lower Yenisei. "My Siberian Year" is the record of her visit. It is a most interesting record, and it is admirably written. There is wit and poetry as well as a complete picture of the lives and surroundings of all the various tribes of Asiatic origin into whose nomadic existence she plunged with such hardihood and sympathy. She measured their heads—all except one tribe, who refused her that privilege—and at the same time we feel that she understood their hearts. She travelled, always in discomfort and sometimes in peril, from settlement to settlement, and from "chum," or tent, to "chum," enjoying their hospitality and returning it, and satisfying her own curiosity as to their traditions and customs by the proper method of exchange. Moreover, with her "healing box"—the expedition's medicine chest—she was looked upon as something akin to one of their own shamans—able to cure their stomachaches, their headaches, and any other ailment

that their own shamans could not or would not banish "Nothing was so much in demand as the magic contents of the little black chest. At Golchikha one day a Samoyed came in from the tundra to get some medicine for his wife, who had a severe 'heartache.' I scented some domestic tragedy. 'What is the matter with her heart?' I inquired sympathetically. 'It aches,' he replied, and placed his hand upon the pit of his stomach. This indication of the seat of the malady appeared to bring the case within the scope of treatment by drugs, but as I knew nothing of the woman's condition, I thought it would be prudent to send her something which, if it did not do her any good, would at least not harm her. So I gave her a few soda mint tablets. During the next two days every Samoyed head of a family in the neighbourhood came demanding medicine for his wife. There was apparently a regular epidemic of 'heart ache' in the tundra, which continued until my supply of soda mint gave out."

The people among whom Miss Czaplicka spent the greater part of her stay in Siberia belong to the group of newcomers from southern and south-western Siberia, who drove the oldest inhabitants of the Polar regions northwards. Although they have become adapted to the new environment, and have great skill in grappling with the problem of the difficult struggle for existence in the Arctic, yet, Miss Czaplicka says, they have not had time to develop thoroughly distinctive Arctic industries or art, and some—the Arctic Tungus—in spite of the ages spent in regions where horses cannot live, seem to keep, in their way of riding reindeer, the habits of a past when their ancestors were horse nomads in the south. Among these, anthropologically considered, recent arrivals in the north—the Samoyed, Ugrian Ostyak, Dolgan, Tungus, Yakut, and Yenisei Ostyak—there are different degrees of acclimatization. The Samoyed have been there longer than any of the others, and they are the best reindeer breeders and hunters of the polar bear, and they can make the best shift to do without driftwood for their hearth fires and tea or tobacco. Miss Czaplicka gives a very clear account of the racial differences and ways of migration of the tribes she writes about, only we wish there was a better map given to follow the latter by. The map at the end of the book is very bare of district names and the names of rivers, which have been such determinants of the courses of Siberian migrations.

There is a delightful chapter on "Children and Reindeer," describing the importance of both in tribal family life. "Children and reindeer—these are the two all-absorbing interests of the tundra folk. They come before all other considerations as being the main criteria of social standing and the conditions precedent to comfort and well-being in the inhospitable surroundings." But there is no coddling of the children, the tundra folk seem to have immemorially acted upon a principle. Westerners are only just beginning to introduce rather nervously into their educational methods a certain amount of nervousness, however, may be forgiven in watching the up-bringing of tundra children.

"None of the alluring things which are taboo to Western infants—knives

and other edged tools, fire, lake or stream—are connected with any ‘don’ts’ for the tundra children. If the baby cries its father or mother will give it a great sheath knife to play with. It is not unusual to see a tiny three year old strapped into the ‘cradle’ suspended vertically from a tent pole, gleefully juggling with one of these formidable weapons, or one even much younger, released for a time from confinement, apparently on the point of diving headlong into the fire, flourishing a blazing brand nearly as long as itself under the approving gaze of its responsible guardian. For it is not a tenet of their educational doctrine to ‘keep children out of mischief’ by fencing them in with a ring of rigid ‘don’ts’. Let them learn for themselves, by facing everyday difficulties and dangers, how to avoid or overcome them. Their love for their children does not involve over-anxiety for their safety in small things, let the children see life as it presents itself to their elders—a rough struggle for existence in which each man is his own champion.”

Much practical sense, too, underlies the attitude of these reindeer-breeders to marriage, on which Miss Czaplicka has written another interesting and entertaining chapter. Native marriage ceremonies persist and are usually carefully observed, whether or not the families concerned belong to the Orthodox Church. At the same time irregular unions are not condemned, though they are recognized as irregular. “But as a rule people welcome the opportunities afforded by events like marriage, birth, and death, for the performance of ceremonies at which they may enjoy the society of friends.” Westerners are not equally frank in their avowal of the true reason for retaining the ceremony.

Apart from her anthropological and social studies, Miss Czaplicka had time to study the position of the Siberians, or Russian colonials, whose ancestors have been settling in Siberia since the end of the Middle Ages—the representatives of mixed European blood and native elements too. She speaks of their hopes for the future—their belief in their land as the Canada of the Old World, and their desire for self-government. She devotes a special chapter to Russian exiles.

“My Siberian Year” is vigorously written, and there are beautiful passages. There is an exquisite description of sunrise transfiguring the tundra, and sentences lovely like this one, about the sun: “We had not seen his face for weeks, but for about two hours of the twenty four at that time of the year he hangs just below the horizon, making the charmed twilight that we called day.”

I C W

RUSSIA

FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY. A CRITICAL STUDY. By J. Middleton Murry
(*Martin Secker*) 7s 6d net

It is customary to bracket those intellectual giants, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, together, and the critic Merezhkovsky seeks to show that the one is the complement of the other. The Hon. Maurice Baring, in an analysis

of the Russian character, points to different types—Peter the Great, Khlestakov (Gogol's *Retiior*), and Muishkin (Dostoevsky's *Idiot*), and says that in Tolstoy the Peter element predominates with a touch of Muishkin, while in Dostoevsky the Muishkin element predominates with a fiery stroke of Peter, while in neither is there a touch of Khlestakov. In an able chapter, Mr Baring shows that Dostoevsky, in making Raskolnikov ("Crime and Punishment") kneel before Sonia—the type of suffering, not the woman—kneels himself before human suffering. Tolstoy, the heretic, was narrow minded, while Dostoevsky, the Orthodox Apostle, was broad minded. Both writers, with the Slavophiles, alike repudiate Western civilization, and appeal to the simple faith of the Russian masses, for it is Russia's mission to reconcile East and West. Nietzsche said that Dostoevsky was the one psychologist from whom he could learn something. The keynote to the great teacher who knew the depths of suffering may be found in the words of Father Zosima ("The Brothers Karamazov")—"Love men and do not be afraid of their sins, love men in their sins." As Prince Serge Wolkonsky said in his Lowell Lectures "No obstacle is powerful enough to arrest this Livingstone of darkest misery."

In this study Mr Middleton Murry observes that Dostoevsky's influence on English thought and literature will be great and beneficent. He has come into his own here later than Tolstoy, on whom the making of books has known no end, and whose works have been widely translated, circulated, and commented upon. Mrs Garnett has laid English readers under a great debt by her renderings of the great works, which Mr Murry examines in successive chapters. Dostoevsky's life was a martyrdom, with his epilepsy, Siberian exile after closest proximity to the death penalty, pressure by censors and creditors, and love of gambling, but he refused pity for himself and acknowledged no sufferings. To follow Mr Murry's reasoning requires considerable patience, in his introduction he says "he is a novelist, for did he not write novels of deeper psychological penetration than his predecessors?" but later he declares that he was not a novelist and cannot be judged as one. The explanation seems to be that Dostoevsky, deliberately or unconsciously, set himself to destroy the sense of time.

We read one half *The Idiot*, one half even of *The Brothers Karamazov*, and in reading pass through a fire of spiritual experiences such as one hundred years could not have kindled—and we find that in the measurement of earthly time but a day has been reckoned . . . Dostoevsky at least professed to be writing novels, but the correspondence of the physical day and its spiritual content is fantastic and unreal.

The effect of Dostoevsky on Mr Murry is powerful enough, by his confession. "There are times, when thinking about the spirits which he has conjured up. I am seized by a suprasensual terror. For one awful moment I seem to see things with the eye of eternity." He is terrified by "the unexpected *physical* presentation of the timeless world,"

and felt this horror in reading of the Egyptian "boat of the million years." Dostoevsky's sense of eternity, which haunts himself and his characters, prevents him from representing life, and his characters, tormented by the sense of time, are not human, but disembodied spirits. In his work on Russian literature, P. Polevoy quotes a saying of the master "I seek holy things, I love them, my heart thirsts after them, because I am so constructed that I cannot live without holy things" Over his grave men of the most diverse parties shook hands peaceably. He could not believe that one tenth of the people should enjoy highest development while the remaining nine tenths merely contributed to this end, themselves remaining in ignorance and darkness.

Mr. C. J. Hogarth, translator of "Poor Folk" and "The Gambler," says that Dostoevsky set himself to describe life as it is and therefore he is profuse in detail, but Mr. Murry finds that "the proportion of life, the sweet reasonableness of things human, has been dissolved away" Dostoevsky's final works stand for so many gigantic struggles, but it is not easy to think with Mr. Murry that he "put on the invisible armour of his last champion Christ, and he was vanquished" In conclusion, whether readers will agree with all Mr. Murry states is an open question. His study embodies the result of prolonged meditation, and he has performed an important service to the memory of the great Russian. The present work will encourage others to tread in his path and share his experiences.

RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY A contribution to the History of Sociological Thought and Theory By Julius F. Hecker, Ph.D. (Columbia University Press London *P. S. King and Son, Ltd.*).

The learned and industrious author hopes—and is certainly justified—that his work will fill a gap in the history of sociology. The main divisions are (1) the beginnings, (2) an analysis of the principal schools, (3) miscellaneous theories. Each separate chapter under these heads forms a substantial meal for digestion. The first chapter discusses autocracy in Russia, generally considered to be the result of peculiar historical conditions, and destined to pass away when these conditions are changed, though some authorities think it inherent and a partial result of Slav psychology. From study of the Slav temperament, Dr. Hecker thinks it a foreign importation, and he would appear to be right.

The Asiatic conquerors crushed every institution of liberty and established their despotic rule, which, when adopted by the Muscovite princes, presented in itself a peculiar synthesis of Teuton militancy, Tartar despotism, and Byzantine sanctimoniousness. These three elements, whether united organically or not, were the dominant forces of Russian autocracy.

All attempts to better the condition of the people were achieved in times of popular trouble—e.g., emancipation of the serfs and the grant of representative government, undoubted but not unmixed blessings. The myth of a Messianic mission of the Tsar (*batiushka*, little father) is a

curious belief of the peasantry for generations. It is interesting to read of the liberalizing tendencies of the reign of Catherine II, an enlightened despot who reverted to severity on hearing of the French Revolution, and when Pugachev's revolt shook the country. Dr. Hecker's account of the Slavophiles reads like a romance. They based the new type of civilization—a development of Hegel's theory—on the Orthodox Church, the autocratic government, and the parish commune. Following came the various revolutionary movements which split among themselves, such as the "Land and Labour," the "People's Will," and the "Black Land Partition." The creation of the Duma came after the Russo-Japanese War, and though it was in the nature of a Western transplantation to a soil scarcely prepared, it has proved a success in spite of difficulties. Dr. Hecker works out the theories and policies of the different reformers, and the student will be surprised to find that the most ardent opponents of the *status quo* in Russia differed widely as to remedies for admitted evils. There is an excellent analytical table, valuable for reference, of the reformers, from Danilevsky to Chernov, from which we give two examples.

Soloviev (Neo Slavophile) Professor and Philosopher—Synthetic Idealist, critic of Positivism—Society a supplemented or widened individual—Attempted to synthesize the interests of State, Church, and Individual.

Plekhanov (Orthodox Marxist) Publicist and Revolutionist—Dialectic Monistic Materialist—Society an aggregation of tool making and tool using individuals—Father of Russian Marxism.

As to the future, the war has brought about a truce between the various schools of thought, and the author hopes they will settle on a peaceful compromise. "If they do, a way for a normal evolution of Russia will be established, and Russian sociology will probably reflect the situation." Sociology has only been placed in the curriculum of the Petrograd Psycho-neurological Institute within recent years, and there is room for more extended attention in the Russian universities. There is, however, a wide literature in Russia, where the works of, *inter alios*, Comte, Spencer, Buckle, Durkheim, Giddings, and Kidd are familiar. Dr. Hecker furnishes a capital bibliography.

The author is indebted for inspiration to Professor F. H. Giddings, whose help in connection with this volume he gratefully acknowledges.

CHINA

THE BOXER REBELLION. By Paul H. Clements, PH.D., sometime Fellow in International Law, Columbia University. Printed by the Columbia University (New York). (*P. S. King and Co., London*.)

This might have been described as a much desired, as indeed it is a much needed work, had it not been that the great war has for the moment relegated the most extensive community in the world to an obscure place on the "civilized" human horizon, but it is a fact that, while we have been

deluged with books, first about the great Empress-Dowager, and then about the Revolution of 1911-12, no one has until now seen fit to present us with a thoroughgoing *raisonné* account of the Boxer tragedy, and of the events that led up to and succeeded it. Mr Clements, working from a detached diplomatic and professional point of view, has done his work exceedingly well, and speaking as one who has recently been minutely through all the Chinese official documents bearing on the subject, the writer may assert that as regards matter of fact, date, history, and result, the book (if he may presume to sit in judgment and say so) is absolutely free from error and defect, and is strongly to be recommended for a worthy niche in the specialist's library. In only one place does the author seem to go slightly wrong, and here he only follows universal precedent, for it was only after some years' delay that more accurate discoveries were made—that is to say, Junglu from first to last was far from being a leading villain, he did his best to dissuade his relative and old playmate the Dowager not to make a fool of herself, and he also seems to have been in the complete confidence of the three wise Viceroy, Liu K'un yih, Chang Chu tung, and Yuan Shih-k'ai (then, however, still only a governor), who practically scotched the foolish business on their own account so far as injury to foreigners was concerned. As to matters of opinion, as distinct from fact, Mr Clements is rather apt to see Old Glory waving locally over the wicked world in the usual thoughtless American claptrap way, indeed, Mr. Morse is the one solitary "States" writer of distinction who justly disposes of the much-vaunted American virtue touching the opium business in especial and touching Chinese affairs in general. Certainly the American record is comparatively clean and good, but it must be remembered that, however "proud" she felt, the United States never had any *power* for evil, and 'tis oft the sight of *means* to do ill deeds makes deeds ill done. Her record in the matter of Chinese immigration, of her juggling with Aguinaldo, and of her jockeying Colombia out of Panama, whilst no doubt justifiable on fair average European grounds in the usual diplomatic way, gives Mr Clement no representative right to knife Russia at every turn in Far Eastern affairs, and to throw scattered innuendoes at the British Lion, under whose practical protection all Americans in outlying places in China were up to the date of the Philippine seizure—which seizure probably could not have been effected at all had it not been for the sly "blood thicker than water" behaviour of the British Navy on the spot. Even at that date the ignoble ways of a certain imperial Jack in the Box were scented by America's cousins.

The literary style of Mr Clements is high irreproachable, true, the American spelling modestly obtrudes in such words as *harbor*, *program*, *counseled*, etc., on the other hand, the persistent use of *skillful* looks as though the Spread Eagle wished to cram a superfluous *f* on her own special patronage down our leonine throats. In citing Consul Ragadale's official despatch, the vulgarity "a long ways off" might have been charitably deprived of an *s*, and the superfluous *i* in "jeopardized" (p. 37) gives an uncomfortable feeling that Mrs. Malaprop was "not fur off" when that word was penned. *Though* (p. 124) is clearly a misprint for *thought*, and

Mr. Clements has made a slight mess of Hung *Sui-tsuen*, the Emperor Mu tsung Yi, Tsai-lan Duke of Fu-Kwo, and a few other Chinese proper names pardonably misinterpreted

E H PARKER

INDIA

THE ROMANCE OF BENGALI.

HISTORY OF BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE By Dinesh Chander Sen, Reader in Bengali, University of Calcutta (*University of Calcutta*)

Bengali has risen suddenly, like a comet, on the horizon of languages. This has been due chiefly to the work of Sir Rabinandranath Tagore. Three years ago or so Bengali, as a language, had no interest for anyone outside the confines of Bengal, and even in Bengal the number of those who expected Bengali, in the distant future, to take its place among the languages of the world was very small. Then Sir Rabinandranath Tagore sprang a literary surprise upon the world. To day, from one end of the world to the other, countless hundreds who cherish books are wondering what possibilities there are not lying hidden in the future for Bengali when, even at this stage of its history, it has given a Tagore to the world. To them, Mr. D C Sen's book on Bengali language and literature will prove a most acceptable work. It is true that the book contains the lectures delivered by Mr. Sen in Calcutta as they were delivered, without any excisions or additions which are necessary when the spoken word is translated into the pages of a book, with the result that there is a great deal of reiteration of facts. But it contains at the same time a vast amount of information, hitherto unavailable in as compact a form as it is presented by Mr. Sen.

As may be expected, Mr. Sen is enthusiastic about the future of his language. In his excess of zeal for keeping the well of pure Bengali undefiled, he condemns practically wholesale all those who look up to the writers and poets of other countries for inspiration. He even ignores the fact that, so far, Bengali has produced no writer of such outstanding merit as writers in the other languages of the world, and, for some time to come at least, writers in Bengali would have to depend for their models of literary grace and artistic excellence upon the writers of other lands. Mr. Sen is prone to regard the past of Bengali as a past of greater achievements than it is in reality. He lays too much stress upon the literary achievements of those who employed Bengali in the past as a medium for expressing the religious emotion of the Vaishnavites. He does not make allowances even for historical necessity when he complains of the introduction of words of foreign origin into the language. Like an enthusiast, he would make Bengali a Brahmin among languages.

As discourses, however, on the origin of the Bengali language, its early writings, its vicissitudes under the ever-changing religious feeling of the people and under foreign invasion, Mr. Sen's work shows careful study and laborious research. He points out at the outset that the "early

Bengali literature had the strange characteristic of forming a gift from the lower to the higher classes" Bengali, however, is by no means the only language to be influenced by the expression of ideas of the lower strata of society Strange as it may seem, every language, in fact, sooner or later, in the history of its development, reaches the level which the vast majority of the people employing it as a vehicle of expression has attained Even the vigilance of academies cannot successfully debar words of popular origin from ingress into the sacred fold of a classic language.

The Bengali language is not unique in commencing its career as, first of all, a simple means of expression of ideas, and then gradually acquiring poetic depth and religious emotion It is, also, not strange that it bears evident traces of the varied experiences through which the people who employ it as a medium of expression of thoughts have passed from the earliest times in their history to the present day On the other hand, it would have been indeed miraculous if the Bengali of modern times had remained the unalloyed Prakrit of prehistoric days

What is, however, a curious circumstance in the history of the Bengali language, a circumstance which deserves greater attention than Mr. Sen has been able to give to it, is the part played by foreigners Whatever grievances Bengal may cherish against its foreign invaders, the neglect of its language can, under no circumstances, be held to be a legitimate one. Mr. Sen deals at some length with the influence exerted by Buddhism and Jainism over the Bengali language, he points out how the Moslem invaders actively encouraged the writers of the country to adopt the language of the people for the expression of even religious sentiment, and how they enriched the vocabulary by inducing writers to translate Persian works into Bengali, he also treats fairly the claims of English missionaries in the building up of the language He is, however, not unprejudiced in his account of the influence exerted by Muhammadans He is compelled, one can see, by sheer force of circumstances to acknowledge the meritorious work accomplished by the Moslem poet, Alāol, in the Bengali language, but he seems to be attempting to belittle the labours of the Moslem scholar for—one can imagine—no other reason than that he was a Moslem Mr. Sen, it is true, candidly admits that Alāol was not only a profound Arabic and Persian, but also a Sanskrit scholar, but he makes too much of what he calls the far fetched similes employed by the poet Mr. Sen's criticism of Alāol's works, as a matter of fact, teems with inconsistencies. In one place he acclaims Alāol as the herald of a new age in Bengali literature, in another he accuses him of "excesses of fancy," and of writing "such gibberish as children may be heard amusing themselves with in their folk lore" In one place, Mr. Sen tells us that "Alāol's poems often reach a high degree of excellence from the wealth of their Sanskrit expressions," and he regrets "that the excellence of their style, and the effect produced by the jingle of classic words and associations suggested by them, are not such as can be conveyed in translation" This is high praise indeed, but in the same breath we are told that Alāol was a composer of "gibberish" In one place Mr. Sen says

Alāol has given descriptions of the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, their customs and manners, with an accuracy and minuteness which strike us as wonderful, coming as they do from the pen of a Muhammadan writer. He has given a classification of feminine emotions in all their subtlest forms as found in the Sanskrit books of rhetoric in the portraiture of such characters as Vasakasajja, Khandita, Kalahantanta, and Vipralavdha. He has represented the ten different stages of separation from a lover closely following the rules laid down in *Sahityadarpana* and in *Pingala's* works on rhetoric. He has discoursed on medicine in a manner which would do credit to a physician versed in the *Aurvedic* lore. He has, besides, shown a knowledge of the movements of the planets and their influence on human fortune worthy of an expert astrologer. In his accounts of the little rituals connected with the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, such as the *Pracastha Vandana*, he displays a mastery of detail which could only have been expected from an experienced priest. He has besides described the rules of long and short vowels, the principles by which the various Sanskrit metres are governed, and quoted Sanskrit couplets like a Pandit to serve as texts for the theological matter introduced in his book. The Moslem poet is profuse in his eulogies of Siva, the Hindu god, and all through the work writes in the spirit and strain of a devout Hindu.

And yet, in another place, Mr Sen observes, regarding the poet's *Padmāvati*

But though in the main story Alāol follows a style on the line of the Sanskrit classics and shows a wonderfully close acquaintance with the manners, customs, and religious life of the Hindus, yet reading between the lines one may discover the views of a Muhammadan poet by the non-Hindu elements to be found in his work, though couched beneath a highly Sanskritized form of Bengali.

It is difficult to reconcile these statements. One is tempted to look askance at Mr Sen's offer to act as cicerone in the realm of Bengali literature. As a matter of fact, Mr Sen does not attach its proper value to lyrical poetry, nor does he seem to take into consideration the element of change in the method of poetic expression at the different stages of its history in Bengal. When Alāol wrote his *Padmavati*, Bengali literature consisted only of religious poetry. Even the *Padas* were lyrics expressing religious emotion. There were translations by the great Hindu epics in existence, there were no prose works and there was no poetry, pure and simple. The poems of Bengal were still, more or less, religious thoughts crystallized in metrical form to aid memory.

Alaol, perhaps one of the most pathetic figures in literature, by virtue of his familiarity with Arabic and Persian, as well as Sanskrit, literature, was able to clothe his Bengali, for the first time, in poetic vesture without indenting as extensively as did his predecessors on religious sentiment. If Bengali writers before Alaol had used their language as a medium of poetic expression, it was only to give utterance to their religious creed. They did not even imitate the elegance of expression of the Sanskrit writers in Bengali. Through all the spiritual upheavals of Buddhism, Puranism, and Jainism, and the stress of propagating new cults, the

Bengali language was employed only for the purpose of making a wide appeal to the masses in Bengal on behalf of one or other of the warring creeds. The language never lost, so to say, its parochialism. Religious sentiment, merely admirable in itself, did not make any extortionate demands on the powers of expression of the language.

It was only when Bengali was placed by Alkôl and other writers who followed him side by side with the classical languages of Arabia and Persia, and even of India itself, that Bengali had new vistas of thought opened to it, new means of expression were found, and new methods of describing the comedy and tragedy of life were assimilated.

It is emotion thrown away for Mr. Sen to lament the introduction at one time of Arabic and Persian words into the Bengali and at another of Portuguese and English words. Truly speaking, Bengali has been the gainer by any increase in its vocabulary that has taken place from these sources. What is more, the language has benefited materially by the ingress of what some call foreign ideas. In the economy of languages there are no foreign ideas. No one will deny that the effect of the contact with English ideas in Bengali has been to give it a directness and simplicity it formerly lacked. As Mr. Sen points out, when the English appeared on the scene, Bengali had sunk to the level of a vulgar dialect. What it had of literature laboured under the serious defect of strained ornamentation. The English missionary Carey and his colleagues at Serampore strenuously worked at ridding the language of its incubus of artificial ornateness and endowed the language spoken in hundreds of Bengali homes with the grace of artistic simplicity. At the College of Fort William, under the fostering care of the East India Company, Bengali began to lisp in classic prose. The Pandits employed by the Company had to curb their natural aptitude for verbosity and employ simple and homely words to convey even the most sublime truths.

Modern Bengali is, therefore, greatly indebted to the labours of earnest Englishmen who went out to India to serve their country. Mr. Sen bewails the passing of the *yatras* and the *habswalas*, and does not look with favour upon the adoration of English writers, but he will admit that a vast quantity of modern literature in his language owes its inspiration to English dramatists, poets, and writers. What Bengali writers have done within the last forty or fifty years is by no means a mean achievement. In fact, their work alone endows Bengali with the dignity of a language; as apart from it, there is no work in Bengali, including even the religious poems, which appeals universally. It is, as Mr. Sen himself admits, the contact with English ideas which has given Bengali its chaste diction in prose, and, in a manner, shown how promising the language is as a vehicle of expressing the thoughts that stir humanity.

Mr. Sen touches briefly upon the influence of English missionaries in moulding the Bengali of the future. He regards the influence as beneficial on the whole, and shows how far it was due to the efforts of Englishmen that men like the late Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Mr. Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Raja Rammohun Ray, and Devendranath Tagore took an active

interest in developing the resources of their language. He, however, leaves the field unexplored after passing the monuments of philological labours of these great writers. The work, however, of Michael Madhusudhan Dutt alone furnishes an inspiring example to workers in the field of literature. Mr. Sen's history of the Bengali language would have gained materially from an account of the life and work of Dutt, not inaptly known as the Milton of Bengal, as it was chiefly due to his labours that Bengali once for all abandoned the old style and adopted the new one of simple and direct expression. One feels that Mr. Sen's work would have been more valuable than it is if, in place of the lengthy extracts he gives in it from well-known works, he had dealt at some length with the period of linguistic achievement after the times of Michael Dutt. HOOGHLY-WATER.

EUROPEAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY: Vol. I., The Mackenzie Collections; Part I., The 1822 Collection and the Private Collection, by C. O. Blagden, M.A., late of the Straits Settlement Civil Service (10s. 6d. net). Vol. II., Part I., The Orme Collection, by S. C. Hill, formerly Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India (12s. 6d. net). (*Oxford University Press.*)

An Oriental scholar, discussing the question of writing an exhaustive history of India and the Straits Settlements, once said that it was absolutely necessary to search the India Office Library for the purpose of collating reliable information, and to visit the homes of the Anglo-Indians in England in order to recover lost manuscripts, old coins, and rare pictures. According to him, there were few manuscripts of historical value left in India itself, and historical treasures were lying unappreciated in the India Office Library. Whether it is so or not, a glance through the two catalogues recently issued by the India Office Library will convince the student of Oriental history that there are scores of manuscripts in the Library which, invaluable as they are, have not so far been used as they deserve to be used in widening our knowledge of the India of the past. Few who read Dr. Thomas's prefaces to the two catalogues, or the introductions by Mr. Blagden and Mr. Hill, would fail to realize the historical value of a large number of the books and manuscripts dealt with in the catalogues. Mr. Blagden's compilation refers to the European manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collections, dealing chiefly with the history of Java, and incidentally even with Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast, and Malacca. There are, according to Mr. Blagden, many documents in these collections of a unique character. Mr. Blagden draws particular attention to Governor Balthasar Bort's report on Malacca, dated 1678, which, he says, deserves to be published with an English translation; and also to some very important and valuable records relating to the Dutch administration of the Coromandel Coast. Dr. Thomas points out in his preface that the two collections dealt with in Mr. Blagden's catalogue are not represented in the *Descriptive Catalogue* of the (third and main) Mackenzie Collection compiled by the famous Sanskrit scholar, H. H. Wilson. "And," Dr.

Thomas is of opinion, "it is owing, no doubt, partly to this circumstance that they have remained practically unknown, and that it has been necessary to establish by research in official records their distinct existence and history." Mr. Blagden has, judging from the catalogue he has produced, done this admirably. The work of identification of manuscripts is at no time easy, and in this instance there were innumerable difficulties in the way of the compiler of the catalogue, but they have been successfully surmounted, and, with but few exceptions, most of the manuscripts have been given a "distinct existence and history."

Mr. Hill has brought a practised hand to bear upon the indexing of the Orme Collection. Besides giving us a complete catalogue of the manuscripts, printed papers, and maps in the collection, Mr. Hill has written an illuminating sketch on the life-work of Orme as an historian. He has made use of such of Orme's correspondence with friends or business connections, in the collection, as contained allusions to matters of public interest and to Orme's work in India.

It is difficult to suppress a smile at reading that the two catalogues now issued "were contemplated in the Library about thirteen years ago." Dr. Thomas says that it was not until the year 1911 that "specialists were willing to undertake the work."

J. C. R.

BULLETIN OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA—STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. "Some Aspects of British Rule in India." By Sudhindra Bose, PH.D., Lecturer in Oriental Politics. (Published by the University, Iowa City. 80 cents.)

This is the most comprehensively misleading book we have ever had to deal with, and it is a pity, because it is evidently the result of great labour, and might have been most useful if it had only been more fair.

In his preface the author says he means "to present some aspects of British rule in India from the angle of the ruled," and that he is "fully aware and duly appreciative of the many solid advantages of English rule," but considers it "more important just now to point out certain evils and suggest constructive reforms." Now no one could possibly object to such a plan, but then the author should be very careful about his facts, and should not present his picture of the evils of British rule in such a light as to show up only the shadows exaggerated by ignoring the brighter parts.

To prove his unfair way of stating his case against the British Government, it is only necessary to point to the fact that in compiling his very exhaustive bibliography he does not include even the *Journal of the East India Association* (founded by Mr. Dadakhai Naoroji), in which Indian subjects are discussed with a wealth of detail not to be found elsewhere, and altogether omits the two volumes of leaflets ("Truths about India," and "More Truths") issued by that body, and now bound up into one volume, with a useful index. The East India Association shares the ignominious oblivion in which Sir R. Temple and Sir J. D. Rees are equally shrouded, and yet "Famine Facts and Fallacies" would seem peculiarly appropriate to Mr. Bose's discussion of that subject in Chapter VI. It is, perhaps, too

much to expect that he should have read Mr McMinn's monumental paper entitled "The Wealth and Progress of India. Facts and Fictions."

As to his remark that "under a free universal system of education in England the English people have better opportunities for education and are better trained for industrial occupations," it is quite extraordinarily wide of the mark, because the great success of England in the competition for world trade took place in the eighteenth century, at least a century before there was anything approaching universal education in England, and certainly both Watt, Stephenson and Arkwright owed very little to their schooling. It is too much the fashion just now to make a fetish of free and compulsory education, for there is really no great merit in either system. Compulsion is at best a *dernier ressort*, and what costs nothing is seldom valued as it ought to be.

It seems useless to contradict or amend the many misleading statements with which this volume abounds, because they have nearly all been dealt with in the volume mentioned above, but as to the assertion on p. 65 that "there cannot, as a matter of fact, be any equality between these two countries as manufacturers," it is pretty safe to say that, "as a matter of fact," according to Messrs Harvey and Co. and Mr. Samuel Smith, Lancashire does not even now, and cannot ultimately, beat India. If it does, where did the 350 lakhs of profit on the Bombay mills come from? It is true Mr. Bose does not give the amount of capital on which that substantial profit accrued, so that one cannot draw any accurate conclusion from the figures, but if India is so crippled for want of capital, what has become of the enormous quantity of gold she has been absorbing since "silver became of no account" in the land? Even wealthy England will think twice before spending 20 lakhs of rupees (say £134,000) on the repair of one temple, as the authorities at Rameswaram were doing some years ago. It appears from the statement of the "Moral and Material Progress of India" for 1913-14 that the excise duty on cotton manufactures increased from £281,772 in 1910-11 to £357,512 in 1913-14, which shows at any rate that the industry has not been destroyed yet by the excise duty.

Another curious instance of unfairness occurs on pp. 77-78, where the author refers to the late Mr. Rogers' attack on the Madras Administration and does not even allude to the crushing reply made by the Madras Board of Revenue and others.

Lastly, the last paragraph of Mr. O'Donnell's so called summary of the memorial presented to the Secretary of State in 1900 "by eleven retired officials" (of whom I was one) was certainly not founded on anything we said, and is a mere absurdity. That the land revenue, on the whole, cannot amount to an income tax of anything like 55 per cent. of the gross income is plain from the fact that it does not at present amount to more than about 12 per cent. of the *surplus* produce actually exported.

Such a mistake is trifling, but Mr. William Digby (whose estimate of the produce of Bengal surpassed all others in its absurdity) was certainly never a member of the Indian Civil Service.

After saying so much in criticism of Mr. Bose's select assortment of views about British rule in India, I should like to add that his book has many merits of its own, and is not so much to be condemned for what he says as for what he omits to say. Indeed, it is in many ways a most useful compilation and full of information. If he had only allowed his readers to "hear both sides"!

It is not so much a question of whether India is fit for immediate self-government, as how any real system of self government can be introduced without inducing a frightful period of chaos and anarchy, the miseries of which no one could estimate. It is, of course, axiomatic that "good government is not a substitute for self government," but it is a very good substitute for anarchy, and if Indians could only be endowed with their full rights as British citizens and a reasonable share in their own government, they would not trouble themselves so much about the mere form of it—

"For form of government let fools contest,
Whatever's best administered is best."

No matter how democratic a people may be, it is always, in fact, even here in England, the so called land of liberty, governed by its permanent officials.

J P

POINTS OF CONTROVERSY ON SUBJECTS OF DISCOURSE Being a translation of the *Kathā-Vatthu* from the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. By Shwe Zan Aung, B.A., and Mrs Rhys Davids, M.A. (Published for the Pali Text Society by *Humphrey Milford*) 10s net.

This volume is a valuable addition to the books dealing with Buddhism already issued by the Pali Text Society. It is "the first translation of the *Kathā Vatthu* in any European language." The *Kathā Vatthu* contains, briefly, the doctrines preached by the various sects of Buddhism. It discusses these doctrines logically, and, as is the case with many other works on Buddhism, it is in the form of a catechism. The translators were beset with difficulties on all sides in presenting an intelligent rendering of the ideas contained in the original. As Mrs Rhys Davids points out in her valuable prefatory notes, the original text, or rather texts, abound in repetitions and apparent inconsistencies—apparent only because we are at this stage unable to enter fully into the minds of the dialecticians of the day of the *Kathā-Vatthu*. Not only has time blurred the meaning of the words in the texts, it has also obliterated, in many cases, the lines of division between one sect and another. It is therefore no easy task at this distant date to arrive at a correct appreciation of the dialectical differences existing between one school and another of Buddhism in olden times. The translators of the *Kathā Vatthu* have, however, boldly come to the rescue of the baffled inquirer by giving the first and most important *Katha* (discourse), with all its back-and-forth of dialogue, exactly as it is in the original, to show the dialectical method of the whole work, and then by following the more reasonable method in the other discourses of eliminating unnecessary repetition. They have also added a useful appendix to the book dealing

in simple language with many of the disputed points in the book. The "Points of Controversy" have also been arranged at the opening both according to the canonical order and according to the subject of discourse, as also according to the dissentient schools. From a layman's point of view, the method of reasoning in the original is, to say the least, puzzling. There is a great deal of discursive and unnecessarily abstruse dialogue, as if the disputants believed in gaining their point by sheer repetition of arguments. In the translation the translators have, in many places, modernized the dialogues without impairing the spirit of the text. To those who desire to acquire information about the various sects in Buddhism and the doctrines held by them, the "Points of Controversy" would prove a reliable guide. Mrs Rhys Davids, in her prefatory notes, has given a fairly exhaustive list by means of diagrams of the different sects of Buddhism. The list of contents, arranged according to the dissentient schools, conveys an accurate idea of the views held by them on some of the most controversial questions in Buddhism.

J C R.

FICTION

THE GREATER CALL. By Reginald E Salwey (*Heath, Cranton*. 6s.)

Owing to Mr Salwey's choice of a style which, according to an extract from a review of one of his previous novels, "recalls some masters of the novel," it is a little difficult to tell what "The Greater Call" is all about. There is a mystery concerning the theft of a tiara, but one feels it might so easily have been cleared up if only the people in the story had chosen to behave and to talk in a less enigmatic fashion. One feels too that they could have chosen—but they just didn't! Epigram and *double entendre* are the salt of their lives. So that one does not trouble much about the tiara. It is not in the least vital to their pleasure that the ghost of the theft should be laid. Tiara lost or found, they will all go on acting and talking to the end of their lives in that scintillating way which is its own reward—what though they stand in their own light, so to speak, by so doing, and very much obscure the reader's. Five minutes of plain English conversation with any one of the chief actors (it would have been difficult, I admit, but Arthur St. Elwyn *might* have been amenable) would have settled the whole matter, but that of course would have been a serious embarrassment to Mr Salwey, and, after all, if there are such people as those in "The Greater Call" in the world, perhaps its just as well that there should be someone, like Mr. Salwey, enthusiastic enough to write about them.

BACKWATER. By Dorothy Richardson. (*Duckworth*. 6s.)

It is easy to say that "Backwater" is interesting for the same reason that its forerunner, "Pointed Roofs," was interesting, on account of its literary method. And yet I am bewildered and irritated by it. I recognize,

of course, what Miss Richardson's aim is—to reflect perception as it goes on its way through this crowded world of appearances. That is a fine aim, and the English language is flexible and nervous enough for an artist to shape it into conveying this aspect of living. But it is a tremendous task, and I am astonished that Miss Richardson has not found it tremendous. Her method, as distinct from her aim, seems to have yielded so little. The reason, it seems to me, is because she has worked only with her attention and has hardly employed at all the underlying, much wider, more constant, though not so noisily communicative, retina of general consciousness. Technically, I may be quite wrong in thus breaking up the process of perception, but what I mean is that "Backwater" seems to concern itself only with impressions of things and people that engaged an attention which, though an alert one, is, probably because it is so alert and on the *qui vive* for novelty, very vagrant, capricious, and rarely profound. All the sleepless, unceasing reception of the outside world, the big, unobtrusive part of consciousness, which establishes one's outlook and which, something like a background, relates the novel incoming impressions, is left out altogether. It may be answered that the presence of this background is unnecessary, explicitly, that it can be discovered in a consistency among the novel impressions themselves, that by this discoverable consistency hangs the substance of the tale we are told. But I cannot discover a consistency in "Backwater"; I cannot integrate the general from such an incoherent collection of particulars, in Philistine language, I cannot make head or tail of it.

Nor do the particulars in themselves strike me as either beautiful or important, they are often shallow, and—for instance, in the conversations—are lazily dependent for their appreciation upon one's finding either interest or amusement in a manner of speech no more beautiful than Esperanto and less commendable because it is without the latter's altruistic motives. Intimacy can be bought too dearly, and there is, to my mind, a decadent quality in a gibberish which isolates a small group of people from their fellows and makes admission to their circle really a frightening prospect. Here is one melancholy example of that chique-egoism which, by the way, in asking for a special piece of music to be played, calls for "that thing of Beethoven."

"This kind of reference to art, which is intended to convey to outsiders that the speaker is so familiar with its mysteries that he or she is inevitably allusive and offhand, actually does convey the impression that the person in question belongs to a tight little mutual admiration coterie whose common bond is the conviction, or pretence, that they are the people who really *know*!"

"When the last gently strung notes had ceased, she turned from her window and found Harriett's near eye fixed upon her, the eyebrow travelling slowly up the forehead.

" 'Wow,' mouthed Miriam.

"Harriett screwed her mouth to one side and strained her eyebrow higher

"The piano introduction to the Cavatina drowned the comments on the guest's playing, and the family relaxed once more into listening.

" 'Pink anemones, eh?' suggested Miriam softly

" Harriett drew in her chin and nodded approvingly

" 'Pink anemones,' sighed Miriam."

One is tempted to wonder what effect "blue hyacinths" would have had upon the mobile countenance of Harriett!

I C. W.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

INDIA

In an editorial on "The Public Service Commission," the *Madras Weekly Mail* of August 25 states

"While it is desirable and inevitable that more and more Indians should enter the higher grades of the public services, the main line of advance, in seeking to gratify the perfectly natural aspirations of the educated classes, should, we think, be through legislative bodies, where arguments in favour of representation have a force they do not possess when applied to the executive. The expanded Legislative Councils have more influence than their predecessors; in course of time they will have yet more. No changes in the conditions under which the public services are recruited can ultimately do so much for the realization of the legitimate hopes of educated Indians as the increase of their power to influence policy. That is why exaggerated stress should not be laid on the public services question in its political aspect. From the point of view of administrative efficiency, however, methods of recruitment and conditions of source are of great and obvious importance. The smallness of the administrative body renders it necessary to secure the best possible material, European and Indian, to train it most carefully, and to use it to the utmost advantage. How far the findings of the Commission will assist in realizing that ideal we cannot at present judge. There is, all will agree, some room for improvement, though, on the whole, the administration of India is extraordinarily efficient. When the report does appear, we shall test it first by reference to the question how far its recommendations are likely to promote administrative efficiency, and shall regard its bearing on the racial composition of the public services as a subsidiary matter. We fear, however, that some of our Indian friends may find it difficult to adopt such a standpoint towards the report. We shall well understand their difficulty, but we would appeal to them to remember that the first business of administrative bodies is to be thoroughly capable of administration, and not to be exactly representative of the various classes of the people."

LOYAL BENGAL

H E the Governor held a Durbar on the evening of August 23 at the New Government House, Decca, and in the course of the address said (*Statesman*, August 25)

"Bengal is loyal Of that I feel sure I would go further I would say she is more loyal to-day than she ever was before to our King-Emperor, for there are more Bangalis to-day than there ever were before who can give a reason for their loyalty, who feel that in being loyal to King George they are also being loyal to their motherland There was a time when there were some—I do not believe there were ever very many, but they were an appreciable number of earnest, patriotic Bangalis—who honestly believed that they could serve their country best by trying to do harm to England There may be a few who think so yet, but they are very few, and of those few, most, I believe, only think as they do because of ignorance As they grow older and wiser they will change their minds as others have done They will learn, if they really love their country, to give up what more than anything else is hurting their country "

INDIAN INDUSTRIES

The *Times of India* (August 19) declares in a leading article

"We are all talking of the industrial development of India, few pay much attention to the great question how this development is to be financed Those who do consider it are much too apt to fall back on the amazing expedient that these industries are to be financed by the Government It seems to us that the real solution is obvious. Even if foreign capital were available, we ought to use the resources of India to the full Inasmuch as the supply of foreign capital is bound to be less abundant and more expensive than in the past, the necessity of developing our money power is more than ever apparent That can be done only by the improvement of our credit machinery, and the bringing of banking facilities to classes of people who have hitherto stood aloof, this is a work which in the main should be done by the swadeshi banks "

VENEZELOS

Writing in the *Temps*, M Joseph Reinach makes the following exposition of the character of the great statesman

"He loves power not for its paltry enjoyment, but as being one of the great levers with which the world is moved, it is not the want of astuteness that can be laid to his charge But Venezelos has always wished to be Venezelos, and so he has remained His character has remained in its entirety, with what it stands for intact The honest man does not lie, the honest man does not flatter, the honest man does not employ artifice with what is to his hand, the honest man does not involve himself in compromise, the honest man speaks the whole of his mind That is Venezelos in his public career "

GREECE'S MISSION

Writing in the first issue of the *Journal des Hellènes* (Geneva), Jean Hadzipetros, correspondent of *La Roumanie*, declares:

"The heroic example of Serbia has shown once more what the moral energy and loyalty of the soul can achieve in strengthening a small body, however weak and however often tried. When the whole world is fighting for justice and for right, for civilization against barbarism, for liberty against bureaucracy, you " (referring to certain politicians in Greece) "have bowed down before the allies of the deadly enemies of your race, your daily work has led to sapping the confidence of the people, and you have brought Greece, your victim, to this pass, that she assist at her own destruction."

THE SITUATION IN SERBIA

In the issue No. 18 of *La Serbie*, edited by Dr. Marcovitch and published in Geneva, it is stated:

"Sad news keeps coming to us from Serbia. The military Government is proceeding to internments *en masse* of Serbian families, including women and children. This illegal action, which is contrary to all international law, is rendered the more inhuman by the fact that the population, according to the confessions of the Austrian officials themselves, is maintaining an absolutely correct attitude, and avoids everything that might justify such misdeeds. . . . They must not forget either at Vienna or at Budapest that the Allies will know how to lay hands on the guilty ones and punish them according to their deserts."

COMMERCIAL NOTES

AFTER THE WAR

1. RUSSIA

THE following extract from a paper read by Baron de Heyking, Imperial Russian Consul-General, before the London Chamber of Commerce, will also be of interest to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* :

"Probably the penalization of enemy goods by our Alliance and the analogous principle of the Zollverein of the Central European States will lead to a war of tariffs where the chances of success seem to be on our side, for the following reasons :

"Before the outbreak of the war Germany imported from the States of our Alliance, and especially from Russia, an enormous amount of raw products for feeding her manufacturing industries, and chiefly owing to the imports she was able to 'lood the markets of the world with her manufactures. It is only necessary to stop that supply of material in order to curtail her industrial and commercial competition in the world's markets. Again, Germany, as the middleman of Europe in the sale of a great quantity of Russian goods, has grown fat on more or less objectionable manipulations of these goods, which she afterwards re-exported with great profit. We need only prohibit this sort of handling of our goods in order to deal a serious blow at the economic interests of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

" But the chief reason for assuming that all the chances lie on our side in a case of a tariff war between two groups of allied States is found in the economic superiority of Great Britain and her Allies. Our Alliance comprises 786 millions of inhabitants, while that of the enemy alliance represents only 146 millions. Neutral States are inhabited by 693 millions, so that the population we represent is nearly equal to that of the enemy alliance and the neutral States taken together. If one realizes that each man represents a certain purchasing power, it would appear that our Alliance is economically infinitely stronger than the opposite one. If we take as a test the development of the railway system, it appears that we are also much stronger than our opponents. The Alliance has 382 thousand kilometres of railways, while the opposing party has only 120 thousand kilometres. The commercial fleet representing export power reveals striking features to our advantage. Our Alliance is represented by 16 million tons, while the opposite alliance can only show $3\frac{1}{4}$ million tons. The statistics referring to the foreign trade give, on the side of the Alliance, taken as a whole, 102 milliards of francs, while the opposing alliance can only boast of a total value of 34 milliards of francs of her foreign trade. During the last year of peace, 1913, the total amount of trade between Great Britain, her Colonies, and her Allies exceeded nearly four times the total amount of Great Britain's trade with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. Adding the amount of Great Britain's trade with neutral States, it appears that the interests involved in trade, which according to the afore-mentioned scheme would enjoy a preferential treatment in Great Britain, are immeasurably greater than those of her trade with enemy countries. Great Britain has therefore little to fear from a breach in her trade relations with these latter countries.

" In the case of Russia, the relation between the two groups of trade is different. Russia's trade with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, taken as a whole, consider-

ably exceeds her trade with her Allies. In the case of Russia the problem of introducing tariff differentiations in accordance with the origin of goods from Allied, neutral, or enemy countries therefore presents itself as a much more complicated matter than it is in the case of Great Britain. Moreover, the geographical position of Russia as a neighbour of Germany and Austria-Hungary makes it even more difficult to reckon with the consequences of barring all her western frontier to commercial communications. Russia can hardly be expected to erect an unsurpassable barrier of thousands of miles against her western neighbours, with whom she entertained in the time of peace the closest of commercial relations. If such were interrupted, Russia would hardly be in a position to place all that immense quantity of corn and other products which she used to export annually into Germany and Austria-Hungary upon other markets of Allied or neutral countries, where she would have to meet the opposition of other corn-growing countries.

"The geographical proximity of the enemy countries makes it possible for her to export her products thither under more favourable conditions than to countries over the seas, the more so as freights are bound to remain on a high level for some time to come, owing to the shortage of shipping. Russia has, therefore, much more to lose and is in a much less advantageous position than Great Britain with regard to a possible tariff war with enemy countries.

"But this will scarcely hamper her in adopting the same kind of differentiation in her customs tariff as that of her Allies. The suggestion of a commercial agreement with her Allies on the afore-mentioned lines has awakened an enthusiastic response in Russia, although the degree of preferential Customs treatment which Russia would be prepared to give the imports from Allied and neutral countries has not yet been definitely fixed. But the possibility of a commercial agreement between our Allies has already been seriously considered as being in political and economic interests of all the prospective contracting parties."

2. ROUMANIA

"The Allies decide to take the necessary steps without delay to render themselves independent of the enemy countries in so far as regards the raw materials and manufactured articles essential to the normal development of their economic activities."

Since this resolution was passed at the Economic Conference of the Allies, another Power has thrown in her lot with the Allies. An examination of the Trade Returns of Roumania previous to the war give eloquent testimony of the necessity of far-reaching changes.

Roumania is a country which has two exports of world importance: (1) Grain; (2) Petroleum. In return for these commodities she imports a very large number of manufactured goods, which, as statistics will show, have been imported to a very large extent from enemy countries. Moreover, while the trade of the Allied countries showed a tendency to decrease—viz., in 1904 (England, France, and Russia) 22·81 per cent., in 1912 22·45 per cent., and in 1913 17·43 per cent., the enemy countries have been able to more than maintain their position of having the lion's share of the imports—viz. (Germany, Austria, and Turkey), in 1904 62·3 per cent., in 1912 61·79 per cent., and in 1913 66·32 per cent. It might have been expected that having regard to this great advantage in their exports to Roumania, the enemy countries would in their turn take a large number of the exports from Roumania. This has not proved to be the case. The Entente countries above mentioned in 1913 took 16·71 per cent., and the enemy countries instead of something approaching 60 per cent.—in fact, only 27·59 per cent. Germany imported in 1913 goods to the value of 52,000,000 francs, which represented 7·81 per cent. of all Roumania's exports, and exported to Roumania nearly five times as much—namely, 237,819,146 francs, or 40·31 per cent.

These statistics are sufficient to prove that the enemy

countries had before the war a wholly disproportionate share of the export trade to Roumania, and took nothing like a proportionate amount in return. Also, they were able to recover at once from the depression of 1912 consequent upon the Balkan War, whereas the Entente countries dropped in their percentage of export to Roumania from 22·54 per cent. to 17·43 per cent., and England lost nearly 33,000,000 francs of these exports between 1912 and 1913.

We may now briefly examine what were the nature of the goods exported by the enemy countries, to find some indication of what Roumania will require for her normal needs after the war, a great percentage of which, according to the Paris resolution, will not after the war be obtainable from the Central Powers.

The most important export from Germany to Roumania comes under the general heading of metals, of which she sends in one form and another 89,634,608 francs' worth, or five times as much as England. Seventeen and a half millions came in the form of armaments, which before the war Roumania was in the habit of ordering from the Central Powers. But this leaves at least seventy millions' worth, which we may assume to have been not for warlike purposes: surely a very large margin for recapture after the cessation of hostilities. Thus rails for railways used to be imported almost entirely from the Central Powers, and Austria, apart from Germany's trade, exported metals to the value of nearly 30,000,000 francs. Zinc, lead, and copper, are metals in which the Central Powers had a virtual monopoly.

The next most important import from Germany was machinery, to the amount of 35,000,000 francs, to 3,000,000 francs from England. Germany and Austria together sent her 5,000,000 francs' worth of agricultural machinery, and England only one and a quarter million francs' worth. As Roumania is chiefly an agricultural country, it may well be assumed that this item will be regarded as one of which the

supply should not come from enemy countries. The Central Powers also supplied under this heading 5,500,000 francs' worth of steam-engines, 2,000,000 francs' worth of petrol-engines, 7,000,000 francs' worth of electrical engines, as well as 7,000,000 francs' worth of electric cables.

The two items next in importance for the trade to be captured from the Central Powers are wool and vehicles.

Germany exported 14,000,000 francs' worth and Austria 9,500,000 francs' worth of woollen goods, while England only sent 4,309,226 francs' worth. Of the other countries it may be noted that Turkey exported to her woollen goods to the value of 1,000,000 francs. The vehicles referred to are chiefly tanks for the transport of Roumanian oil, which we may expect the Roumanian authorities to obtain in future from elsewhere, in view of their vital importance for the oil-trade. Under the same heading come motor-cars from Germany for 4,000,000 francs, and accessories for same for 500,000 francs. It would appear that English motor-cars did not have a good market in Roumania before the war; and the same may be said of bicycles, of which 60,125 came from Germany to the value of 1,000,000 francs, and 101 from England.

In the matter of cotton, England supplied in the year 1913 (to which all these figures given apply), 18,562,508 francs' worth, Austria 17,174,871 francs' worth, and Germany 13,093,570 francs' worth. Particularly printed cotton is supplied by the Central Powers to the extent of 6,500,000 francs' worth.

We now come to leather goods.

Here Germany supplied 10,489,392 francs' worth, Austria 7,011,311 francs' worth, and England 1,265,148 francs' worth. Tanned skins were sent by the Germans to the amount of four and five-sixth million francs, and 1,000,000 francs' worth of undried skins. England of the latter sent only 150,000 francs' worth.

Under the general heading of "Confections," we find that Germany sent nearly all the jute sacks, an export in

which the English returns have been steadily falling; while nearly 10,000,000 francs' worth of chemicals came from the Central Powers to only 2,231,041 francs' worth from England. In this connection it may be of interest to state that Germany sent practically all the sulphuric acid and Austria the tartaric acid, while England supplied the copper sulphate and caustic soda.

In the silk industry Germany exported 4,625,589 francs' worth, Austria 3,149,829 francs' worth, France 4,442,704 francs' worth, England 685,216 francs' worth.

The cigar and cigarette trade is practically entirely in the hands of enemy countries, and in such matters as tea, Germany supplied 111,569, Holland 94,359, England 50,178, Austria 42,823 francs' worth. The last-mentioned country also supplies a great deal of the coffee. It is rather astonishing that in the fur trade Russia supplies 760 francs' worth, England 8,103 francs' worth, and Germany 1,421,323 francs' worth. To quote Baron de Heyking's words before the London Chamber of Commerce: "Germany, as the middleman of Europe in the sale of a great quantity of Russian goods, has grown fat on more or less objectionable manipulations of these goods, which she afterwards re-imported with great profit." Articles manufactured from wood are supplied by Austria to the amount of 13,149,288 francs; and by England for 414,061 francs. It is well known to what extent Austrian bent wood furniture has penetrated into the Balkans.

The rubber trade is largely controlled by German and Austrian merchants. Germany sent 119,208 tyres to England's 8,693; but we are glad to note that Russia sent a million francs' worth of goloshes and shoe-rubber, in which she leads.

The watch industry was chiefly in the hands of Germans, who sent nearly one and a half million francs' worth to England's 16,152, as well as nearly a million francs' worth of toys to England's 3,797.

An item which will obviously disappear from the Central

Powers' Credit Balance is explosives, of which Germany sent 18,000,000 francs' and Austria nearly 13,000,000 francs' worth. Roumanian taste for foreign literature may be gauged from the fact that 27 000 francs' worth of bound French books, 19,000 francs' worth of German bound books, and 2,000 francs' worth of English books, were imported in 1913.

In the matter of commercial catalogues—the importance of which in fostering trade relations cannot be over-estimated—Germany sent 17,632 issues to England's 838.

The above summary shows what a wide field for enterprise is open to us in Roumania, but we will not be able to take full advantage of the facilities accorded us if we do not adopt different methods for securing markets.

In the first place one of the great handicaps in our trade relations with Roumania was the freight charges. The Central Powers gave their exporters special facilities in that direction. We are assured that the cost of sending goods from Berlin to Bucharest by rail compares favourably with our sea traffic. To this must be added the advantage of greater celerity. In fact, railway transport was so well and so cheaply organized that little recourse was taken to river transport on the Danube. A prime necessity after the war will be a regular service of steamers from English and French ports to Constanza; as also from Egypt and India.

Secondly, an early adoption of the metric system for weights and measures, or at any rate the quotation for goods in that manner, is stringently necessary. To this may be added a regular system of catalogues printed in the Roumanian language for the use of our Roumanian customers. In the figures quoted above we have already had occasion to point out how Roumania before the war had been flooded by German catalogues. At the same time it would be necessary to send carefully chosen commercial travellers to study the conditions of the Roumanian market, the needs and customs of the people. In the matter of

clothing for peasants, the Roumanians favour gaudy-coloured apparel, which is not usually manufactured in this country, and was therefore supplied, in accordance with the reports of their representatives, by the enemy countries. Again, it will be found that the Roumanians prefer a system of credit; and we must make up our minds that if we are to make our goods acceptable to them we must assist in doing so by adopting their system of payment. It is now well known and realized in many quarters how much German banks, and Roumanian banks controlled by German money, were able to foster German trade. These banks were able to advance suitable sums to intending German traders, invite the opening of Roumanian accounts from those who were themselves Roumanian merchants, offering special facilities and rates, and give at a moment's notice reliable information about the credit and standing of any proposed buyer of German goods. Also the free employment of the "Delcredere" commission system, with very low percentages, enabled merchants in a small way of business to embark on even larger undertakings.

It is notorious that the reason why the Germans succeeded in capturing the market for agricultural machinery was not the quality of the goods offered, nor even their price, but the easy instalment systems of payment. And what is true of agricultural machinery may be applied to other goods as well. It is hoped in the commercial columns of a subsequent issue to deal more fully with some of the points raised in this paper.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr Amberson B Marten, Barrister at Law, to be a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Bombay, in succession to the late Sir Dinshah Davar

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal, in succession to Nawab Saiyid Shams-ul Huda, whose term of office will expire next April.

LONDON THEATRES

"The Professor's Love Story" By J M Barrie

Needless to say, the interest of this revival centres round the interpretation of the rôle of the absent minded Professor Goodwillie, so superbly made by Mr H B Irving

It is the fate of many to fall in love, and be in that state for quite a considerable time with the knowledge of all except themselves. But we are assured that a professor takes a longer time to make this discovery than any other man. We are also asked to believe that a young Dowager Lady Gilding tries to make the cap fit her own head, though, of course, the Professor had from the start destined it for his lady secretary. The Dowager Lady is undeceived when she espies him carrying the object of his affections in a pseudo fainting condition to the stream. When she employs the same stratagem, he all unsexing leaps over her prostrate form. There is his sister, who does not approve of the match. But it all comes right in the end. Effic, his maid, is courted by two canny Highlanders, and their rivalry offers an added humorous element. Miss Fay Compton as the secretary, and Mr E Holman Clark as the Professor's doctor and general vade-mecum, call for special mention in a caste that is in every way commendable.

CORRESPONDENCE

'A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR'

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

With the greatest interest we have read in the last issue of THE ASIATIC REVIEW the excellent article by Mr Francis P Marchant, "Bohemia, her Story and her Claims" The author is well known in Prague, which he visited several times, and where he is highly esteemed He knows this land, which in the present struggle suffers silently under the brutal yoke of the Magyars and Germans, under which an open revolt is impossible The war declared, on the clumsiest pretext, on little Serbia by Austria-Hungary, found its strongest opponents in Bohemia For fear of the opposition of the Czechs, Austria did not dare to convoke her Parliament The voice of her oppressed nations must not be heard in Europe And yet, since the beginning of the war, the Austrian Government has done everything in its power to mislead public opinion in foreign countries as regards the state of mind of the Czechs and Slovaks Discredited individuals were bribed to arrange loyal demonstrations This was used in neutral countries as evidence of the perfect unity of the Austrian nationalities.

But what is the true situation in Bohemia?

The prisons in Bohemia are full of political victims, and the executions of patriots are innumerable Only some few representatives of our nation have contrived to escape to foreign countries, to acquaint Europe with the aspirations, the sympathies, and the efforts of our people, to recall them to the memory of our natural friends, and to prevent the Allies from abandoning us after the war to the terrible vengeance of the Hapsburgs. Our soldiers on the battlefields of Serbia and Galicia, our politicians at home, our emigrants in the munition factories of the United States, the members of our colonies in France, England and Russia, fighting in the armies of the Allies, have done their utmost to contribute to the Victory of Right.

Therefore, the creation of an Independent Bohemia will be not only a reward to the Czechs and Slovaks, who are working hard for the cause of Liberty and Justice, but it will be of the greatest value to the Allies as the only effective barrier to the German expansion towards Egypt and India

A MEMBER OF THE LONDON CZECH COMMITTEE.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

CINEMATOCGRAPH battle scenes have received official benediction. "The Battle of the Somme" film was shown to the public with warm approval and hearty recommendation from the Minister of War. His Majesty the King-Emperor has since commended it to his people as showing something of the reality of war. Now India's turn has come, and the remarkable pictures obtained by Mr. H. D. Girdwood, B.A., F.R.G.S., Geographer and Historical Photographer to the Indian Government, were inaugurated by the Secretary of State for India at the West End Cinema Theatre, Coventry Street, London. Before the pictures were thrown on the screen Mr. Chamberlain paid enthusiastic tribute to the response of the princes and people of India to the call of the King-Emperor, and to the heroism of Indian soldiers on many battle fronts—France, East Africa, Mesopotamia, Gallipoli, and Egypt—in circumstances which were new and strange, and different from anything they had ever experienced. At the same time, India had her own cares and dangers to foresee and meet. Speaking of the Mesopotamian campaign, and expressing regret that the heroic efforts of the relief force could not reach Kut in time to rescue the garrison, he expressed the belief that Mesopotamia sometimes bulked too largely in the public eye as India's contribution to the great struggle. "No one can understand the contribution India has made to the defence of our common interests," he said, "unless they realize that the effort in Mesopotamia, great as it has been, is but one of many undertakings to which India has contributed—one of many campaigns in which her troops have borne a glorious part." He pointed to the fellowship established between comrades in arms, instancing the famous Anzac Corps and the Indian soldiers who fought with them in Gallipoli. "I hope," he added, "that with such results as these, the war will arouse throughout the whole Empire a keener interest in the country which has given us so largely and so readily, and will secure for Indian aspirations a new sympathy in all parts of the King-Emperor's dominions." Mr. Chamberlain's tribute to India, to her princes, people, and soldiers, and to the daring and devoted work of Mr. Girdwood in securing such important and remarkable pictures, was received with approval, and three cheers were given for India.

Mr. Girdwood's story of how he obtained his pictures was of thrilling interest, it was told with the utmost simplicity and devoted and affectionate recognition of the fatherly way in which Sir James Willcocks has treated him for many years. It was through the kindness of General Willcocks that Mr Girdwood was able to visit the front line trenches, within eighty yards of the Germans, and set his camera up in a tree. The enemy got the range exactly, branches and leaves of the tree were shot down as Mr Girdwood worked, but he did not give in until he had secured his pictures. Writing to the cinematographer, a few days before the pictures were exhibited in London, Sir James Willcocks said "It will be very interesting to see the films, 'With the Empire's Lighters,' especially those taken when you accompanied me to the front trenches. I think you were lucky to have saved them, as you and your camera had some pretty close shaves, and might have been knocked out altogether. I must say your determination to get a good film was the chief cause of the Germans spotting you, and they, as usual, took full advantage of it. I hope the dirt thrown up by the bullets did not spoil any part of the originals."

The pictures have a special interest because they were taken, as Mr. Chamberlain pointed out, at a time when there was strict censorship of literary and pictorial representations of the doings of the troops. Indian soldiers figure largely in the long films, but British soldiers are also seen nobly playing their part. Among the scenes represented are Sir James Willcocks setting forth with his Staff for the trenches, examining machine-gun emplacements manned by Dogras and Indian cavalry, inspecting a battle-scarred Gurkha regiment just out of the trenches, Indian cavalry executing a great move, the Jodhpur Lancers going into action, Jacob's Horse moving up for a great offensive, a busy day at General Rimmington's Cavalry Corps headquarters, and a specially notable picture, Gurkhas charging and clearing a German trench, storming the second line, and consolidating the captured trenches. Scenes of a different character were also included: life in billets, the Sikhs chanting hymns, the Gurkha pipers playing "La Marseillaise" to French villagers, football between a signal company and Gurkhas, tent pegging, trick riding, wrestling bareback on regimental transport mules, the arrival of the mail, Gurkha transport leaving for the trenches, Garwalis on Lt Bassce Road, marching to the trenches, Pathans returning, examination of gas helmets after an attack, inspection on Gurkhas and kukris by General Willcocks. One of the most interesting pictures of British troops showed the King's Dragoon Guards getting their machine-gun and ammunition across a river by means of an aerial line, and other pictures showed the good fellowship existing between British and Indian troops in France. There were pictures of the veteran Sir Pertab Singh, the Maharajah of Barwani, the Prince of Karpurthala, and a Prince of Cooch Behar. Mr. Girdwood had special permission to secure films of H R H the Prince of Wales, and excellent results were obtained. His camera was armoured with brass and was struck more than once. Telling of the nerve-racking roar of shells, great and small, from both sides, of the setting up of the camera in a funk-hole, of being sniped at and shelled, Mr. Girdwood gave his experience of coming under fire for

the first time Under a deluge of German bullets he managed to complete a roll of film in the camera, and then sat down behind a line of sandbags, clapped his hands with glee that he had undergone the baptism of fire and emerged safely

The films, which are entitled "With the Empire's Fighters," are shown only at the West End Cinema Theatre.

The month of October sees the revival of the lecture season, and the coming months promise much of Eastern and Western interest

At KING'S COLLEGE (University of London) the School of Slavonic Studies opens on Thursday, October 5, at 5 p.m., with the first of a course of five lectures on Serbia and Bulgaria, on Tuesday, October 10, at 5 p.m., the first of a course of ten lectures on "A Sociological Introduction to the Study of the Slav Nations," by Professor T. G. Masaryk, Ph.D., of Prague, member of the Austrian Parliament On Friday, October 13, "Roumania and Transylvania" will be the subject of Dr. R. W. Seton Watson's lecture at 5 p.m. At the opening service of the session in the College Chapel the sermon will be preached by the Rev. Father Nicholas Vilimirovic, of the University of Belgrade Classes in Russian will be conducted by Professor Michael V. Prokofiev, and in Serbian by S. Iuric, there will also be classes in Bulgarian and modern Greek. A course of six public lectures will be given on Wednesdays at 5.15 p.m., commencing in October, on "The University and the Nation," by well-known public men, including Dr. Burrows, Principal of the College, Professor Fisher, of Sheffield, and Professor Graham Wallas The inaugural lecture by the new Cervantes Professor of Spanish, Professor J. Fitzmaurice Kelly, will be given on Wednesday, October 11, at 5.15 p.m., and the chair will be taken by His Excellency the Spanish Ambassador, Senor Don Alfonso Merry del Val

At the LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (University of London), Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C., the following public inaugural lectures will be given "The Education of the Citizen after the War," by Mr. Mackinder, on Thursday, October 5, at 8 p.m., Mr. Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., in the chair, "The War and the Need for Social Training," by Miss Violet Markham, on Friday, October 6, at 5 p.m., Mr. Frank Morris in the chair, "Imperial Trade Routes," by Professor Sargent, on Friday, October 6, at 8 p.m., Professor Wyndham Dunstan, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute, in the chair, "The Study of Military and Naval History from Original Sources," by Mr. Hall, on Monday, October 9, at 5 p.m., the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, LL.D., M.V.O., in the chair, "Reconstruction in Britain after 1815," by Professor Graham Wallas, on Monday, October 9, at 8 p.m., the Rev. Professor Alfred Caldecott, DD., D.D., in the chair, "War as a Factor in the Economic Development of Modern Europe," by Dr. Knowles, on Tuesday, October 10, at 8 p.m., W. A. S. Hewins, M.A., M.P., in the chair. There will be a course of three lectures on "Prize Law and Prize Courts,"

by Professor Sir John Macdonell, on Thursdays, at 5.30 p.m., in Michaelmas Term, beginning November 16. Admission by ticket to be obtained on application to the Secretary.

The CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 22, Albemarle Street, W., will open its Session on Wednesday, October 11, at 4.30 p.m., when Mr. H. Charles Woods will lecture on "The Salomika Campaign."

— — —

The ORIENTAL CIRCLE OF THE LYCEUM CLUB, 128, Piccadilly, W., has arranged a lantern lecture by Professor T. W. Arnold on "Persian Painting," on Friday, October 20, at 4 p.m. On November 2 the Circle will join with the Geographical Circle in a lecture on "Armenia," by a lecturer just arrived in London from the Caucasus. On December 6 the two Circles unite again for a lecture by Dr. Flinders Petrie on "The Formation of the Nile Valley."

— — —

The BUDDHIST SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 43, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W., holds public meetings every Sunday at 6.30 p.m., when some aspect of Buddhism is the subject for consideration.

— — —

One of the smaller organizations, doing excellent work in a very quiet way, is the Distressed Students' Aid Committee, which has its local habitation at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington. Its fifth report has just been published, and shows how carefully it carries out its objects, which are to assist deserving cases of temporary distress, to help with a loan if remittances are delayed, and to assist students who have no means of subsistence in this country to return to their homes. Sir James Wilson is Chairman of the Committee, and has taken a keen personal interest in its work since its inception. Owing to absence from England for some months in 1915, his place was taken by Sir Frederick Robertson. The Committee were without the services of Miss Beck (Hon. Treasurer) during her recent visit to India, but her place was taken by Miss Dora Dove, and Mr. N. C. Sen acted as Hon. Treasurer. Forty-nine new cases came before the Committee, to thirty-nine, and to four others who had had previous loans, help was given out of the general fund. Sometimes the Committee cables to parents or guardians in India, and this plan has resulted in several instances in money being sent by cable. On more than one occasion money has been advanced for examinations or "Call" fees when it could not arrive in time. The report mentions one pathetic case: the money was advanced, the student called to the Bar, his remittance received, the loan repaid to the Committee, and then he met his death on his way home on the ill-fated *Mulga*. In two instances the Committee was able to render valuable assistance when students had temporarily lost their reason. The advance in each case was repaid. In many cases loans are repaid, but sometimes they are irrecoverable. To meet these losses and to extend the scope of the work the Committee asks for generous subscriptions. On the outbreak of war the Secretary of State asked the

Committee to deal with cases of educated Indians, students, and others who found themselves in temporary pecuniary difficulties owing to the war and placed £500 at their disposal for this purpose. During the last two years sixty six cases have been helped the sum advanced amounting to £600 16s 10d, the excess over £500 being due to repayments being utilized for further loans. A large part has been repaid, and the Committee have repaid to the Secretary of State £150. If the outstanding advances are repaid they will be able to return to him the full amount, less very small office expenses. The work of the Committee is warmly commended to all who are interested in the welfare of Indian students.

In his presidential address at this year's meeting of the British Association at Newcastle, Sir Arthur J. Evans gave a most interesting and vivid account of the high early culture of Crete, the equal rival of that of Babylon and Egypt, which began to take its rise in the fourth millennium before our era. It flourished, he said, for about 2,000 years eventually dominating the Aegean and a large part of the Mediterranean basin. The many-storied palaces of the Minoan Priest Kings in their great days, by their ingenious planning, their successful combination of the useful with the beautiful and stately, and by their scientific sanitary arrangements, far outdid the similar works, on however vast a scale, of Egyptian or Babylonian builders. The same skilful and commodious construction recurs in private mansions and smaller dwellings throughout the island, and beautiful craftsmanship, unsurpassed in any age or country, was developed. Sir Arthur's description of the "modernness" of the life was both astonishing and amusing. He contrasted the ladies' flounced robes and animated gestures with the classical designs, and declared that not even at Pompeii have more living pictures of ancient life been called up than in the Minoan Palace of Knossos. In spite of the overthrow which befell the old Minoan dominion about the twelfth century before our era, and the onrush of the new conquerors from the north, much of the old tradition survived to form the base for the future of the later civilization of Greece. Through the darkness the lighted torch was carried on, the first glimmering of which had been painfully kindled by the old Cave dwellers in the earlier Palaeolithic world.

For the first time an Indian is assistant electrical engineer to the Corporation of the City of London. Mr. J. Khanna, BSC, MICE, was appointed to the position during the past summer. He has had wide experience, having studied at the University of Pittsburg, U.S.A., and worked for the Westinghouse Company. On the completion of his post-graduate course in advanced electrical engineering at the Imperial College of Science, London, he took up his present work, and is in charge of the meter department and testing laboratory. A. A. S.

On October 24 Miss F. R. Scatcherd is speaking on "Greece and the World War," Swiss Cottage Conservatoire, Hampstead, at 8.30.

H CHARLES WOODS ON THE BALKANS

SUMMARY OF A PAPER READ BEFORE THE GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION
OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT NEWCASTLE ON TYNE, BY
MR H CHARLES WOODS, ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1916
ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND LANTERN SLIDES

In the earlier part of his lecture Mr Woods gave an interesting description of the port and town of Salonika. Possessed of a small modern harbour, in one sense the place was completely materialistic and vulgar, whilst in another it has the appearance of being a sort of relic of the past. This, said Mr Woods, was in part due to the unique composition of its population. Out of a total of about 125,000 souls, approximately 75,000 were Jews. Besides these Hebrews there were about 15,000 Doummes—a sect whose exact beliefs were not properly known, and a sect from among whom the Young Turks recruited some of the ablest members of the Committee of Union and Progress. The Jews controlled the business of the city, and surpassed the Greeks in their commercial ability, as also in society.

Partly owing to its enclosed position, the heat in Salonika during June, July, August, and the first part of September, was intense, particularly at night. Mosquitoes were so numerous that it was advisable to sleep under nets almost throughout the year. Between September 10 and 15 the atmosphere was cooled by the heavy rains which invariably fall then. In the town there was seldom a heavy fall of snow, but in the hills it was prevalent in winter, when the roads were often stopped by it, and by the difficulty of fording the rivers when they were swelled by the winter rains or by the melting snows.

It was impossible to consider Macedonia as a concrete whole. Politically and geographically, it is divided into water tight compartments. It is a locality possessed of certain well defined routes which constitute natural lines of communication. The Vardar Valley, dividing East from West, and with the Morava Valley constituting the great highroad from South to North, make Salonika the natural port of a large area of the Western Balkans. The importance of the valley and of the port were interdependent, and it was for this reason that Salonika and its surroundings ought either to belong to the owner of this valley, or that the valley ought to be annexed by the owner of the port.

The whole military position at Salonika had been changed by the entry of Rumania into the war. The enemy's position in, and his communications by way of, Serbia and Bulgaria had at once been endangered. The Bulgarians had been obliged to take not merely precautionary measures on their northern frontier, but to immobilize a considerable force for its defence. In short, the enormous difficulty of making an Allied advance from Salonika must have been considerably lessened, and what had been impossible in the past might conceivably be feasible in the future.

RUSSIA

The Anglo-Russian Literary Society announces the following lectures for the first Tuesdays of the following months, at 3 p.m. at the Imperial Institute—viz., October 3, "Little Russia, the Bountiful" (limelight illustrations), by W. Barnes Stevens, November 7, "Growth of the Russian School of Music" (musical illustrations), by Mrs. Corelli Green, December 5, "Babylonia, its History, Language, and Literature," by the Rev. J. Stephenson, B.D. In February next Mr. Alan Lethbridge, an extensive traveller and popular author, will lecture on the famous Solovetzky monastery, on the White Sea. Both Mr. Stevens, a former correspondent for leading London journals and a well-known author and lecturer, and Mr. Stephenson have lectured before the Anglo-Russian Literary Society on former occasions. No. 75 of the Society's Proceedings will shortly be ready. His Grace the Duke of Newcastle has become a life member and member of the committee.

The membership of the Russia Society is daily increasing in numbers and influence, and its work is carried on with uninterrupted energy. The number of people in the United Kingdom who are learning Russian through its instrumentality now exceeds 3,000. The Board of Examiners appointed by the Society, in response to suggestions received from Eton College and other leading public educational institutions, and consisting of Professor Basil T. Timotheeff, Mr. D. Bondar, Mr. Aylmer Maude, Mr. Edward Bullough, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. W. A. Bulkeley-Evans, Mr. E. G. Underwood, Dr. John Pollen, Mr. F. A. Brayley Hodgetts, Mr. Alfred T. Davies, Mr. Benjamin Grad, and Mr. Leslie Urquhart (representing the "Public School Reform" Movement), promises to fulfil a great need for those learning Russian.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

The King's College Russian Society resumes its activity with the autumn session. The linguistic subsection will probably hold weekly meetings for literary discussions in Russian. Dr. John Pollen will lecture on Russian poetry in October, Mrs. Rosa Newmarch has promised a lecture on Russian paintings, Mr. Michael Trofimov, College Lecturer in Russian, will speak on Russian university and student life, Mr. Francis P. Marchant will speak on Petrograd. It is hoped that a concert will be arranged for December. His Excellency Count Bickendorff (Russian Ambassador), Baron Heyking (Russian Consul General), and Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, K.C.S.I., have accepted honorary membership.

Dr. Pollen spoke before the Lord Mayor and a distinguished audience at the Painters' Hall on September 28, and urged the use of Esperanto to facilitate the linking up of Russian and British trade after the war.

DOCUMENT

MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THE INDEPENDENT PRO-ENTENTE
PARTY

(TRANSLATED BY F. R. SCATCHERD)

[In view of the gravity of the present situation in Greece, the following Manifesto, drawn up by Dr Drakoules, the well-known Greek statesman, will be of general interest—A. R.]

"THE coming General Election in Greece is of exceptional significance. Its issue will determine whether the past efforts of the race for regeneration are to be confirmed or annulled. The people will now have to decide whether principles or persons are to be regarded as the guides of political and social life. It will have to decide whether Constitutionalism is to continue to be our system of government, or arbitrary monarchy is to be instituted.

"Democratic institutions are essential for a race like the Greek, which has always prided itself on being a vital factor in Human Progress.

"Have we now strength enough to prove that our past efforts have not been in vain, and that we are capable of building up a truer Hellenic character and forming a true Hellenic culture? If by these elections we show that we have reverted to the imperfections, condemned by the reforms of 1909, if we render it doubtful whether Constitutionalism be possible in Greece, then the elections will indicate that Hellenism is without a mission to the East—in fact, that it cannot survive. This danger must be averted by the result of the elections.

"More important still, Greece has now to decide whether she will identify herself with those principles of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, and fraternity—upon which mighty Powers like France and England are based, and by virtue of which principles Greece arose, as from the dead, with the assistance of just those same three Powers which to day constitute the Alliance for defending those very ideals to the inspiration of which we owe our resurrection.

"These next elections will show whether we really adhere to those principles, or are actuated by instincts of servility and submission to a

despotic system, such as Germany, together with Austria, and now with Turkey and Bulgaria, has been endeavouring to establish in Europe—a tyranny which aims at tearing up by the roots that liberty which is the very source of the strength of the Anglo French Democracy

"In these days of world conflict it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind that modern Hellenism owes its noblest impulses and its loftiest aspirations to the ideals of the Anglo French Democracy, also must it be remembered that on the triumph of that same Anglo French Democracy depend the permanent peace of Europe and the upliftment of the working classes

"We appeal to you to co-operate with us in averting the dangers threatening Europe and Greece We appeal to you to co operate with us either as a candidate or in any other way as supporters of this triple programme

"1 Abolition of personal parties

"2 Vindication of constitutional institutions.

"3 Co operation with the Allies with a view to the triumph of the people against the German menace, and the promotion of our national interests

"Nor must it escape the attention of the Greek people that when once the economic union of the Allies, and the neutral States adhering to them, is concluded, Greece will be in the most serious danger of being shut out from that union as a State foreign to Entente views

"We are fighting for principles, and we only represent persons so far as they promote the principles for which we are fighting

"Nevertheless, we recognize that the present King fills an exceptional position in the national ideology which makes us hope that he will prove that he really is that which he was popularly thought to be—an incarnation of the national spirit, and the best guarantee of Greek democracy. Only by consenting to act in the light of the national faith that Greece cannot live without England and France, but that she can live and even become great without Germany, can he fulfil his mission.

"I am,

"Yours sincerely,

"On behalf of the Committee,

"Athens, August 19, 1916.

"(Signed) P. E. DRAKOULES "

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

NOVEMBER 15, 1916

RUMANIA AND THE DANUBE

BY H. CHARLES WOODS

THE whole present position of Rumania, and the attitude of that country towards the war, depends largely upon various historical and diplomatic events which have taken place during the last few years. The country of King Ferdinand, the largest in and immediately connected with the Balkan Peninsula, is made up of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were formerly united in December, 1861. Although her final independence of Turkish suzerainty was recognized by the Treaty of Berlin, Rumania never played any serious rôle in Balkan affairs until 1910, when she was supposed to have entered into some kind of treaty arrangement with Turkey concerning her attitude in case of a war in the Near East. However this may be, and whatever that arrangement may have been, the army of King Carol did not take the field during the first Balkan War, and Rumania contented herself by obtaining compensation from Bulgaria. This compensation, which took the form of important rectifications on the southern frontier of the Dobrudja, and which included the cession of the town of Silistria by Bulgaria to Rumania, was agreed upon by the Protocol of Petrograd, signed by those two countries early in May, 1913.

Both from a larger European as well as from a local point of view, one of the most important results of the

second Balkan War was the new rôle entered upon by Rumania—a rôle which ever since has made the position of that country one of considerable significance in Europe. In addition to the fact that her action in invading Bulgaria was largely responsible for the result of the second Balkan War, the Government of the late King Carol was undoubtedly one of the prime movers in the so-called settlement arrived at by the Treaty of Bucharest, signed on July 25, 1913. Owing to the success of that country, and to the attitude taken up in connection with and towards it by Russia, there is no doubt that the hands of the Russo-ophile party in Rumania were considerably strengthened. This, coupled with the increasing friendship of Rumania for France, is largely responsible for the good understanding which gradually grew up between the former country and the Triple Entente—a good understanding which finally persuaded King Ferdinand, who was born a Hohenzollern, to throw off the Germanic yoke and enter the arena of war on the side of Liberalism, of justice, and of humanity.

From a purely internal point of view the second Balkan War meant that Rumania was increased in size from an area of just over 50,700 square miles to one of just under 53,500 square miles, and that her population of just over 7,230,000 souls was added to by about 280,000 inhabitants. This addition of territory gave to Rumania even more than that rectification of her Dobrudja frontier that she had wanted ever since the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, and secured to her a boundary which it was hoped that she would be able to defend against any advance from the south. Geographically, politically, and militarily this change so increased the size and the population of the Rumanian Dobrudja that, together with the development of the port of Constantza, the disadvantages of the possession of an area largely populated by Turks, Bulgars, Tartars, Jews, and other aliens might well have been counterbalanced had the outbreak of the European War not occurred before

Rumania had had time to reap the advantage of her new possessions.

I will now ask my readers to visualize the head and horns of a Highland bullock. Let us picture that bullock as turned towards the Black Sea with his head raised well towards the sky. There you have the shape of Rumania. The forehead of the creature is the Dobrudja, the northern or left horn is Moldavia, and the southern or right horn is Wallachia. The upper edge of these horns is formed by the Carpathians and by the Transylvanian Alps, the frontier running along the crest of these two ridges. The east or underneath part of the northern horn is the River Pruth, and the Kelia branch of the Danube is the northern or left edge of the forehead. The south or outer edge of the southern horn is formed by the River Danube, and the new frontier, running from near Turtukai on that river to the Black Sea, makes the southern extremity of the forehead.

Partly owing to this unique geographical position, for the most part on the north of the Danube, and, so to speak, wedged in between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Rumania forms a sort of link between East and West. Geographically it is usual to consider the country as situated without and to the north of the Balkan Peninsula, and for the above-mentioned reasons her interests may be called semi-Balkan and semi-international. As far as the first of these is concerned, the most important thing is that nothing should take place which would in any way threaten the general interests of Rumania, or so strengthen the position of her Balkan neighbours as to affect those interests. It is largely for these reasons that after the outbreak of the European War Rumania was compelled to adopt a waiting policy, and to take every precaution, in the hope of preventing Bulgaria from reoccupying the country which, as I have already said, changed hands after the Balkan Wars.

From an international point of view the foreign policy of Rumania has been, and is, bound up with the fact that

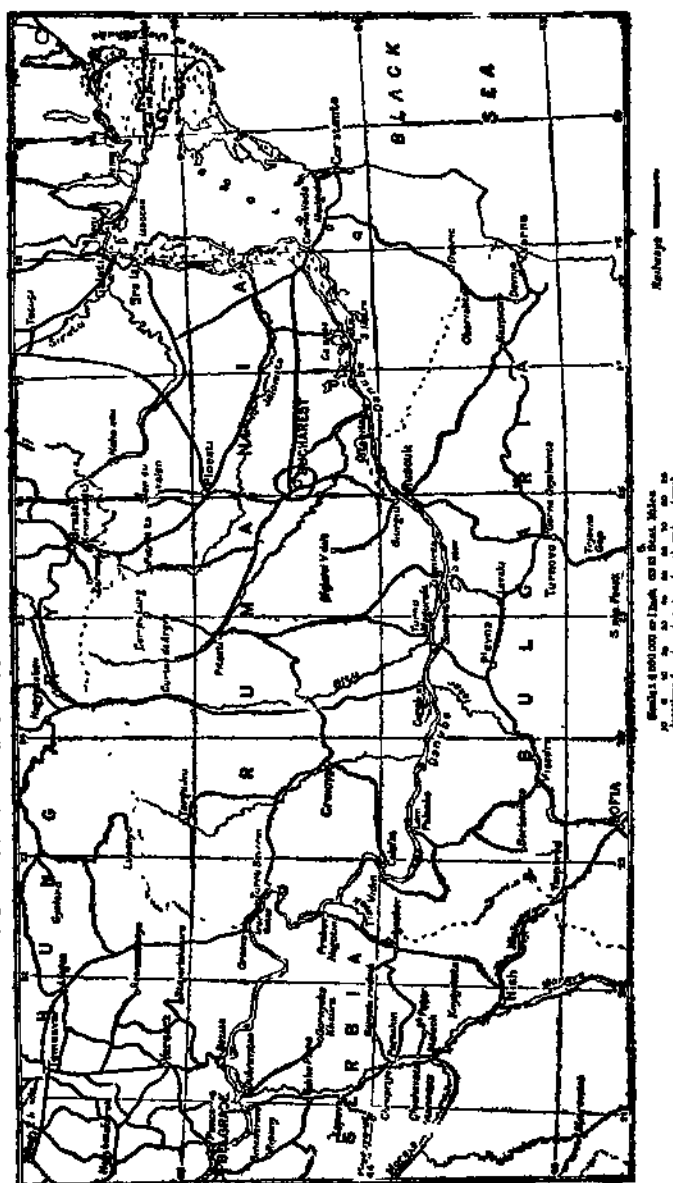
it is practically necessary for her to maintain good relations either with the Central Powers or with Russia, and that it was, and is, obviously desirable that her friends should be those destined to be the victors in the war. This is the case, partly because single-handed she was not in a position to go to war with a great Power, and partly because large numbers of Rumanians are domiciled in the Dual Monarchy and in Russia.

In Austria-Hungary there are reckoned to be nearly 4,000,000 Rumanians, the larger number of which live in Transylvania. On the other hand, about 800,000 Rumanians have their homes in Bessarabia, part of which was re-annexed by Russia after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. The real key to the situation, therefore, lies in the fact that the Rumanian Government has been, and is, compelled to adopt a far-seeing policy, destined, if possible to secure to it at least the ultimate possession of the above-mentioned Austria-Hungarian districts in which so many Rumanians are domiciled.

The geographical situation of Rumania makes her position of enormous significance in connection with the Danube. As I have already explained, that river, forming as it does the greater part of the southern frontier of Rumania, separates that country from the Balkan States by a natural barrier, the width of which is in many places much greater than that of either the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles.

Ignoring for the moment the international arrangements connected with the Danube—arrangements which may be interpreted in one way by lawyers and in another by belligerent states—this means that so long as Rumania was neutral, or so long as she is able to hold Wallachia, she holds the key, or at least the great part of the key, to an international highway of all-predominating importance. In order to understand the immense significance of that key, and the reasons for which the enemy are leaving no stone unturned to fight their way down to the northern bank of

THE LOWER DANUBE
THE RIVER AS A MEANS OF, AND OBSTACLE TO, COMMUNICATION



the Danube from the Transylvanian Alps and to push their way up to the southern bank of the Danube below Galatz, it may be interesting to reproduce here a few details connected with that river.

At Belgrade, located as it is about 110 miles to the west of Orsova and the Iron Gates, the river is nearly one mile wide, and with certain exceptions its general width between Vienna and the Iron Gates is from 650 to 2,000 yards at low river. From the Iron Gates, where the channel is only about 80 yards broad, the river widens out, and throughout its course to Braila its average breadth when the water is low is about half a mile. Above Turnu Severin barges and special river steamers, drawing up to 5 or 6 feet of water, are able to navigate the river at practically all times, except when it is stopped by the presence of ice. Between Turnu Severin and Braila there are about 12 feet of water, and between the latter place and the Black Sea, which section is under the Danubian Commission, a minimum depth of about 18 feet is maintained.

The above details are sufficient to prove the strategic significance of the Danube not only as a thoroughfare for traffic, but also as an obstacle to through communications between the north and south. No permanent bridges span the river between Pétervárad—a Hungarian town situated about forty miles north-west of Belgrade—and Cerno Voda in Rumania—that is, for a distance of nearly 600 miles. Thus, whilst eight more or less independent Rumanian railways run down to the northern bank of the Danube at seven different places, and whilst six Bulgarian lines approach its southern bank near five different towns, connection between these Bulgarian and Rumanian termini, which are for the most part situated almost opposite one another, is maintained solely by ferry-boats, which do not carry trains. Indeed, the only route by which the railway systems of the two countries are actually united is by way of a new line through the Dobrudja—a line which connects

Dobric with Midgidia on the Constantza-Bucharest railway, and a line which obviously proved of the most enormous importance and assistance to Mackensen's forces during their advance upon and to the north of Constantza.

The great Cerno Voda bridge is on the main line from Bucharest to Constantza, and therefore upon the route which in peace time is followed by the Oriental Express upon certain days in the week. Here a great viaduct—or more correctly a series of viaducts—cross the river and the low ground and marshes which border upon it. In addition to the supplemental sections, which have a length of nearly two miles, the bridge over the main bed of the river was not only more than 800 yards long, but the roadway was over 100 feet above the level of the water. Built by Rumanian engineers, at a cost of £1,400,000, and opened in September, 1895, this bridge constituted a possession of which the Rumanians might be justly proud. Indeed, its existence, as also that of the port of Constantza, which is now one of the most important on the Black Sea, was the cause for which the Rumanians desired to secure a properly defensive frontier on the south of the Dobrudja—a defensive frontier which, unfortunately, they have been unable to hold.

Personally I think ever since the enemy has realized that he could not bully Rumania into siding with him, and particularly since the entry of that country into the war, that Germany has had for one of her primary objects the occupation of both banks of the Danube. By the subjugation of Serbia, and by the co-operation of Bulgaria, the Central Powers secured full power over the southern bank of that river as far as a point situated a few miles to the east of Ruscuk. But even this did not give them that free use of the river which is so important both from a military and a strategical point of view. Moreover, so long as Rumania or Russia held both banks below the above-mentioned point, Germany was not able to utilize the Danube as a through means of communication between

Central Europe and the Black Sea. It is therefore largely with the object of trying to realize this advantage that the enemy is now endeavouring to push forward into Rumania from the north and west and through the Dobrudja, and therefore up to the mouths of the river from the south. The accomplishment of that object would not only give him a great alternative route to the main line between Belgrade and Constantinople, but it would also provide him with absolutely safe access to the numerous Bulgarian railways which lead up to the southern bank of the river.

The enemy has always prepared the way for his military action by the creation of a favourable diplomatic situation. Thus, when it became clear that the Allied attempts to secure the co-operation of Bulgaria last year had failed, the whole position in the Balkans, and particularly the situation of Rumania, became extremely complicated. The arrival at an understanding with Bulgaria would probably have meant the augmentation of the Allied armies by at east 1,200,000 men; 400,000 Bulgarians would have advanced into Turkey, and thus ended the Dardanelles' campaign in an Allied victory; 300,000 Greeks would have been available to take part in some campaign; 500,000 Rumanians would have been free to cross the Austrian frontier. As a result of the loss of Bulgaria, we not only at once became faced by a large Bulgarian army near Salonika, but the Rumanians, instead of being able to maintain a united front on the north and west, immediately became destined to be compelled to detach a considerable force for the defence of the Dobrudja.

This has placed upon Rumania a burden which she was not and could not well be in a position to bear. Her western and northern frontier may be protected by the Carpathians and by the Transylvanian Alps, but the length of that frontier is none the less about 400 miles. The defence of such a frontier, and of such a line of mountains, possessed as they are of numerous passes, must of necessity

occupy a force of very considerable size. Moreover, the movements of the Rumanian army, which has been in course of reorganization during the last few years, are hampered by the fact that the railway system of that country is much less complete and adequate than that possessed by the Germanic enemy. In spite of these and other disadvantages, now that the first onslaught has been so bravely met, it is to be hoped that our Russian ally, who has never failed in the hour of need, will be able to furnish the necessary reinforcements, and thus to come to the support of a country whose entry into the war, under very unfavourable conditions, certainly entitles her to expect that her great neighbour will leave no stone unturned to rush to her assistance in her hour of need.

ORIENTAL LIGHT CAVALRY

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE

Two thousand five hundred years have passed away since the prophet Habakkuk, his brain bursting with words inspired by the Divine afflatus and by inborn poetic fire, drew this graphic picture of the Chaldæan cavalry of his day: "Their horses also are swifter than leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves; and their horsemen spread themselves: yea, their horsemen come from far; they fly as an eagle that hasteth to devour." The vision of the Jewish seer and poet is prosaically reproduced in the language of the Gentile journalist* of 1916: "The mobility of the Arab cavalry, who ride light and are unsparing of their horses, is something outside experience. They are always hovering on our flanks, ready to take advantage of any accident or confusion by the way, and they follow like jackals in our rear." When Nabuchodonosor, King of Assyria, sent the chief captain of his army, Holofernes, against all the west country, a mission which cost the captain his head at the hands of Judith, Holofernes took with him "twelve thousand archers on horseback." We infer that the light cavalry of the Assyrian and the Chaldæan or Babylonian were but the precursors of the famous Parthian *cheval-légers* whom the Romans found to be such formidable foes. Canon Rawlinson, in his History of the Second of the Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, describes very clearly the seat and equipment of the early

* Mr. Edmund Candier.

Assyrian light horseman. He rides without saddle and stirrups; his chief weapon is the bow, though sword and shield are also carried; he has a mounted attendant who holds and guides his horse while he shoots; the archer's legs and feet are bare, and he sits his horse with the seat of a Tod Sloan, gripping the wither or the base of the neck between his knees. At a later period a pad or saddle-cloth is used by way of saddle, and the horse is so trained that the rider can shoot from its back at a stand or in motion, as he may wish. The Persians followed in the footsteps of their forerunners in the monarchy of the Middle East. Even to this day the Persians, like the Cossacks, are famous for their feats on horseback.* Just a century ago, a member of General Gardane's Embassy from France to the Court of Persia records that the chief strength of the Shah's army consisted in cavalry, which might be estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000 strong, and are divided into four great divisions, which, in their nomenclature, recall (I may add) the seven "Langues" of the Knights Hospitallers. The four divisions are known as (1) Turk zābān, (2) Kurd zābān, (3) Arab zābān, and (4) Lur zābān. Zābān means *langue*, or language. The writer, M. Tancoigne, adds: "Were it not for the pistol and carbine which some of them add to their otherwise antique equipment, they might still be mistaken for the Persians of the time of Xerxes and Darius. They are excellent for turning the flanks of an army, and in skirmishing."

When we turn to writers such as Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus† for some description of the mounted troops with which the earlier known Egyptian monarchs and the Kings of Persia carried out their extensive invasions and conquests,

* Curzon, "Persia," vol 1, chap xvii

† Barnabé Brisson, a prominent legal and political personage in France in the reign of Henri III, collected, in his treatise entitled "De Regio Persarum Principatu" (1st edit, Paris, 1591, pp 255-36 and 373-382), the tributes of Greek and Roman writers, from Herodotus to Herodian and even later, to the training and skill of the Persian as horseman and archer, and also "La Cavalerie des Anciens et la Cavalerie d'aujourd'hui," Paris, n. d. (circa 1825).

we find nothing definite about cavalry tactics. Numbers are given us—80,000 and so on—but more interesting than mere numbers is the statement that the Arabs were mounted, not on horses, but on camels as swift as horses. Most visitors to India are familiar with the magnificent *sandaks* of Jaisalmer and Bikaner. The Bikaner Camel Corps has already made its mark among the Imperial forces of the Crown.

When we turn to Xenophon, whose magnificent march to the Euxine, as one of the commanders of the immortal Ten Thousand, took place quite eighty years later than Xerxes' abortively offensive immigration of millions across the Hellespont, we find graphically described the treacherous approach, as the column was moving off from its camp, of Mithridates with his 200 troopers and 400 bowmen and slingers.* Suddenly horse and foot alike opened fire, and inflicted serious loss on the Greek rearguard, which was powerless to reply. In vain Xenophon, with a detachment of hoplites and peltasts, endeavoured to come to close quarters with them. The Persian horsemen kept up a discharge of arrows as they fell back before them, and the further the Greeks pursued, the further they had to fight their way back again. These Persian tactics on a plain are the precise counterpart of Pathan tactics in the Yaghistan of the North-West Frontier of India, the Persian being mounted and the Pathan on foot. And all that poor Xenophon got for doing his best under the circumstances was to be told by his elders that he had better have done nothing. "However," said Xenophon, "we have at least learnt a lesson; let us profit by it. Rhodian bullets are more than a match for Persian pebbles, and the pick of our transport animals will make capital cavalry remounts."† Within

* Xenophon, 'Anabasis,' iii 3

† Xenophon, "Anabasis," iii 3 The late General Sir John Luther Vaughan, whose distinguished services have been perpetuated in the nomenclature of the "58th Vaughan's Rifles" (a regiment which fought most gallantly in the trenches in North-West France), and who in August, 1880, accompanied, as special correspondent of *The Times*, Sir Frederick Roberts's march from Kabul to Kandahar, read in March, 1874, before the Royal United Service Institution, a paper entitled "The Retreat of

twenty-four hours a corps of 200 slingsmen and 50 horse was organized. This promptitude of action was the essence of that spirit which brought the Greeks safe through the very country in which British and Russian armies are now operating. The country lying between Ctesiphon on the Tigris, where a year ago General Townshend fought a stern battle against superior numbers, and Erzerum, near the source of the Araxes, which has fallen before the Russian army of the Caucasus, is the very scene of the memorable march, to the success and eternal fame of which Xenophon so signally contributed. The port on the Euxine from which the "Ten Thousand" took ship—Kotyora—is close to Trebizond, which has also now passed into Russian hands.

Three hundred and fifty years later, a Roman army challenged the Parthians, the then dominant race on the upper waters of the Euphrates and Tigris, and past-masters in the tactics which for centuries had distinguished the Mesopotamian light cavalry. If Mithridates harried the "Ten Thousand" with 200 horsemen, the General of Orodes met Crassus with two hundred times that number, or more—men who never closed with but unceasingly galled their enemy. These were backed up by a heavy cavalry armed with long pikes or spears and formed in a serried line which could carry all before them in a charge, or stand firm against a charge made upon them.* When Virgil (Georg. iv, 313-14) would find a

the Ten Thousand, a Military Study for all Time. He reproduces Xenophon's experience in these words: "Xenophon brought up the rear with a rear-guard composed of hoplites and peltasts, and a detachment of Cretan archers and javelin men. The rear-guard was harassed during the whole of this march by a body of Persian cavalry and light troops. The Greek light troops, overpowered by numbers were driven in. The Greek commanders devoted the night which followed to organizing a small body of fifty cavalry to replace the horsemen who had deserted after the battle, mounting them upon the spare horses belonging to the murdered Generals and other officers. They also induced some 200 Rhodians to form themselves into a body of volunteer slingers."

I think it necessary to say specifically that Xenophon mentions solely "*captured horses used for transport*." It is possible that General Vaughan borrowed his words from some loose translator or imaginative historian.

* Rawlinson, "Sixth Monarchy," pp. 160-61 *et seq.*

simile for a dense swarm of bees, he compares them to the first shower of arrows in a Parthian attack:

"aut ut, nervo pulsante, sagittæ
Prima leves meunt si quando prælia Parthi"

The light cavalry of Surenas buzzed round the army of Crassus, driving the Roman troops to desperation, inflicting much and incurring little loss. Finally, the Consul detached a mixed force 6,000 strong under his son Publius, with orders to charge the Parthians. He and his 6,000 were in the end surrounded and annihilated. The Parthians then returned to attack the main body under Crassus. "The mailed horsemen approached close to the legionaries and thrust at them with their long pikes, while the light-armed, galloping across the Roman front, discharged their arrows over the heads of their own men. The Romans could neither successfully defend themselves nor effectively retaliate."* Night alone brought relief, and then only till the morrow. Treachery set a coping-stone upon the Parthian victory, and of the 40,000 whom Crassus led across the Euphrates not 10,000 returned. Then, as now, the Bedouin was swift to side with the victor, and made the Romans in their retreat realize the bitterness of the Brennian cry, "*Vae Victis!*" In these days the failure of Crassus would have been cited as an additional proof that no man over sixty is fit to be a General, and the familiar passage from Disraeli's "*Coningsby*"—which, by the way, teems with misleading figures—would have been quoted with more unction than ever. Suwároff, Count von Moltke, and Lord Roberts are conveniently ignored. Our adversaries still show some reliance upon sexagenarians.

Again we leap over a period of 450 years, and find that under the Sassanian dynasty all is changed. "We hear nothing† during these centuries of those clouds of light horse

* Rawlinson, "*Sixth Monarchy*," p. 167

† Rawlinson, "*Seventh Monarchy*," p. 649. The opening chapter of Procopius's "*Persian Wars*" describes the light horse of the Eastern Roman Empire as well mounted and equipped, and, when galloping at full speed, using the bow effectively to front or rear. This was in Justinian's time. Gibbon, in his narrative of Julian's retreat, remarks (vol.

which, under the earlier Persian and under the Parthian monarchy, hung about invading or retreating armies, countless in their numbers, agile in their movements, a terrible annoyance at the best of times, and a fearful peril under certain circumstances. The only light horse of which we have any mention during the disastrous retreat of the Emperor Julian's army are the Saracenic allies of Sapor (Shah-pur)." We may add to this, on the authority of Professor Oman ("Art of War in the Middle Ages," iv. 2), that the Byzantine army contemporary with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia used heavy cavalry alone from the days of the Emperor Maurice to the fatal Battle of Manzikert. At this period the people who found in light cavalry the arm best suited to their nature and purpose were the nomad tribes that roamed over the country separating the Roman from the Persian Empire. The Bedouin Arabs of Mesopotamia were known as "Saraceni" to the Greek and Roman writers of the first century of the Christian era, if not earlier, and, as we shall see presently, it was these Arab nomads who inherited the tactics of the Persian and Parthian school, and handed them down even to the present day. Ducange provides us with three or four derivations* of the word "Saraceni," which are in every way worthy of mediæval etymology, but modern philological research has rightly, it is believed by many, traced it to the Arabic word شرق (shārk), which means "the East." "Saraceni" are nothing more or less, originally, than "men of the East"; and as the name was applied to nomad Arabs who infested the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire from Arabia and Egypt on the south to the upper waters of the Euphrates on the north, the derivation from the Arabic word signifying "East" cannot reasonably, one would think, be rejected.† But

iii., p. 210): "As the horsemen of the East were trained to dart their javelins and shoot their arrows at full speed, and in every possible direction, the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight."

* E.g., from Sara, wife of Abraham, and other equally fanciful sources.

† The Arabic plural of shārk is shārkīn, and dual shārkain. Saraceni, with the hard c, is a very natural Roman adaptation of the word.

although the Sassanian dynasty dispensed with the famous light cavalry, we have ample proof that the Persian nation never lost its skill in riding. Bahrām-i-Gur, the celebrated hunter of the wild ass, famed for its fleetness, was the *beau idéal* of the Persian hero and horseman; and Persia has, perhaps, a better claim than any country to the invention of polo, a game in which riding pure and simple plays a prominent part. I have vividly now before my eyes a painting in an old manuscript of Hafiz,* in which figure two or more mounted polo-players, with the legend in Persian: "Come on to the polo-ground, King of riders; strike the ball." The game is distinctly described in Chardin's "Voyages en Perse," Tome iii., p. 58 (4th edit., 1735), where testimony is also borne to the agility, suppleness, and nerve of the Persian horsemen.

In the seventh century of our era, the Sassanian dynasty of Persia fell before the Arabs,† and they in turn fell, in the eleventh century, before the Seljukide Turks. In the year 1071, at the Battle of Manzikert, between the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenes and the Seljouk Alp Arslan, the scene enacted at Carrhæ between Crassus and Surenas was repeated. Again the horse-archer harried the heavies, yielded before their advance, pressed upon them in their retreat, and practically destroyed the Byzantine army. It was with them that Godfrey de Bouillon and his companions

* The same, possibly, as is reproduced as frontispiece to the edition of the "Rubāiyāt" of Omar Khayyām and the "Salāmān and 'Absāl" of Jāmi, published by Bernard Quaritch in 1876. Salāmān is described (p. 68), amid his princely comrades, as the Prince of polo-players. See also the note on p. 110. Shirin and her ladies are represented in the Persian poets as playing polo against Khusrāu Parwiz and his courtiers. See Sir P. M. Sykes' "History of Persia," vol. i., pp. 508 and 527-28, and vol. ii., p. 141.

† Gibbon (vol. vi., p. 292) writes of the Arab army which defeated the Persians at Cadesia, A.D. 636: "Their (the Arabs') military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers." Mr. Ameer Ali, in his "Short History of the Saracens," specially mentions the "extreme mobility" of the Arabs, and the bold activity of their light cavalry, but enters into no detailed description of their tactics. Gibbon (vol. vii., p. 33) describes the order of battle of the Saracens as "a long square of two deep and solid lines, the first of archers, the second of cavalry."

in command had to deal as the First Crusade marched from Nicæa to Antioch. That the Turks were then supported by the Bedouins of the Syro-Arabic desert there is no reason to doubt. Both Gibbon (vii, p. 213) and Michaud ("Hist des Croisades," i, p. 172) incidentally indicate how the Crusaders learnt the lesson, fortunately at much less expense, which the Parthians had taught to Crassus and the Seljouk Turks to Romanus Diogenes. But, to gain a correct grasp of the ordeal that awaited the Crusading armies which traversed, or strove to traverse, Asia Minor, Jerusalem being their goal, the serious student must turn to Professor Oman's "Art of War in the Middle Ages," pp. 198-280, than which I know no better treatise on the subject*. Like Xenophon, 1,500 years before, they took steps to extemporize an efficient body of light cavalry. These are the type of troops which later, whether as part of the forces of the Hospitallers or Templars or of the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus, became known in Europe as *Turcopoli* or *Turcopli* (*vide* Ducange, *sv*), or, in the Frank tongue, as *Turcoples*. Report has it that these *Turcopli* were recruited from the offspring of Christian fathers and Moslem mothers, or *vice versa*. The solid European was not adapted to light cavalry work in the East. The half-breed, of whom there must have been thousands between the Ægean Sea and the Persian Gulf, was made use of for the light horse, just as he was also, from the fourth century onward, for the Janissaries†. Comte Jean de Kergorlay, in his 'Soirs d'Épopée en Chypre,'

* Professor Oman's description of the battle of Marchfeld (August, 1278) is a contemporary picture of the use of horse bowmen and light cavalry in Europe ('Art of War in the Middle Ages,' pp. 500-519).

† *Vide* Whitworth Porter's 'Knights of Malta' edit. 1858 vol. i, p. 260 and edit. 1883 pp. 164 and 725; Vertot's 'Hist. de l'Ordre de Malte' vol. i p. 206 and Addison's 'Templars' p. 72. It is interesting, in comparing the statements in Ducange with those of Addison, Vertot, and Porter to note that to the Turk *Turcopli* were the offspring of a Turkish father and Christian mother whereas to the Hospitaller and the Templar they were the offspring of a Christian father and Turkish mother. The general history of invasions and conquests, the habits of a licentious soldiery, and the part generally played by the weaker sex under such circumstances will explain this inversion or, I should rather say, alternation of the rôle of the two sexes.

pp. 10-11, thus defines "*Turcoples*": "*Milice à cheval accessible aux roturiers et recrutée indifféremment parmi les Européens et parmi les Chrétiens orientaux.*" The *Turcoples* of Cyprus ranked as *écuyers*, and were endowed by the King of Cyprus. In the organization of the Hospitallers and Templars the post of *Turcopolier* or commander of the light cavalry was one of high dignity. Considering that from 1310 to the day of their suppression (1798) the Hospitallers inhabited two islands, Rhodes and Malta, we fail to see why the commander of the light cavalry was a person of importance; but Vertot and Whitworth Porter explain this by saying, the one that "*les Hospitaliers ne se servaient de ce titre que pour désigner le Colonel général de l'Infanterie,*" and the other that the *Turcopolier* had charge of the coast defences of both islands. It must have been, therefore, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while the great military Orders held the Holy Land, that the title of *Turcopolier* conveyed its true meaning—viz., that of commander of the light cavalry; and as such, as we learn from M. J. D. Le Roulx ("*Les Hôpitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100-1310 A.D.*"), he was subordinate to the *Maréchal* of the Order. It was not till 1304 that the Chapter-General raised him to the rank of a Capitular Bailiff, and in 1328 attached the dignity once and for all to the English Langue.* From 1328 to 1551 the dignity of *Turcopolier* was held and its duties performed by the conventual Bailiff of the English Langue. Sir Richard Shelley, a cousin of Sir Philip Sidney,† was the last Englishman to fill the office, which, after his death, was incorporated in the person of the Grand Master, pending the revival of the English Langue, suppressed by Henry VIII. As some few persons, even among the members

* "*Les turcoples, troupe auxiliaire de cavalerie légère, analogue aux chevan-légers et très employée à l'Orient, se recrutaient en dehors des frères de l'Hôpital. Ils étaient commandés par le turcoplier. . . . Il n'était, en effet au XIII. siècle, qu'un officier militaire, subordonné au maréchal comme les châtelains et les commandeurs des chevaliers. Le Chapitre de 1304, en l'assimilant aux baillis capitulaires, en fit un grand dignitaire de l'Ordre*" (Le Roulx, *op. cit.*, p. 345).

† See Wallace's "*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*," pp. 136 and 141.

of the modern English Grand Priory, are aware, the English Langue *has* been revived, and that nearly ninety years ago; but, though the revived Langue once again rejoices in its "Bailiff of Egle," it has not yet recovered its Turcopolier.

I have on several opportunities in the last three or four years ventured to suggest that the time is at hand when the reunion of the several branches of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem might take place. The great Napoleonic War period undid the Order, and made Malta what it is and must remain—viz., British. But what the Great War of 1790-1815 undid, the Great War of 1914-1917 may possibly restore. Italy has paved the way by hoisting in 1911 the Banner of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which is also the Banner of the House of Savoy and of the Italian kingdom, on the old Citadel of the Knights in Rhodes. By the Treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814,* the possession of Malta was confirmed to His Britannic Majesty; and, in consequence of this, representatives of the Order, duly empowered, applied to the Congress of Vienna, in 1814, for the grant of a *chef-lieu* somewhere in the Mediterranean, in place of Malta. The request was not then granted. A similar request may very well be preferred before the Congress which will be convened on the termination of the present war. It is not in the power of anyone to assert categorically that that Congress would refuse to concede the restoration of the island of Rhodes to the Order. Rome is the *chef-lieu*; Berlin is the seat of the Johanniter Orden; London is the headquarters of the revived English Langue, not improbably, in point of wealth and power and influence, the greatest of the three. Let the three unite, and let France once more revive the Langues of Provence, Auvergne, and France, and join her forces with Rome, London, and Berlin, and who can say that Italy, the

* *Vide* Hardman's "History of Malta," 1798-1815, pp. 533-34. The offer of Cyprus to Greece in the autumn of 1915 is the strongest proof we have of the critical situation in which the Entente found itself when Bulgaria threw in her lot with the Central Powers and King Constantine traitorously deserted Serbia. We have lived to be thankful that Greece refused Cyprus, than which Malta itself is scarce more valuable to us now in the Mediterranean.

Power in possession, will not agree to accept the omen of the White Cross Banner and let it remain there as the symbol of the resuscitation of the Hospitaller power? Let this further be noted! When the close of this war opens the question of the control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, guarantees that the Power in possession of those straits will not fortify them and will not utilize them as a military and naval base are imperative. It will be remembered that a Bulgarian authority leaked out asserting that the Islands of the Ægean would be held by one or more of the Great Powers as such a guarantee. Under the guarantee of the Great Powers Rhodes may well be held by the united Orders of St. John, and the very international character of its government will be a guarantee of peace in the Levant. When that has been achieved we may again hope to see an English Turcopolier, whose duties will be, not to lead the light cavalry but to organize the coast defences, including heavy long-range guns, mines, and the Hospitaller Flying Corps. What a future to contemplate! And yet, the Hospitaller Order is blind to its fascinations. Contrast their apathy with the fire and force of the Kaiser when, at Marienburg on June 5, 1902, he addressed these words to the assembled Knights of the Teutonic and Johanniter Orders: "Ancient Marienburg must always remain a symbol of Germany's mission. Here in Marienburg I express my expectation that all the Brothers of the Order of St. John will always be at my service when I call them to guard German manners and customs." It is reported that the Johanniter Orden has intrigued in Russia since this war began as actively as the Teutonic Knights intrigued and fought in Poland and Lithuania 700 years ago.

The Osmanli Turks, no more than the Hospitallers, found use for light cavalry in a Mediterranean island. The broad, open areas of Asia Minor and Macedonia, the plains of Hungary, the steppes of Russia, and the wastes and oases of Persia, have proved the best school for the *élite* of the world's *cheval-légers*. Lord Curzon of Kedleston gives, in his *mag-*

num opus, "Persia and the Persian Question," a graphic description of the Persian Irregular Cavalry of to-day.* Wiry horse and hardy trooper are well depicted.† "They are for the most part splendid horsemen, being trained to ride from childhood, and being able to perform remarkable feats of agility and marksmanship while proceeding at full gallop. Herodotus said that the ancient Persians taught their sons three things—to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth. Though the last-named precept has long ago been expunged from the ethical code of their descendants, the Persians still observe the first prescription, while at 'drawing the long bow' they are unequalled in the world ‡ These irregular cavalry are the sole modern survivors of the mounted hosts that scattered the legions of Rome, that followed the banner of Tamerlane, and that crossed the Indus with Nadir Shah "

When, as a sequence to the famous interview between Napoleon and Alexander I. at Tilsit, British and French missions sought the Court of the Shah; when the Home and Indian Governments sent rival envoys, Harford Jones and Malcolm, to Teheran; and when the Frenchman Verdier and the Englishmen Christie, Lindsay Bethune, and Pottinger, were vying with each other as educators of Persian soldiery—i.e., about the years 1808 to 1810—an independent French traveller, M. A. Dupré, has left us in the 54th Chapter of his "Voyage en Perse" (Paris, 1819) an account of the Persian cavalry of his day. He estimates their strength at 140,000, and mentions seeing 10,000 of them escort the

* Vol. 1, pp. 591-92, chap. xvii

† I had some opportunity in 1885, when returning from Herat to Constantinople, for studying the Persian troops. *The National Review* of January, 1886, was good enough to publish my experiences.

‡ This playful thrust is probably inspired by "Haji Baba," for which inimitable book Lord Curzon once wrote a Foreword. Probably the editor of *Blackwood* of to-day has forgotten that Maga of January, 1824, reviewed "Haji Baba" most severely. When I was, some years ago, reviewing the "Memoir of Sir John McNeill, G.C.B.," I pointed out that in 1824 and 1825 *Blackwood* was bringing out McNeill's "Visits to the Harem" (in Persia), and was probably not disposed to tolerate a rival in "Haji Baba."

Shah in 1808 from Teheran to his summer camp at Sul-tanieh, when the French Legation was invited to accompany His Majesty. M. Dupré's account is thus worded:

"La cavalerie est tirée des tribus guerrières qui sont répandues dans les vallées de l'Empire. . . . Les chevaux sont agiles, vigoureux, et d'une belle taille. . . . Les cavaliers doivent se fournir d'armes. Elles consistent en une carabine ou fusil court, qu'ils tirent en courant au grand galop et avec beaucoup d'adresse, soit devant, soit derrière, et dans toutes les directions. Cette manière de guerroyer rappelle encore ces fameux Parthes, qui lancaient des traits en fuyant, et donc les attaques perfides désespéraient la brave légion romaine qui ne pouvait les atteindre. Les cavaliers persans ont encore cela de commun avec leurs ancêtres qu'ils portent une lance longue et fort légère, dont ils se servent admirablement. . . . Les cavaliers turcomans sont souvent armés d'un arc et de flèches, qu'ils emploient avec beaucoup d'avantage en fuyant, pour arrêter ou du moins retarder l'ennemi lorsqu'il est à leur poursuite. Les sabres sont en général excellens. C'est l'arme à la quelle le persan attache le plus de prix, et dont il se sert avec une grande dextérité." M. Dupré's description of the saddle and the way it is adjusted carries our thoughts back to Canon Rawlinson's picture of the Assyrian light horseman on his barebacked charger. He concludes: "On juge aisément combien cette selle est incommode et même dangereuse pour le cavalier; mais l'habitude le préserve de toute crainte, et semble l'identifier avec le cheval."

It is very well known that the Turcomans have for long been famous for their long-distance raiding. "Haji Baba" tells us of that. The great Turcoman raiders were never Persian subjects. They have now for more than thirty years been subject to Russia. When I was at or near Herat in 1884-85, an Afghan officer told me how he and his squadron or troop had turned out from camp near Herat and pursued Turcoman raiders till they overtook them in the Badghis desert after a ride of seventy miles. Even to this day Persia seems

to be *par excellence* the country for long-distance rides. Most English travellers in Persia have heard of the records made, and sometimes helped to make them.

I may add that the account of the Persian cavalry given by Sir John Malcolm in his "History of Persia" (vol. II., pp. 495-6) differs from that of M. A. Dupré (both wrote of the same period) in one essential particular only—viz, that Malcolm's estimate of the strength of the tribal horse of Persia is 80,000, instead of 140,000. When Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, the United States Minister to Persia from 1882-85, wrote his "Persia and the Persians" (John Murray, 1887), the conditions of warfare had undergone seventy years of change, but he records the opinion which is expressed by most—viz, that, given only good organization and leadership, the material, and that good material, is there.

The Cossack and the Croat have both in their day made their mark in Europe, and carried terror into the lands which their rulers invaded. The Croats of Illy were the "Huns" of their day. The French cavalry of the seventeenth century, trained under such men as Turenne and Condé, acquired a very high reputation, but competent authority states that "it could not vie with that of the Turks either as regards its own efficiency or the results which it achieved. So formidable and so much feared were the Turkish horsemen that the Russian infantry, when opposed to them, invariably carried *chevaux-de-frise* in light carts for their protection. It had been very justly remarked that no other cavalry has ever obtained such an ascendancy as this over infantry."* Colonel Chesney, the man who should have made the Baghdad Railway, writing in 1854 of the Russo-Turkish campaigns of 1828 and 1829, said.† "The high name acquired by the Cossacks elsewhere in Europe was not, nor is it likely

* "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th edit., "Cavalry."

† Chesney's "Russo Turkish Campaigns," 1828-29, p. 360. I would also draw attention to General Sir Richard Williamson's lecture on this campaign printed in vol. XX of the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, p. 997, where the superiority of the Turkish light cavalry to the Russian is fully demonstrated.

to be, maintained in Turkey, where they were speedily matched by the Dells,* and the heavy massive dragoons shared the same fate. The cavalry of the Turks had, and will probably continue to have, the advantage in the field " Colonel Frank Russell, writing of the same period, says:† " The great strength of the (Turkish) army lay in irregular cavalry "; but when he comes to write of the same army in 1877, he says: " The Turkish horsemen of the present day have lost all the dash and enterprise which rendered them during the last century the terror of European armies." It would seem that the spirit and genius of the irregular horseman has fled back to whence it came, to the Bedouin Arabs or Saracens of Mesopotamia and the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys If so, then it will meet a worthy rival in the mobile cavalry of the Indian Army Let that cavalry cut its way to Baghdad, as in 1882 it cut its way to Cairo ‡ Both in their day have been capitals of the Caliphs Both are destined to own a British suzerainty

Even to this day the home of the light horseman is the East, and, when this war is over, the light cavalry of the

* The name " Delli," or " Deli " as others spell it, has almost passed out of ken I am indebted to the Librarians of the War Office and the Royal United Service Institution for kindly furnishing the information which my own library failed to afford Major Wylly tells me that the Turkish dictionary translates 'Deli' as (1) a madman (2) a kind of 'irregular troops in olden times Mr Hudleston of the War Office sent me the following note " In Valentini's 'Traité sur la guerre contre les Turcs,' traduit de l'allemand par L. Blesson (Berlin, 1830), on p. 79 there is a footnote 'Deli' signifie littéralement un homme *déterminé* ou *hasardeux* en quelque sorte une *mauvaise tête* ou un *forçé* on pourrait rendre le sens par *enragé*. Ce sont des cavaliers volontaires la fleur peut être de la nation, supérieurement armés et habillés qui accompagnent tous jours le Pacha ou le Chef et dont plusieurs se sont quelquefois entièrement dévoués pour lui "

In this definition of the " Delli " or " Deli " we find, first of all, a suggestion of the " Ghāzi " with whom every frontier soldier in India is familiar and secondly, the *beau sabreur* of the Turkish army of a century ago

The Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali, the author of " A Short History of the Saracens," and a foremost authority on all that concerns Islam, writes to me " The word ' Delli ' was common in India also, under the Moguls It means 'irregular,' as I understand it "

† Russell's " Russian Wars with Turkey," pp. 61 and 243

‡ This story will be best read in Mr Stanley Lane Poole's coming " Life of Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson "

Indies and of the basins of the Euphrates and the Nile may, not impossibly, under the ægis of the *pax Britannica*—there is a suspicion here of a “bull”—once more mould the destinies of wars. Barbed wire, troglodytic defences, and high-explosive monster shells, are not encouraging, but the days of Stuart and Mosby raids are not yet past. War, as we saw fifty odd years ago, promptly taught our American brethren, both of the north and south, that light cavalry had still a powerful rôle before it; and we may reasonably anticipate that, before this war is over, cavalry will once again assert itself. Indeed, it is reported to have been used recently with some effect, both in France and in Macedonia. All reports from Mesopotamia are so indefinite that no opinion on cavalry action there can be formed. It is, however, perfectly clear that once one army gets another on the move, the cavalry come into play, as has been the case in the Dobrudja, where the Bulgarian Cavalry actively followed up the Russo-Rumanian retirement, and in Albania, where the French and Italian Cavalry are reported to have effected a junction for the purpose of conjoint operation against the Bulgarians in Servia.*

* On the qualities of “Spahis,” Mamluks and Arabs, and of the Cossacks, when they were Moslem and Turkish (not Russian) subjects, Freiherr Georg von Valentine, in his “Military Reflections on Turkey” (London, 1828), gives his own personal experience. He specifies the mobility of Turkish cavalry in the roughest country, and the effect of its sudden appearance on an enemy’s flank or rear

MILITARY NOTES

BY GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

MANY once popular theories have been proved to be fallacies by the events of the present war. One is the theory of the Blue Water School that Great Britain could rely for defence entirely upon her Navy, and need only keep up an Army for the purpose of providing garrisons for India and the Colonies. And the Blue Water Scholars pointed out quite truly that our standing army was too small compared with the national armies of the Continent, and that therefore we could not take part in a Continental war. One wiseacre wrote an article which was published in a Service journal suggesting that our Garrison Artillery should be converted into Marine Artillery, as the Army had no use for heavy guns ! His opinion seemed to be shared by Lord Haldane, who selected the Royal Garrison Artillery as the principal object of the reductions which he made in our military establishments.

Another popular fallacy was that which was so ably and forcibly expounded by the Russian publicist M. Bloch, that war would spell financial and commercial ruin for any civilized nation engaging in it, and that therefore a European war was unthinkable, not to say impossible. And some of his disciples maintained that any war could be prevented by the great financiers of Europe agreeing to stop the supplies of cash and closing the money markets to the belligerents. These theorists quite overlooked the fact that the soldier can hold a pistol to the financier's head,

and demand his money or his life. Norman Angell followed in Bloch's footsteps and argued that as war must be an unprofitable business, no nation would be foolish enough to engage in it, or, at any rate, ought not to be foolish enough to engage in it; but, unfortunately, nations sometimes imagine that war may be made profitable, and experience would seem to show that they are sometimes right in this supposition. Germany certainly profited by the war of 1870, and expected to profit by the present war; and Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro all profited by the Balkan War of 1912, and Bulgaria would have profited, too, if her rulers had not thrown away the fruits of victory by their supreme folly. Their entering upon war with their former allies certainly did not pay, but that bitter experience did not deter them from plunging into the present war, the results of which will probably prove still more disastrous for them.

The Bulgars are by race Tartars who migrated from Central Asia to the banks of the Danube one thousand years ago; and the early Arab geographers place the land of Bulghar to the north of the Caspian Sea. In character the Bulgarian strongly resembles his cousin the Turk; he is equally brave, equally stubborn, and equally stupid. He has, however, adopted the Christian religion and the Slavonic language, and has consequently come to be reckoned as a Slav, and recognized as a member of the Panславist fraternity. In his quarrel with his allies of the Balkanic confederation in 1913 he was originally in the right; but he managed to put himself in the wrong; and now, befooled by the specious promises of Germany, he has taken up arms against the Russians, who freed him from his bondage to the Turks less than forty years ago. It would serve him right, and be a useful lesson to him for the future, were the Russians, when they emerge victorious from this war, to replace him under Turkish rule.

The shuffling of the cards in the Balkan game of politics would baffle the most far-sighted diplomatist. A few years

ago Bulgaria was the faithful follower of Russia and of Pan Slavist policy, while Roumania was looked upon as the only possible ally of Germany in the Teutonic Drang nach Osten. A Latin *enclave* in a surrounding expanse of Slavdom, Roumania was widely separated from her neighbours by both race and language, and her political sympathies were with the West rather than with the East of Europe. Germany certainly counted on her as an ally in the long-foreseen and inevitable contest between the Teuton and the Slav for political supremacy in the Balkan Peninsula. But the defection of Italy from the Triple Alliance, and the adhesion to it of Turkey and Bulgaria, enlisted the sympathies of the Roumanians in favour of their kindred Latin peoples of the Entente; and the liberation of the Roumanian populations of Transylvania and the Bukovina appeared to be a stake worth playing for, once the chance of the final victory of the Central Powers was discounted. The old King Carol would not lightly have drawn his sword against his German kinsmen; but his successor has chosen to throw in his lot with the country of his adoption in the hope of enlarging her boundaries and extending his sway.

In the Middle Ages, and even as late as three hundred years ago, Religion was the dominating factor in politics. The question whether a Catholic or a Protestant heir was to succeed to the throne of some petty German principality, or whether a Mediterranean island fortress was to hoist the flag of the Crescent or the Cross, absorbed the energies and engaged the sympathies of the whole civilized world. To-day Religion takes a back seat. Protestant Prussia, Catholic Austria, Orthodox Bulgaria, and Musalman Turkey, form a strange new Holy Alliance; while an equal diversity of creeds, supplemented by Japanese Buddhism or Shintoism, appears in the ranks of the Entente Powers. In spite of Hague Conferences and international arbitration and peace propaganda, we are still a long way from the prevention or cessation of war; but at all events

we shall have no more purely religious wars, and that is a big mercy to be thankful for.

We were under the impression that the term "sniper" used for a marksman or sharpshooter, was quite a modern invention ; but we have come across it in the diary of an officer kept during the Nepaulese War of 1814, and now published for the first time in the *Journal of the R.U.S.I.* for August. The writer mentions the Gurkhas "sniping" at our Sepoys on two occasions. The expression, which has become stereotyped in the present war, is not a happy or appropriate simile, for the sportsman's snapshot at the erratic snipe is very dissimilar from the steady and deliberate aim of the lurking rifleman in the trenches.

The conditions of warfare are undergoing a thorough process of alteration through the progress of mechanical invention. They have already been much modified in the present war by the activities of the aeroplane and the submarine, and now the motor-car has extended its sphere of action from the lines of communication to the fighting-line. The armoured battle-car, bristling with guns and rifles, careering over the barbed-wire entanglements and trenches of the enemy's line carries the imagination back to the times of Persian and Punic wars, when the towered elephant with his iron-plated forehead and his load of archers and slingers trampled his way through lines of hostile infantry. The fire-arms which finally banished him from the battlefield are an added terror to the destructive progress of the modern monster.

History has once more repeated itself in the revival of the practice of throwing grenades or bombs by hand, which was a common feature of tactics in the armies of Europe two centuries ago. The grenadier or bomb-thrower was a soldier specially selected for strength and courage, and equipped and trained for this particular purpose. At first the number was ordinarily limited to four men in each company of infantry, but after some experience the grenadiers of a battalion were assembled in a separate

company. The old institution will perhaps be revived along with the old practice, and our infantry regiments again include soldiers bearing the time-honoured title of Grenadiers, which was suppressed in our regiments of foot in the year 1860, having survived for many years as a nominal title without any tactical significance.

It is now more than fifty years since British troops appeared in the region variously described as the Dobruja, the Dobrudja, or the Dobrudscha, the latter variant being the clumsy German method which employs four letters to express the letter *j*. When our Army lay encamped at Varna in the summer of 1854, the Brigade of Light Cavalry, the same which afterwards charged at Balaklava, was sent into the Dobruja to observe the movements of the Russian Army; but they never came into contact with the enemy, who had withdrawn after raising the siege of Silistria. The successful defence of that fortress by the Turks was largely due to the skill of two officers of Engineers of the Honourable East India Company's Army—Lieutenants Butter and Nasmyth, who directed the operations of the garrison.

Many other Anglo-Indian officers who happened to be at home on furlough at that time joined the Turkish Army on the Danube and fell fighting against the Russians; among them Lieutenant Arnold of the 3rd (now the 63rd) Palamcottah Light Infantry, who with several others was killed leading the Turks in the desperate crossing of the Danube at Giurgevo. The name of that place, as well as those of Silistria, Turtukai and Kalafut, were familiar enough to the readers of our newspapers half a century ago, and now they have again come into our view in a mightier struggle in which the Russian enemy has been transformed into our ally, and the Turkish friend into a foe.

The enlistment of Bengalis in the ranks of our Indian Army is a complete *volte-face* on the part of our Military Administration. Its recent policy has been to exclude all but the scions of warlike races from our military service; and not long ago, in pursuance of this policy, some twenty

thousand Madrasis were disbanded and their places filled by recruits from the martial races of Nepaul and the Panjáb. Now the order has gone forth to accept recruits from what has hitherto been regarded as the most unwarlike race in the whole Peninsula, for as a soldier the Bengali is presumably as inferior to the Madrasi as the latter is to the Panjâbi. We say presumably, because the Bengali has never yet been tested as a soldier; he has in the past had a rooted objection to the employment of physical force. He has never even offered himself as a candidate for military honours, and the Sepoys who fought under Clive at Plassey were Madrasis.

It remains to be seen, however, now that the Government has extended to the Bengali the privilege of serving their country as soldiers, how they acquit themselves. They have a splendid opportunity.

But the most amazing thing in the new departure is that the experimental double-company of Bengalis that is to be raised to test the martial qualities of their nation is to be attached to Coke's Rifles, a famous frontier regiment largely recruited from trans-frontier Pathans, Afridis, and Yusufzais, men who, to say the least, do not look favourably upon the martial potentialities of the Bengalis.

To give the Bengalis a chance of proving their mettle, it may be suggested that a corps recruited from amongst them should be attached to some Mahratta or Rajput regiment where they might be expected to find more congenial company than among Sikhs and Pathans.

The proposal to enrol Eurasians in a separate corps in the Indian Army is once more brought forward as a consequence of the present war. There are plenty of Eurasians now employed in our Volunteer Corps, and the musicians, drummers, and buglers of our Carnatic regiments are entirely recruited from them; some of them, like the brothers Skinner, have risen to high rank and left their names on the records of the Indian Army. In the early days of our military establishments in India, before we had

begun to enlist Indians as Sepoys, there was a corps of Eurasians maintained at Fort St. George under the name of Topasses, meaning probably wearers of topis (hats) as distinguished from the turbaned natives. After the introduction of trained and disciplined corps of Sepoys we hear no more of these Topasses. During the great Mutiny in 1857 two corps of Eurasians were raised which continued for some years to form part of the Indian Army ; one was a cavalry corps called the Lahore Light Horse, the other a regiment of foot called the East Indian Regiment. Both these corps were disbanded, perhaps owing to want of recruits : it was also urged as a reason for dispensing with their services that they cost as much as British soldiers to maintain. A few Eurasians are to be found in the fighting ranks of the Indian Army : there was one John Dennis, who was Subadar-Major of the Palamcottah Light Infantry ; and I remember a gallant Subadar of the 25th Bombay Infantry, an Indo-Portuguese, who was killed in the last Burmese War.

I observe that lately an attempt has been made by some persons in India to substitute "Anglo-Indian" for "Eurasian" as the descriptive appellation of the mixed races of Europeans and Indians. But Anglo-Indian has a stereotyped meaning as the term for the British resident population of India ; and it would give rise to confusion as well as be a misnomer to apply it generally to the mixed races, a moiety of whom are descended from Portuguese and some from Dutch parents. At one time in the Madras Army the word Indo-Briton was used to denote a descendant from a British and an Indian parent ; but the majority of our bandsmen and drummers were of Portuguese origin, Silvas, Souzas, and Rosarios. The word Eurasian was invented about a hundred years ago to include all the mixed nationalities, and it has hitherto answered its purpose very well. In Ceylon the Portuguese and Dutch mixed descendants are called Burghers, a local name with no racial significance.

SPECULATIONS ON NEW NEAR-EASTERN FRONTIERS AFTER THE WAR

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL L. A. WADDELL

ALTHOUGH the end of the war is not only not in sight, but so far distant that our professional War-Chief wisely counsels the public to look forward at present merely to the *middle*, and not the end, we have already, during the past two years, been treated to many ingenious attempts, amateurish and other, at recasting the map of Europe and Asia Minor after the war, as if that question could especially at this stage be lightly estimated or solved by the man-in-the-street, like the forecasting of a cabinet after a general election.

Nearly all these speculations assume, as we all hope may prove the case, that the war will necessarily end in favour of the Allies, who will thereby acquire the right to dictate terms to Germany and her confederates, and will exercise this right by compelling very extensive alterations in the frontiers of Central and Eastern Europe, in addition to the retrocession of Alsace and Lorraine. Whilst a few authorities, even on the assumption of an Allied victory, propose less drastic transfers of territory, in the hope that a more moderate readjustment of boundaries on racial or national lines might prove acceptable to the rival claims and aspirations of the several nations concerned, and thus tend to a more durable peace in Europe.

The latest lecturer on the subject, Sir Harry Johnston, the well-known traveller and East African administrator,

has confided his views, a few days ago, to the Fabian Society, upon what the map of Europe and Asia Minor is to be like when the war is over ; and has even ventured to illustrate it by a concrete revised map. In Europe, Austria and Turkey, as has been generally presumed, disappear altogether : Austria being partitioned between Germany (which by the way gets Vienna), Hungary and the new State of West Slavia, which includes Bohemia. Poland is resurrected as a national unit, with Dantzic as its port in the Baltic, thus driving in a wedge between Germany and Prussia, to which it is suggested the Hohenzollerns should be banished. Russia takes European Turkey. Italy takes the Tyrol, the Trentino and Trieste ; but the Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic is given to Southern Slavia, the glorified Serbia which will stretch also to the Ægean, with its Eastern outlet through what is now Bulgaria proper ; while Bulgaria is to yield part of her remaining territory to Rumania, which by the addition of Transylvania is to become nearly double its original size. Belgium is to be given a better strategical frontier on the east at the expense of Germany, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg is to become a Belgian protectorate. Only part of Alsace and Lorraine, however, would Sir Harry restore to France, according to a strict racial and linguistic line of district boundaries. In Asia Minor, Russia is given the north half of that peninsula, with a protectorate over Armenia, so that she secures control of the Black Sea and both shores of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. The southern half of Asia Minor is generously given by him to Italy, and only Syria to France, whilst Mesopotamia is to come under British sway. Sir Harry finds no spot whatever, even in Asia, for misguided and erring Turkey, notwithstanding that its Prussian inciters, who perpetrated infinitely greater atrocities, are to be spared an independent kingdom for their Hohenzollerns.

A more authoritative and helpful contribution to the question, as it exhibits some of the principles of partition,

and practical points to be considered in forming international boundaries, has opportunely appeared in a volume by one of the very few practical experts on the making of scientific political frontiers, Sir Thomas Holdich.* He has had the unique experience of having been engaged in boundary commissions for fixing international frontiers in various widely separated parts of the Old and New Worlds; and his book is a welcome addition to the very scant literature on subject from a practical standpoint.

He confutes the academic idealists who assume that the civilized world has already attained to a cultured eminence which admits of a purely artificial line of separation as sufficient for nations, who are, or should be, anxious to assimilate one with another, and to dwell in bonds of mutual goodwill and international brotherhood. Thus Professor Lyde, of the London University, dealing with types of political frontiers in Europe, lays it down that three points are of vital importance in deciding on the position of a frontier :

- (1) The *racial* unit should as far as possible coincide with the *geographical* unit, especially if that racial unit has proved incapable of assimilation.
- (2) That in choosing a new political owner of any inhabited area, first consideration should be given to the capacity of the new owner to assimilate others.
- (3) That the features used for a frontier should be those where men naturally meet—"which is *not on water-partings or mountain crests.*"

So also a geographical writer, Miss Semple, in her "Influence of Geographical Environment," says : "A race-boundary involves almost inevitably a cultural boundary, often too a linguistic and religionary, occasionally a political boundary. The last three are subject to wild fluctuation, frequently overstepping all barriers of race and contracted

* "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making." By Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich. Macmillan and Co., 1916. 8vo., pp. 307. 10s. net.

civilizations. . . . We may lay down the rule that the greater, more permanent and deep-seated the contrast on the two sides of a border, the greater is its significance ; and that on this basis boundaries rank in importance with few exceptions in the following order : *racial, cultural, linguistic, political*. The less marked the contrasts in general, the more rapid and complete the process of assimilation on the belt of the borderland."

Now Sir Thomas Holdich finds that these theories and principles for an international boundary by no means accord with the exigencies of a practical delimitation. In the belief that the first and greatest object of a national frontier is to insure peace and goodwill between contiguous peoples by putting a definite edge to the national political horizon, so as to limit unauthorized expansion and trespass, Sir Thomas endeavours to show what is the nature of a frontier that best fulfils these conditions in practice ; and how much at variance with the theory of idealists are the hard facts of practical necessity which invariably govern the demarcation of a scientific boundary ; and he suggests the methods for tackling these difficulties when they arise.

Dealing with the question of national frontiers historically, as well as practically, he gives us interesting chapters on many aspects of the subject which are enlivened by first-hand experience. Thus there are chapters on The Evolution of the Frontier, The Constitution of a Nationality, The Expansion of Nations, Sea-frontiers, The Growth of Russia, Spheres of Influence, Buffer-States, Military Aspects of a Frontier, Natural Frontiers, Artificial Boundaries, Geographical Problems in Boundary Delimitation, Boundaries in Africa, The White Man in Asia, International Borderlands in Asia and in Europe. It is written in a forcible popular style which is sure to attract many readers. It reproduces an occasional popular error, such as when it states that "the Bhots and Tibetans are the demons of Brahmanic scripture"—the fact being that the "Bhots" are Tibetans themselves, and it is only European

mappists who have misspelled the native name, who confuse the *Bhutas*, or "ghosts or spirits good and evil," of the Brahmans with the *Bhots* or Tibetans; neither the Brahmans nor other Indians make such a mistake or identification. But this is a small matter. The topographical data may be fully trusted as coming from such a scientific traveller and Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society; though we miss in a geographical book the total absence of maps.

The new facts reinforce the old truism which has latterly been too often overlooked in arranging frontiers after modern wars, that the geographical distribution of mountains interposes the most satisfactory barriers between continental nations, and the more effective the barrier, the more permanent the nationality, and more certain the advantages of peaceful occupation, and the less necessity for maintaining armies and expenditure on war material. *Physical geography therefore should rank first as the basis of political agreements where territory is concerned, and the distribution of races should be a secondary consideration*, in separating hostile national interests to promote peace amongst the nations.

In applying his special experience and general knowledge thus acquired to the conditions of the present war, in the light of history, racial dispositions, and the geographical features of the countries, the plea of our author generally is that the boundary should follow not rivers, but the ridge-divides between the rivers; and that in the readjustment after the war what is wanted is not so much a wholesale alteration of frontiers as a redistribution of the population within political ring-fences. Our author discusses various possible or desirable readjustments of territory on geographical basis. Here we can only glance at a few of the more important.

Britain, protected by her sea-frontier, will gain, Sir Thomas believes, nothing territorially by the war "beyond certain easily recognized advantages in the rectification of

frontiers in her African colonies (especially in East Africa), and a dominant position in Mesopotamia. It would almost appear that England has been pouring out her treasure in blood and money *for a sentiment and an ideal*—the sentiment that her honour is concerned with the maintenance of weaker but friendly States and her high ideals of Christianity and Right.” He evidently thinks that the bulk of Germany’s lost colonies will be given back again !

Poland is a conspicuous example of how the absence of any natural boundary has exposed her through the ages freely to invasion from every side and has made her existence as an independent State impossible, except as a *protected* State, safeguarded by one or other of her more powerful neighbours.

Hungary, we are told, is a “ State which calls for little sympathy, both as an enemy in the present war, and as a tyrant over smaller nationalities in times of peace. The ancient Magyar kingdom would practically become absorbed in Rumania for good ethnical reasons. But the demand for Bukowina is not so easily justified, even if ethnical reasons could be adduced in support of it. It would shift the boundary from a good defensible line to a bad one, and immediately open the door for perpetual trouble with Russia. It would be a fatal defect on an otherwise sound frontier.”

But it is in the Balkans and Near East that the greatest difficulties lie, where so many races, antagonistic by heredity, are so intermixed over large tracts of borderland that the voice of the people as to their disposal can hardly be ascertained with any hope of arriving at any certain conclusion in respect to the will of the majority. Where such antagonistic nationalities are thus so intermixed, Sir Thomas makes the striking suggestion of partial deportation : that these non-assimilating people should be separated from each other in compartments, so arranged that within the limits of any one political ring-fence there should exist one homogeneous nationality. This, it is believed, could be

effected by determining the position of the ring-fence, and then requesting the nationalists to retire into the dominion assigned to them, or accept without further question a scheme of nationalization which would actually and positively amalgamate them with the body corporate of the nationality they adopt. And he instances the remarkable success achieved by the South American republics, such as Argentine and Chili, in taking emigrants from all nations of Europe and fashioning them into one patriotic nationality, in sentiment, and heart-whole loyalty to the new country of their adoption.

Respecting Turkey in Europe, he says, with remarkable pessimism for a British military officer, that until Constantinople is actually in the hands of the Allies, it is perhaps premature to dispose of that capital, or to suggest an international future for the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Yet as regards Turkey in Asia he considers the Russian occupation of Armenia a permanent arrangement, and foresees a probable advance of Russian territory, not only in the uplands of North Mesopotamia, but also into the rich valleys of Asia Minor along the Black Sea.

Regarding the speculations on territorial alterations, it will be seen that Sir Thomas Holdich, a military officer of great experience, and one of the foremost experts on the readjustment of political boundaries resulting from wars, although by no means a pessimist, does not share the prevalent confident belief, almost universally held by the Allied officers, that very extensive territorial changes will necessarily result from the present gigantic war. Perhaps, as in many previous wars, the results may prove to be very different from what is anticipated by the speculators on either side.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

IN the November issue of the *Contemporary Review* there is a notable article by Mr H N Brailsford entitled "The Civil Strife in Greece," from which we quote the following striking sentence "Greece must achieve her own salvation. She can recover her self respect only under the leadership of M. Venizelos, and it is difficult to hope much from half measures."

In the current issue of the *London Quarterly Review* are two articles which should be of special interest to our readers: one, "The Genesis of the Russo Japanese Alliance," by St. Nihal Singh, the other "China's New President and the Political Outlook," by E. C. Cooper.

In the November issue of the *Fortnightly Review* there are three articles to which we would call particular attention: "The One Thing Wanting," by E. J. Dillon, "The Position of Roumania," by Politicus, "Zionism," by an Englishman of the Jewish Faith.

The current issue of the *British Esperantist* contains a full account of the address delivered by Dr. John Pollen, C. I. E., V. D., at Painter Stainers' Hall on "Russia and a Common Commercial Hall" before a large audience of City people and other persons of eminence interested in foreign trade and languages.

The Lord Mayor (Sir Charles Wakefield) presided, and, in opening the proceedings, after pointing out the lecturer's undoubted qualifications to address them on that theme, said, of course, if it could be arranged that there should be one universal language for all commercial transactions, the course of trade and industry would be immensely simplified and improved.

Lieutenant Colonel Pollen said his subject was closely connected with the winning of the war after the War. As the cry now for the army was "Shells, shells, shells" so after the War, for our mercantile army, it would be "Languages, languages, languages" and to win this war we must see to it that our mercantile community is fully and properly equipped. Very properly a strong effort is being made just now to encourage everywhere

the study of the Russian language. By all means let people of the two nations do their best to learn each other's languages, but just now, so far as trade is concerned, time is the very essence of the contract. There is not a moment to be lost or wasted, and what is wanted *immediately* is a ready means of getting into touch with Russian merchants and traders without avoidable delay, and here one of the most gifted of the sons of Russia herself has come to the rescue. Colonel Pollen then proceeded to give a short account of Esperanto, the international auxiliary language, created and given to the world by Dr Zamenhof, of its perfect adaptability for the desired object, and its present extensive use.

On the motion of Mr John C. Nicholson, seconded by the Hon Miss Ali Baig, a vote of thanks was passed to the Lord Mayor, who, in reply, said he had learned something from a most interesting address. Other speakers who more or less heartily supported the speaker were Mr. A Barton Kent, the Russian Colonel Belieaw, Mr. T B Callard, c c, Mr Malcolm (Russian Society), Mr F M Sexton (Patent Office), and Mr. Mallam Williams.

GREECE'S TWO GREAT STATESMEN

Miss F R Scatcherd has written two striking character sketches in the *Review of Reviews* (October and November) on M. Venizelos and Dr. Drakoules, from which we publish the following extracts.

"I had the privilege of seeing a good deal of M Venizelos during the spring of 1912. The change wrought in Greece since his advent to power was amazing. Later on, in London, during the ill fated Ambassadors' Congress, we met again. His successes had left his simple demeanour unaffected. The gift of humour, to a degree unusual among men of his race, will prevent him from ever developing inordinate self-esteem. Patience prolonged to the uttermost, self control and unquenchable, far-seeing optimism, these have always appeared to me as his predominant characteristics, and all three are clearly discernible in the terms of the latest proclamation issued from Crete."

About Dr Drakoules, whose interview with King Constantine has created such an impression, she writes as follows.

"The spiritual successor of Regas, he has prepared the renaissance of Greece and paved the way for the triumph of Venizelos and the Liberal spirit. His indefatigable efforts for the salvation of his beloved country and in support of the cause of the Allies (which he regards as identical), will never be adequately realized until the inner history of the world conflict between the principles of Light and of Darkness can be dealt with from the necessary historical perspective."

INDIA AND GERMAN TRADE

I.

RECENT references in Parliament to the treatment of certain firms in India which are alleged to have had business connections with Germany may have led to the impression that the Indian authorities have been behindhand in dealing with German trade activities in that country. Such an impression would not, however, be justified by the facts. The war had lasted scarcely a month before the authorities in India were busily devising measures for controlling all business in the hands of hostile foreigners. It is true that German trade interests have never in India reached such formidable dimensions or so deeply penetrated the whole commercial fabric as in the United Kingdom. The amount of German capital invested in India has been computed to be about 2½ millions sterling. Even if this estimate does not, as appears likely, prove to be an exaggeration, and allowing for the comparatively low aggregate of capital employed in India, it remains clear that the share in Indian business enterprises enjoyed by Germans has amounted to but a very modest proportion of the total amounts at venture in Indian commerce and industry. But this hostile interest, small though it was in extent, seems to have been a not inconsiderable factor in the economic development of the country, manifesting itself particularly in the control exercised over the export trade in certain raw materials produced in India, notably hides and certain mineral ores. There was also a considerable import trade from Germany.

Several houses, founded or managed by Germans, though frequently, in a legal sense, British, had for many years been established in India; and the ramifications of their business had spread in various directions. Calcutta was the seat of a large number of firms engaged in exporting Indian hides to Germany, which was, before the war, their best market. These firms were for the most part under German management; it is said, in fact, that Englishmen find this particular trade repugnant to their tastes. The hide firms, however, did not as a rule confine themselves to that one line of business, but extended their activities in various directions, under the description of general export houses. Certain German firms, again, built up a somewhat close connection with mining industries, particularly those relating to manganese ore and mica. As regards the first of these minerals, it was the policy of the Government, even before the war, to exclude foreigners from the enjoyment of any direct concessions. But they could, and did, obtain a considerable interest by means of agreements with the holders of concessions. Other firms, again, were agents for the sale in India of commodities exported from Germany. Such, for example, were the houses in Bombay established for the sale of German dye-stuffs. There were also some score or so of persons, of German origin, some naturalized, others not, plying petty trades in various parts of India.

Against all these representatives of German commercial interests the Indian Government took vigorous action at an early stage in the war. Their enactment on the subject, which appeared in November, 1914, gives them practically as wide powers as the Government at home took only after the lapse of eighteen months. By that measure they made it illegal for any German, or other hostile alien, to carry on trade in India except under a licence, and subject to the conditions of that licence.

As many as seventy-five firms were given licences which permitted them only to wind up their business; about forty others were closed down at once, liquidation proceedings

being unnecessary in their case; about eighty others, whose business served important British interests which could not otherwise be provided for, or which were considered to have very little capacity for mischief, were permitted to trade under control; the remainder, amounting to about fifty, which could be called hostile only in a very technical sense, were exempted altogether from control.

It can confidently be asserted that every business concern in India which had, during the war or immediately before it, any German or other enemy subject concerned in its management or having considerable pecuniary interest therein, was brought under scrutiny, and its capacity for carrying on business in a manner detrimental to British interests was rigorously curtailed.

Difficulties, however, arose in the practical application of the measures which the Government introduced for the suppression of enemy trading activities in India. One of the first of these difficulties lay in the peculiar way in which the liquidation of firms which were not permitted to trade any longer had to be carried out. In ordinary cases liquidation, however prolonged, proceeds towards a clearly defined end, and is as a rule resorted to only when a firm cannot meet its obligations. The liabilities being greater than the assets, the latter are (in theory at any rate) realized in full; and the claims of creditors are adjudicated according to a well-established procedure.

The forced liquidation of enemy firms, however, presented few of the usual features. It was the exception, rather than the rule, to find their liabilities exceeding their assets. It was not the state of their internal affairs, but the exigencies of war, that called for their formal dissolution; and, being for the most part robust and healthy organisms, they took what seemed to some an unconscionable time in dying. It was no easy task to extinguish, for instance, the large import houses in Bombay, with their godowns full of goods indented for by the native dealers in the bazaar. To compel the distribution of these indent stocks before the regular sale

seasons might have proved very embarrassing to the small shopkeepers. These importing houses, moreover, had very heavy credits outstanding, but owed little or nothing in India; and in their case particularly, therefore, purely commercial considerations had little to do with their liquidation. Special considerations, again, applied to the case of firms engaged in the import and sale of dyes. It was certainly in the public interest to dispose of these without undue delay. On the other hand, it was necessary to guard against the danger of the dyes being hastily sold to one or two speculative buyers intent on making a corner. But, apart from special difficulties arising in particular cases, the work of liquidation was complicated and retarded by the limitation which it was thought necessary to impose upon the extent to which it might be carried. Political considerations were the determining factor in this respect. Whatever may be the present attitude of the British Government towards enemy property (and it has no doubt been largely and very rightly modified by experience of the German methods of conducting warfare, and by a realization of the meaning of German commercial penetration), they were at the outset anxious to avoid any appearance of confiscation. In accordance with the spirit of this resolve, orders were issued restricting the realization of assets to an amount necessary to discharge liabilities in India only. After meeting these obligations, the balance of realized assets was to be kept in the Government Treasury, and used for Government purposes (including payment of the costs of liquidation), to be disposed of ultimately according to whatever policy might be adopted by the Home Government. There remained a balance of unrealized property belonging to the firms, including buildings, stock, and that somewhat intangible asset goodwill. What was to be done with these assets was by no means clear. To realize them, as far as they were saleable, might put the firms to greater loss than had been intended. This consideration may be ridiculed now, perhaps, but it must be remembered that the original intention was

not to destroy German business concerns in India, but merely to suspend their activities during the war. A further sale of assets was likely, moreover, to lead to an abandonment of the principle that only Indian liabilities were to be discharged. This was not, however, a difficult step, and it was soon taken. An order was issued directing that liabilities in allied countries were also to rank, and the realization of assets was proceeded with to raise the necessary funds. Liabilities in neutral countries have now, it is understood, been included, and a further contribution has thus been levied on these enemy firms. That a more thorough reduction of enemy business interests in India was not undertaken at the outset has been frequently made the ground of attacks upon the Indian Government on a charge of undue tenderness towards the national enemy, and indifference to the importance of suppressing German trade. Critics who are inclined to be severe should, however, remember two things. First, that India was not behind hand in promulgating measures against hostile trading in the country. The ordinance on the subject was issued in November, 1914; and when we consider the variety and complexity of the problems confronting the Indian Government at the outbreak of the war, it will perhaps be conceded that in promptitude of action in this direction the Indian administration compares favourably with any other part of the British Empire. Delay, inseparable in any case from the suppression of numerous business concerns scattered over a vast country, undoubtedly occurred in the actual process of applying the law; and special causes, such as those which have been noticed above, tended still further to retard proceedings. Those who are disposed to charge the Indian authorities with being dilatory in the performance of this important duty would probably moderate their criticisms if they had leisure or inclination to look closely into the details of the task.

Secondly, the Government deliberately waited for a lead from the commercial community before tightening their grasp on enemy trading concerns in India. In this they

showed their wisdom. However much it may as a rule be the duty of Governments to initiate policy, on this occasion, at any rate, no measures, however admirable in intention, could have been profitably undertaken without the clear and active co-operation of the commercial community. On them depended, and still depends, the success of all endeavours to suspend, reduce, crush, or utterly obliterate the trade of the enemy in our midst.

This can scarcely be too strongly insisted upon. In that great attempt to which popular opinion now urges the authorities in each quarter of the British Empire to address themselves—namely, the suppression of all German trading within our territories—the Government, whether of Great Britain, of the Dominions, or of India, can hope for no measure of success, would not even be justified in taking a single step, unless they are assured, not merely of the approval but of the active co-operation of business men of all classes.

S.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE MAGNESITE MINES OF INDIA

BY C. H. B. BURLTON

As a prelude to a dissertation on the Magnesite Mines of India—which are found at Salem, a place on the Madras Railway, 207 miles from Madras, and nearly midway between Madras on the East Coast and Calicut on the West—it is desirable to say something about the mineral concerned and its general uses.

Magnesite is magnesium carbonate (MgCO_3 —otherwise MgOCO_2)—*i.e.*, carbon dioxide combined with the oxide of magnesium. Magnesium itself is a very light metal whose atomic weight is 24.36 and specific gravity 1.75. The metal is widely distributed, and occurs in nature as a carbonate, a silicate, a sulphate, and a chloride. But as a metal *per se* magnesium is not a natural element. It is manufactured by interfusing the chlorides of potassium (2KCl) and magnesium (MgCl_2) with fluorite (CaF_2), and carefully adding metallic sodium to the mixture. However, we are not concerned with the metal itself, but with its oxide (MgO), or magnesia, which is obtained by calcining the carbonate, or magnesite, and thereby driving out the carbon dioxide (CO_2).

Magnesite is the result of evolution from dunite, a highly siliceous mineral characteristic of the Dun Mountain in New Zealand, whence it derives its name. This dunite decomposes into olivine and chromite; and while chromite

segregates into nodules and veins, olivine decomposes into serpentine, which in due course passes into magnesite, as also into chalcedony and silica. A pure magnesite contains 47·6 per cent. MgO and 52·4 per cent. CO₂, but such perfection is rare. Anything over 95 per cent. of magnesium carbonate is considered high grade, and such a magnesite can be recognized by its very white appearance, not unlike chalk, but it is absolutely dissimilar to chalk in composition. The lower grades are yellowish, owing to the existence of certain impurities in excess. The impurities to be looked for are silica, alumina, iron oxide, manganese oxide, lime, combined water, sulphuric acid, and calcium carbonate. Of these silica generally predominates. Silica is harmless in moderation, unless the magnesia is to be used for refractory purposes; but lime in excess of 2 per cent. is objectionable, and the less there is of it the better.

The following analysis may be taken as typical of Salem magnesite :

Silica	...	...	1·17	per cent.
Alumina	...	...	0·14	" "
Manganese oxide	...	...	0·06	" "
Lime	...	...	0·78	" "
Magnesium oxide	...	...	46·28	" "
Carbon dioxide	...	...	50·10	" "
Combined water	...	...	1·30	" "
Sulphuric acid	...	...	0·03	" "
Magnesium carbonate	...	...	(96·38)	" "
			99·86	" "

The absence of iron oxide and calcium carbonate should be noted, as also the excellent percentage of magnesium carbonate, which stamps the specimen analyzed as First Grade.

Most of the impurities consist of insoluble matter, as will be observed; thus if we drive off the CO₂ in such a case as this, where the MgO and the CO₂ are approximately equal, the impurities which remain in the magnesia will be approximately doubled in percentage as compared with

what they were in the crude magnesite (MgOCO_3). The specific gravity of the crude mineral varies from 3.0 to 3.06.

Magnesia is produced by calcining magnesite in kilns, which should be gas-fired to obviate such discoloration as would ensue if the material were brought into contact with coal or wood fuel.

There are two classes of magnesia produced, and each class requires a special kiln for its production. The kinds are (1) Lightly calcined, or caustic magnesia, the product of magnesite burnt at a temperature of from 700° to 900°C. , or at most 1000°C. ; and (2) Dead-burnt, or shrunk magnesia, which requires a temperature of 1500° or 1700°C. , according to whether the crude material contains over or under 1 per cent. of iron oxide (Fe_2O_3) in its composition. In the Indian it is always well under unity, and generally so in the Greek; but in the Austrian the percentage of iron oxide is considerably higher, which gives it the advantage of being brought from the crude to the dead-burnt condition at the lower temperature of 1500°C. , while having, however, less refractory power against heat.

There is also an extra refractory magnesia which is produced by fusing magnesite in the electric arc at 3000°C. , and maintaining a current of 3500 ampères at a pressure of 65 volts.

The purpose for which dead-burnt magnesia is used necessitates the employment of a highly refractory material, for this class of magnesia is used for the manufacture of firebricks and crucibles and the hearths and linings of basic furnaces. Its specific gravity is 3.5.

Up to within the last three or four years the use of dead-burnt magnesia had been confined to Europe and America, but now, thanks to the enterprise of Messrs. Tata, of Bombay, who have erected furnaces at Kalimati, a demand for firebricks has arisen in India.

The lightly-calcined (L.C.), or caustic magnesia, differs from D.B. and the fused material in the following respects: (1) The L.C. is plastic, *per se*, and can be moulded into

shape under heavy pressure. The D.B. and the fused can be moulded only in combination with some plastic substance. (2) The L.C. slakes with water as lime does, and it re-carbonates if left to atmospheric action for long; thus it has a tendency to increase in weight during a voyage from India to Europe. The D.B. and the fused will not absorb water or CO_2 . The specific gravity of caustic magnesia is about 3.07. It is used for chemical purposes—*e.g.*, in the manufacture of Epsom salts, which can be produced by treating the material with sulphuric acid. But it is perhaps more especially used as a cement. Very finely ground and co-mingled with magnesium chloride (MgCl_2) in solution, it makes the hardest-known cement. This magnesium oxychloride (MgOMgCl_2) mixture—which is sometimes called Sorel cement, from Stanislaus Sorel, who discovered it in 1853—combined with sawdust and with asbestos is used for floorings—*e.g.*, the floors of some of the carriages in the underground railways—and the decks of ships; combined with carborandum, for emery-wheels; and with sand and comminuted marble for steps, copings, window-sills, and much work besides for which stone is usually requisitioned. In conjunction with different aggregates it has been used for millstones, and for the wheels of a hansom-cab. Its carrying-power is immense, as may be gathered from the following recipe for artificial stone, as manufactured in the U.S.A. :

100 lbs. of beach sand ;	
10 lbs. of comminuted marble ;	
10 lbs. of Union cement (MgO) ;	
10 lbs. of magnesium chloride (MgCl_2),	
_____ in solution, 20° Baumé.	

Total 130 lbs.

This yields 1 cubic foot of moulded stone, the crushing-strength of which has been found to vary from about 7,200 to over 21,500 lbs. per square inch. A magnesium oxychloride combination will carry up to 20 parts by weight of sand to one part of the cement, and carrying four parts

of sand it is equal in strength to neat Portland cement of standard quality, both as regards tensile strength and resistance to crushing.

Caustic magnesia is also cementitious, *per se*, and mixed with water only—instead of $MgCl_2$ in solution—has, with three parts by measure of crude magnesite as an aggregate, been used successfully as a wall plaster. But, to insure reliability, the chloride is necessary, and it makes the cement very much stronger than a mere mixture with water can do. For instance, a briquette manufactured at Salem in 1914, composed of one part of L.C. finely ground and three parts of sifted sand mixed with a solution of $MgCl_2$, 18° Baumé, attained a tensile strength of 550 lbs. per square inch after exposure for three days in dry air; while a similar briquette, with the MgO mixed with water only, snapped at a tension of 55 lbs. per square inch, under the same conditions. However, the latter would have increased in strength in the course of time, whereas an oxychloride cement sets hard in thirty-six hours, and attains its maximum strength in a week.

With this summary of the properties of magnesite, the way may be considered paved for an introduction to the mines where the Indian magnesite deposits occur.

The Salem Magnesite Mines are alluded to in this paper as the Indian Magnesite Mines advisedly, because it is believed that there are no other magnesite mines in India. There are several small deposits of magnesite in Mysore, but, these being isolated from suitable communications and from each other, it is doubtful whether it would pay to work them. Elsewhere in the world magnesite is found in Greece, Macedonia, Styria, Silesia, Russia, Asia Minor, Australia, the Transvaal, California, Quebec, and Venezuela. However, India and Greece dominate the market outside the Central Empires, though before the war the Austrian mineral was used considerably in America, where there is always a demand for the dead-burnt material, which could be supplied from Styria without difficulty owing to the

comparative ease with which its impregnation with iron oxide enabled it to be manufactured.

The Manager's Bungalow—speaking of the Indian Magnesite Mines—is situated alongside the Madras Railway, about a mile and a half to the north of Salem Station, and the mines are connected with the main line by a special siding. The deposits themselves cover an area of about 2,000 acres of Government and Jaghirdar land on the east and west sides of the main line; but those on the west side have scarcely been touched. Practically all the present workings are to the east of the railway, and they extend, with an interval of a couple of miles, to a place called Karapur, four miles distant. Karapur is the most prolific part of the concession that has yet been mined, and it pays to work at Karapur, although the magnesite has to be brought to the siding, or the kilns adjacent thereto, in bullock-carts. The bungalow, offices, siding, kilns, stores, sorting-sheds, etc., which are all conveniently close to one another, are connected with the main road to Salem—four miles away—by a private branch road three-quarters of a mile long. There is a moderately good public road, which passes through Salem, to the foot of the Sheveroy Hills, which is reached in seven miles, and an excellent ghât road, 13 miles long, all the way up to Yercand, the hill station, which is some 4,500 feet above sea level. The highest point of the Sheveroys is the Sheveroyen, which is over 5,000 feet. However, the Shēveroys have no connection with the magnesite deposits; they just afford a pleasant change of climate after a spell on the plains below. The magnesite occurs in hillocks varying from 50 to 100 feet above the plain, and also to a minor extent in the plain itself. These little hills are locally known as the “Chalk Hills” because of the remarkably white appearance of the outcrops of magnesite on the surface, though anything more remote from magnesite than chalk—which is of course pure carbonate of lime—cannot be conceived. The hills are very free from vegetation, for vegetation does not exist in

close association with extensive quantities of magnesite. There is everywhere a considerable dunite formation, and streaks of serpentine are here and there apparent. In about the year 1826 Dr. Macleod brought the existence of these deposits to the notice of the East India Company, and he obtained an honorarium for his researches on the value of magnesia as a cement, which he used for repairing the counterscarp of the moat of Fort St. George. In later times—though still many years ago—Captain, afterwards Sir Arthur, Cotton, one of India's most illustrious engineers, whose name is indelibly associated with the Lower Godavari Anicut, recognized the importance of magnesia as a cement, although he can scarcely have had a knowledge of the properties of magnesium chloride, for he had constructed his *magnum opus* some years before Sorel made his great discovery ; so it is unlikely that he can have received much support from his Government. But if, as is the case, the India of the present day, with Sorel's discovery before her eyes, with magnesite obtainable within her borders, with magnesium chloride procurable from the bitterns which remain in her very salt-pans after the salt has been crystallized out, allows nearly the whole output of one of her most important minerals to be exported to other countries who pay enormous freights to get it, how is it to be expected that the India of Cotton's day can have been burdened with less apathy than that which still prevails in the East?

It may be asked, if magnesium chloride in solution is so important for the manufacture of a reliable magnesia cement, how is it that Macleod, who was engaged on his researches over a quarter of a century before the oxychloride cement discovered, did without it? The answer is this, Macleod, when repairing the counterscarp of Fort St. George, is likely to have mixed his magnesia, previously ground, with sea-water ; and, as sea-water would have given him his $MgCl_2$, he unwittingly used magnesium chloride in his mixture twenty-six years before the effect of such a combination became known.

The Salem magnesite deposits must have lain dormant for upwards of three-quarters of a century after the evanescent interest awakened in them by Dr. Macleod and Sir Arthur Cotton, and dormant they might have remained to this day but for the enterprise of Mr. Henry Gribble Turner, of Staplegrove Manor, Somerset, who, after retiring from the I.C.S. over twenty-six years ago, has devoted himself to developing the resources of India. It was Mr. Turner who obtained a concession to open out the Salem deposits as a mining concern, and it is under the auspices of this gentleman that they are now being worked as such. However, this is but one of several enterprises with which Mr. Turner has been connected. He was the sole promoter of the East Coast Railway from Madras to Calcutta. He created the Vizianagaram Manganese Mining Company, and despatched from Vizag Port the first shipload of manganese that ever left India. He afterwards, in conjunction with the late Mr. Glass, a former Chief Engineer of the Central Provinces, formed the first, and the most important of the manganese mining companies of the Central Provinces. It is to Mr. Turner that the great planting estates of North Travancore owe their inception. And in days to come, when there is a harbour at Vizag Port, and there are railways from Vizagapatam to Raipur and to Jagdalpur, the inhabitants of Vizagapatam district will, it is hoped, remember that they are largely indebted to the push and energy of one man, their old collector, for the construction of these works when they are carried out.

As regards the particular enterprise under treatment, the Salem magnesite occurs in blocks, strata, veins, and outcrops. The outcrops of the mineral are generally harder than the parts of the strata which are covered up. But there is sometimes an exception to this rule—*e.g.*, there is a notable exception in the case of a stratum at Karapur, which is four feet thick, and so hard that an output from it can only be obtained by a great deal of blasting. Speaking

of the deposit generally; the magnesite when quarried comes out in various sizes—from lumps double the size of a man's fist, known as "lump crude," down to smaller pieces no larger than an apple, or even a walnut, known as "smalls." All lump crude, to which may be added 30 per cent. of smalls, can be used for calcination in the kilns; and all smalls are in demand for chemical purposes.

Everywhere, the mining, or—speaking more accurately—the quarrying, is in open cast, the cuttings being forty feet sheer, or more in places, and the proportion of magnesite taken out in development may be about 15 per cent. of the "deads" removed. The deads are loaded on to side-tip steel trucks, and conveyed by tram lines from the cuttings to the dumps, where this refuse is deposited. The magnesite, before being arranged for measurement, is denuded of all earthy matter by hand, preparatory to being stacked in rectangular masses 3 feet or 3 feet 6 inches high. These masses of crude are drawn on to the extent required for exportation to Europe, and for use by certain firms in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. What is not required for these purposes is calcined in the kilns. Practically the whole of the magnesite—crude and calcined—is railed to Madras, where it is put on board. No magnesite is shipped from the West Coast.

KILNS.—There is no dead-burning done at Salem. Some years back an attempt was made to dead-burn the crude in a coal-fed Schneider kiln; but after some 60 tons had been produced, the temperature of 1700° C. was too much for the firebricks, for, though of magnesite, they were hand-moulded bricks. Magnesite bricks should be moulded under heavy pressure, and burnt at a high temperature to insure infusibility. Firebricks may also be of fire-clay or of silica, but for calcining magnesite, which is a basic substance, silica bricks should be avoided, for silica is an acid substance, and, as such, will disintegrate if brought into contact with a basic refractory under great heat.

As regards light calcination, this was at first effected by

burning the crude magnesite in bottle-kilns fed by wood fuel. But as, owing to discoloration by the ash, the product did not come out absolutely white, it was found necessary to erect gas-fired kilns to get rid of this objection.

The first of these was a solitary shaft-kiln, built by Mr. Peiniger, a Continental expert on magnesite and kilns. This gentleman was a German by birth and an Austrian by domicile, and therefore, if alive, an enemy from either point of view; but, of course, it is impossible to say what has become of him. The magnesite for this kiln is hoisted up by a pulley and thrown down from the top through the shaft. There are receptacles in the masonry itself for the admission of air and the generation of coal-produced gas, and the air and the gas are passed through separate conduits to a combustion chamber, where they intermingle. The whole arrangement is compact and quite satisfactory. It takes on the average about 2·10 tons of crude magnesite to produce one ton of L.C. magnesia in this kiln. The CO_2 driven off is unavoidably lost altogether—which is a pity. In the U.S.A., magnesite is calcined for the sake of the CO_2 , which is caught in cylinders and used for the manufacture of soda-water, while the resultant magnesia is treated as a by-product and sold to the makers of firebricks. The consumption of coal expended in the production of the gas-fuel may be taken as one-fifth of a ton to every ton of L.C. produced. This kiln has an outlet of 250 tons per mensem.

To meet the enhanced demand for calcined magnesite, Mr. Peiniger was next entrusted with the construction of a group of three kilns for light calcination—a work which included a boiler to serve a 20-brake H.P. steam-engine, by which a revolving coal-fed gas generator is worked through the agency of shafting. This expensive combination was completed early in 1910. There is a main external conduit to convey the gas from the generator to the kilns, and another conduit for the air, which is forced by a fan through this independent conduit and distributed—as is the gas—to

each kiln separately, there to combine in a combustion chamber.

Owing to the great heat developed in the generator, which tends to fuse the bell that regulates the coal supply—it has, in point of fact, fused one bell—it is not found convenient to work more than two kilns of the group at the same time. However, a good deal of spare power is made use of by driving a grinding-mill.

The kilns are loaded from above with magnesite, which is railed to them at the necessary level, thus all direct hoisting is avoided. It takes about twenty-four hours for the material to pass through the kiln and two hours through the zone of greatest heat, when the carbon dioxide is driven off. The maximum temperature ever attained is 1000°C .; but it is generally reckoned at from 700° to 900°C . The purer the magnesium carbonate, the higher the temperature required.

In any kiln of this group a ton of L.C. is produced at a general expenditure of 2·3 tons of crude magnesite. And the consumption of coal is 0·07 tons in the boiler and 0·23 tons in the generator—total 0·3 tons of coal to every ton of L.C. produced. Two kilns working simultaneously have an output of 400 tons a month. The magnesia is sold in the lump and also ground, according to buyers' requirements. The lump is in demand for chemical works. It is also used for the manufacture of firebricks in lieu of dead-burnt, which is very difficult to get, if not altogether unobtainable. Of course the acceptance of L.C. for D.B. entails recalcination on the part of the manufacturers; but they put up with this rather than do without the material altogether—especially in these days when basic furnaces are in great request for the output of munitions of war. The ground magnesia, in combination with magnesium chloride in solution, is used for floorings as mentioned above. It is necessary to sort all caustic magnesia soon after production, for a considerable portion of it will be found to be under-burnt on coming out of the kiln, owing to the magnesite

being entirely, or almost entirely, free from iron oxide. Where the iron oxide figures as one of the salient impurities, as in the case of the Styrian magnesite, the difficulty is to guard against *overburning*. So much of the caustic magnesia as has to be ground is passed between two 4 feet 6 inches diameter mill stones laid horizontally, of which the lower one revolves. These stones grind the material fine enough to leave considerably less than a 3 per cent. residue on an 120-mesh sieve, and an output of half a ton per hour is derivable from one pair.

Lump L.C. is packed in single bags, and ground L.C. in double bags—or occasionally casks—for exportation. The crude magnesite is exported in bulk.

A gold medal was awarded for Salem magnesite at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904; at the Franco-British (Paris) Exposition of 1908; and at the San Francisco in 1915.

There are approximately 1,700 coolies employed regularly on the works, and arrangements have been made to increase this number by building lines for some of the criminal classes for whom the Madras Government want to find employment.

Although India is an agricultural country, it has vast mineral resources, many of which remain to be developed. Even in Bundelkhand—which, as Mr. Henry Marsh told us in a paper read under the auspices of the East India Association last May, is dependent entirely on agriculture, and is now well watered, thanks to Mr. Marsh himself—there are deposits of iron ore, diamonds (in Panna), and copper. It might materially contribute to the welfare of Bundelkhand if operations in that region were extended to the development of its mineral wealth, as, in point of fact, the manganese industry has contributed, and still contributes, to the welfare of the Central Provinces. At the different mines owned by the Central Provinces Prospecting Syndicate alone no less than 6,000 coolies obtain regular employment all the year round. And there are, besides, other mines in the Central Provinces where much labour is

employed. The manganese mines in Vizianagram locality represent another case in point. Again, there are the Kolar gold-fields, and various mines in Mysore which benefit the Province enormously. And now we hear of the wolfram boom in Burma. But such operations as these are the outcome of private enterprise. In developing the innate resources of India public enterprise is practically confined to agriculture, to which end vast sums have been spent (and advantageously spent) on the construction of magnificent works of irrigation. Perhaps the time has arrived for the hidden treasures of the land to be considered, and if the welfare of the people of India is to be insured to the fullest extent the mineral resources, as well as the irrigation resources, should be exploited to the fullest extent.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W, on Tuesday, October 17, 1916, a paper was read by Mr C H B Burlton, entitled "The Magnesite Mines of India" Sir J D Rees, KCIL, CVO, MP, was in the chair. The following among others were present: Sir Arundel T Arundel, KCIL, Sir G Forbes, KCIL, Sir Murray Hammick, KCIL, CIL, Sir William Duke, KCIL, Sir William Owens Clark, Lady Hay Currie, Lieut-Colonel S H Godfrey, CIL, Lieut-Colonel Gaultier, Mr C E Buckland, CIL, Mr N C Sen, Mr W Coldstream, Mr Carkeet James, Mr E Benedict, Mr R E Ellis, Mr Willock, Mr M H Kedevai, Mr Ahmad Salach Din, Mr F H Brown, Mr I S Haj, Mr J Khanna, Mr C F Tufnell, Rev R Evans Mills, Mr A Bruce-Joy, Mr J S Thornton, Miss Dunderdale, Mr and Mrs H C West, Mr G V Utamsing, Mr H R Cook, Mrs Marshall, Mrs Johnstone, Mrs Burlton, Miss Burlton, Mrs Collis, Mr Edwardes, Mr H G Turner, Mr R Walton, Mr A K Mathua, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr B K Ambedkar, Mr Jordan Adams, Mrs Salwey, Mrs Salwey-White, Mrs Dams, Mrs Nash, Miss Gore-Langton, Rev W L Broadbent, Mrs White, Mr J Lee-Warner, and Mr J B Pennington, acting Hon Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, if I have any disqualifications for occupying this chair—and I am sure I have many—the chief is that I know nothing about magnesite, let me own up at once. But I have one qualification, and that is that, having suffered under many chairmen myself, and having often occupied the position to-day occupied by my friend Mr Burlton, I realize that you have come here to listen to him and not to me, therefore I only propose to say a few words on the importance of this subject at the present time. We have an Industrial Commission now perambulating India, with the intention of finding out and developing new industries. We have a new Viceroy, who has just made the speech of a man after my own heart, in which he has dwelt upon the industrial development of India rather than upon so-called political ambitions. I think all present will agree with me that

industrial development is what India wants, and that nothing can be of more importance than the question of the export thence of raw materials. That is a question which this Industrial Commission will discuss and which the Imperial Commission will have to consider, and we have it on the authority of Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Asquith that India will be represented on the latter body, and it is the business of some of us to see that she is adequately represented.

Now Mr. Burlton himself, whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for a great many years, is one of those Cooper's Hill engineers who have gone to India to cover it with great works, those great works which are perhaps the chief monument of our rule in that country; and he has been associated, and is now associated, and particularly in regard to this chemical substance, this raw product, which is the subject of the lecture, with Mr. Henry Gribble Turner, than whom I think no living man has done more to develop the industrial resources of India. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Turner is one of those rare individuals who, although he has been an official, has retained that power of initiative which an official career, if it does not strangle, at any rate does not tend to develop. He is the kind of man who, if he sees a range of mountains, wonders what will grow there and proceeds to grow it; if he travels in a district he wonders what is in the ground, and if there is anything there he gets it out. He is the man who obtained the concession for this magnesite. He is the man who has introduced the manganese industry into Southern and Central India, so important for munitions at the present moment, and indeed at all times; and, thinking that all raw products required railways to carry them, it was his fertile mind which conceived the idea of the East Coast Railway, with its branches, and it is he who has done so much now to develop India and actually to discover and to develop this present industry about which Mr. Burlton will tell us to-day.

Lest I should offend in a way in which, I assure you, as I told you when I began, I never do offend, I will not say another word, but will now call upon Mr. Burlton to give us his lecture.

The Lecturer delivered his lecture illustrated by photographs, and at the close added that he hoped that steps would be taken by the medical authorities to deal with a disease called hook-worm.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we have had a most interesting lecture from Mr. Burlton—I am sure you will all agree. A good deal of it was rather above me, but where he came off his scientific perch and came down to the intellectual level of those who are scientifically uninformed, I myself picked up a great deal of information, and I have no doubt others present did, if there are any of you who are as wanting in scientific knowledge as I am. It is extremely interesting to learn that magnesite is used for the floors of railway carriages and the decks of ships, and from those

purposes condescends to be used for the making of Epsom salts, and also of emery boards for the nice trimming of dainty nails. That is a very wide area of usefulness, and I should think few scientific substances can beat it. I think myself, now that it is all over, that Mr Burlton was distinctly out of order in talking about the hook worm, because there is no connection between the hook-worm and the magnesite, unless it be that the labourers at the magnesite mines have not got it and as they have not got it, I hope he will be able to succeed in keeping it away from them as long as those mines exist. The pictures that Mr Burlton showed you, those barren-looking districts which he marked out with his pointer, which he wields as accurately as he does a shot gun (and that means a great deal, I can tell you), are being made at present to blossom like the rose, owing to the enterprise of Mr H G Turner. You do not see the rose. It is an industrial rose, but of more value locally than if it were the fresh, fragrant, and dew drenched rose of Sharon.

I made a few remarks before, consequently I do not mean to trespass on your attention by repeating them, or adding much to them, but I think I should say, with reference to the concluding remarks in Mr Burlton's printed paper, that it does seem of the utmost importance that the assistance of Government should be invoked for the development of new industries like this. Mr Burlton referred to the tea industry, which, of course, has created modern Assam, and to the Kolar gold mines, which have been the saving of part of Malabar and Mysore. He also referred to wolfram. I remember when we were all looking for wolfram in Saxony. I hope we shall never do that again, and that we shall get it all from Burmah. Then, we know what happened in Travancore, where the deposits of monazite which are very useful for the purpose of making incandescent mantles and for many other scientific purposes were nominally possessed by an English company, the whole capital of which was held by Germans. Now we want the Government to come in very strongly, and to make that sort of thing impossible, and to assist real British enterprise for the production of raw products like this magnesite, and I hope, Sir Arundel, that your Society will think proper to send a copy of the proceedings of this day to Sir Thomas Holland, who is conducting the industrial survey of India, so that he may know what has happened here and may take it into account. I will give a copy to the Secretary of State, and could dispose with advantage of three copies if kindly supplied.

Mr Burlton said that I had taken the wind out of his sails by making a few remarks about our friend Mr Henry Gribble Turner. Well, I do not think I did. All honour to Mr Turner. It is he who has made this Salem desert blossom like a rose. It is Mr Turner's enterprise that has set this industry upon its satisfactory

footing It was a great gratification to me to learn that as he is exceptional in his initiative and in the services that he has rendered to India, so he is also exceptional in having honour in his own country, and that the other day, when he went to Vizagapatam, the inhabitants rose like one man and called him blessed, and presented him with an address, which he must have been very proud to receive, and upon the receipt of which I am sure we all heartily congratulate him

I could go on talking for some time, but I will not, and I will now call upon any gentleman present, who desires to do so, to speak on the subject of the lecture According to the rules of this Society, speakers are asked to hand up their cards and not to speak for more than ten minutes but before receiving any card I am sure you would all like to hear Mr Turner, if he will kindly make a few remarks upon the lecture

MR HENRY GRIBBLE TURNER, who was received with applause, said that he had been asked by several people to state how it was he had obtained his knowledge of the magnesite deposits in Salem The answer was that he found the knowledge in a library He was reading once in the library of the Madras Club the proceedings of a very well known institution, and amongst those he suddenly came across a description of the magnesite deposits in Salem There upon he went into the matter, and went down to Salem and saw the deposits, and obtained concessions of them from the Government and from several other proprietors there Having got those concessions, he went very nearly all over the world to find out whether they were of any advantage One of the first places that he went to was the Sorbonne at Paris, and the Professor there said "Your stuff looks very good, but I do not think it is, however, I will try it" He put it into an electric furnace and turned on his current and said "Now, sir, you will see that your magnesite will disappear" After the current had been on for some time the Professor looked again into the receptacle and said "By George! it has not disappeared, there it is" When the Professor was asked for the reason of this he said that it was because of its great purity, he said it was the purest magnesite he had ever had anything to do with After that the speaker went to some fishing in Norway, and adjacent to the fishing was a very fine waterfall He harnessed the waterfall, and got some of the magnesite from India and put it up there under the electric arc which was generated by the waterfall There again the magnesite exhibited its extraordinary refractory qualities The speaker then took it over to New York and showed it to Mr Edison, who said that he had been practising with magnesite all his life, and had never seen any which stood such a high temperature as that which had been given to him as coming from India Afterwards the speaker went down to Chester, where they imported the magnesite from Styria, and, as the Lecturer had

told them, they got the carbon dioxide out, which they used for manufacturing soda-water, and the residue they turned into bricks. After that the speaker travelled to a great many places and exhibited magnesite, and in San Francisco, where he was last year, he exhibited both manganese and magnesite, and was awarded a gold medal. He wrote and said he was very much obliged to hear that they had given him a gold medal, and was quite prepared to receive it whenever they would send it on. They said "No, we have said your stuff is worth a gold medal. If you want a gold medal you will have to pay for it yourself." That was so with all exhibitions, whenever they gave a gold medal they said "We mean it is worth a gold medal, but if you want one you must go and buy it yourself." The speaker said he would not extol his own merits, because they had been sufficiently extolled by the Chairman and the Lecturer, but in conclusion he would say that he had been in business for twenty six years, ever since he left the Indian Civil Service, and had profited, not on his own merits, but owing to the merits of the men who had been associated with him.

The magnesite business is now in the hands of the Magnesite Syndicate, Ltd., whose office is at Winchester House, Old Broad Street, London. The managing director is Mr H. H. Davis, a gentleman of great chemical and business attainments. Other directors are Mr. Burlton, whose lecture we have just heard, and Mr. Russell, who has had great local knowledge of the deposits and has lingual connections with countries in Europe and South America which enable us to do business in those connections. But what we want is markets in India and the East, and we look to the India Office to afford us facilities for pushing the business in those parts.

THE CHAIRMAN. As no other speaker wishes to address the meeting on the subject of the lecture, and nobody has offered any criticism thereon, there is nothing to which the lecturer can reply.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL, K.C.S.I., rose to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Burlton for his lecture, which was full of information of an extremely recondite kind, and they were much indebted to him for the trouble he had taken in preparing it. The speaker wished also to include in the vote of thanks Sir John Rees for his kindness in taking the chair. He would also like to associate himself with the remarks which had been made with regard to the value of Mr. Turner's services to India as a pioneer of industry. Years ago the speaker had an opportunity of urging that particular view when he was up in the north of India. The details of what Mr. Turner had done had been mentioned both by the Chairman and by the Lecturer. He also entirely concurred with what Sir John Rees had said of the value of the Industrial Commission which was now in India under the extremely able chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holland, who formerly held with exceptional ability and

distinction the headship of the Department of Geological Survey in India.

Mr. PENNINGTON said that he had very much pleasure in seconding the votes of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer in the unfortunate absence of the Secretary of the Association.

Mr. BURLTON: Gentlemen, I thank you very much for your kind reception of my paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind vote of thanks.

PICTURES FROM RUSSIA IN WAR-TIME

THE ST. ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL OF PETROGRAD

BY SONIA E. HOWE.

NOT crowded in, like St. Paul's, not far away from the centre of the city, like St. Peter's, but in the centre and yet standing on a free and open space, alone by itself—thus the visitor to Petrograd beholds the great cathedral of St. Isaac's. It is a beautiful building, in its perfect proportions, with its granite pillars, its relief carvings, the giant angels in the corners of the roof, the gilded cupolas and the fine dome, all strike the onlooker as beautiful and noble. Within the cathedral there is beauty and wealth, and an air of solemnity reigns even at times when no service is being celebrated. Even the idle sightseer treads softly as he enters the lofty church, for it is essentially a place to pray in, not merely to admire men's skill and art. There are the wonderful pillars of lapis-lazuli and of malachite, and the *ensemble* of gilt and blue and green gives a very vivid living impression. The large pictures between the pillars, behind which form the sanctuary screen, are all in mosaic, as indeed every other picture in this church. The original paintings have been replaced by mosaics, and the academician who carefully added piece to piece felt content in doing his work, for "was it not for eternity"?

It is on Saturday evenings that the most perfect music is rendered in St. Isaac's, and evensong attracts not merely worshippers, but many lovers of music. There were, how-

ever, not many people there when I visited the cathedral on a Saturday evening, but those who were there had come to pray. Hearts are sad and heavy at present, and the dear ones out at the front must be entrusted to the protection of the Lord. Many wax tapers are burning before the holy ikons, each candle representing the prayer of some loving soul. I have seen them pray—mothers, sweethearts and wives—have seen their lips move, and their breasts heave in earnest pleading. The almost passionate way in which the one or the other signed herself with the sign of the cross, or prostrated herself, told of anguish—anguish hardly endurable. Oh! the war and its terrible sacrifices of life. "For men must fight and women must weep" seems to be the motto of the present day. But they are worthy of their men in bravery; and if the Russian women weep, when pouring their hearts out before God, they also take their share in the brunt of the battle. It is they who work on the fields and gather in the harvests, and who fill the places vacated by their men-folk. It is the Soldatka, the soldier's wife, who has to keep things going while her man is out in far-away Khranzia, as they call France, or on the North-West or the distant Caucasian front. I have seen not only women come and pray in St. Isaac's, but officers and men, Cossacks and infantry, sailors and airmen. They come to plead in prayer even at times when there is no service. There is no false shame about them; and not in crowds, but individually they come up to the sacred image, prostrate themselves before it, kiss it, or merely put the wax taper into the large candelabra. I have also seen soldiers from the distant parts of the Empire walk quietly about, awed by the beauty and grandeur of the cathedral, and studying its beautiful pictures. Solemnity and reality, these are the two impressions the visitor to St. Isaac's takes away with him.

ARMENIA'S LULLABY*

BY ARCHAG TCHOBANIAN

THOU sittest at the crossing of the ways ;
 The snow upon thy tresses falls and stays ;
 The wounds are festering that cover thee ;
 Thy blood-shot eyes are like a crimson sea.

What evil Fate hath woven thus thy thread ?
 Who, seeing thee thus prostrate, would have said
 That thou wast once a maiden fair and bright—
 A maid with conquering eyes of shining light ?

* * * * *

The brigands of the world all longed for thee,
 And thou wast sought by many an enemy.
 Long did'st thou fight and spurn them, till, at length,
 They laid thee on the ground, shorn of thy strength.

Thy soul was fertile, virtuous and mild,
 Amidst destruction's powers, fierce and wild ;
 And thou hast caused new germs to come to birth—
 Thy fingers called forth beauty from the earth.

For thou wast Anahit, the peaceful-eyed,
 The Golden Mother, brilliant in thy pride.
 Thy bosom poured forth plenty ; light thine eyes ;
 Sweet lips thou had'st—hands that could all devise.

* * * * *

How brave thou wast, how lovely in thy pain !
 Beneath thy woes how bright thou did'st remain !
 How did'st thou break thy yokes and bondage sore !
 How oft from death did'st thou arise once more !

* Translated from the Armenian by Zabelle C. Boyajian.

Thine eyes for light and knowledge ever yearned ;
Thy daring mind still to the New World turned.
For centuries unaided thou did'st strive
Asia's wild hordes back to their source to drive.

The torrent grew, and felled thee with its might—
Quenched with its waves thy flame that shone so bright ;
There, in the darkness, soiled with many a stain,
Fallen, but living still, thou did'st remain.

At night the cross on many an ancient tomb
Would seem to live and move, while through the gloom
The heroes of Mount Ararat would shine,
Their eyes aflame with fire and wrath divine.

And distant drum-beats sounded in the air ;
Then, trembling, thou didst turn awhile to hear,
And gazed upon the mountains wistfully ;
But dull and frosty silence answered thee.

And one day, in an agony of pain,
A cry of anguish thou could'st not restrain :—
The world was deaf to thee, and thou wast left,
To Savage Force, of all thy hopes bereft.

Among the burning flames wild spirits leapt ;
They seared thy heart, tore out thine eyes that wept.
And thou wast driven forth beneath the blast—
Naked upon the blood and ashes cast.

Thou sittest now, a spectre wan and white.
Ruin and desolation mark thy plight ;
Thy fearful wounds the icy blizzard stings,
And from thy blue-cold bosom blood-drops wrings.

Thou weepest, swaying slowly to and fro,
Crooning a gentle lullaby and low,
To lull thy sons—some fallen by thy side,
Some to the winds of heaven scattered wide.

To all those lives cut short a lullaby ;
To those bright eyes, that now in darkness lie ;
To those who live, and are in suffering still—
Who exiled roam, or loathsome dungeons fill.

Enough, enough ; that lullaby is death.
Enough ; for other songs we need our breath !
Revenge and hope from hence our songs shall fill—
Songs that shall reach the dead, and make them thrill !

Enough of grief ; look up, and weep no more.
Suffering is blessed ; noble, though 'tis sore ;
The sacrifice beneath the cross is great,
And morn is woven in the night of fate.

They that did wrong thee, and thy children slay,
Like dust shall disappear, and melt away.
And from the ashes thou shalt rise once more,
Chastened by sorrow, brighter than before.

Weep not, thy wind-tossed tresses all unbound ;
Weep not, thy piteous head bowed to the ground.
Know thou thyself ; collect thy strength dispelled—
Enough the stranger's house thou hast upheld !

To our dead brothers peaceful sleep, and sound.
Arise and bless us ; spread thy wings around—
Thy mighty wings, and let our life and soul
Be offered thee : thyself our only goal.

Triumphant from the ashes thou shalt rise ;
Like radiant stars shall shine with light thine eyes ;
Thy wounds shall turn to roses, sweet and fair ;
Light shall stream forth from thy long, snowy hair.

Then shalt thou at the crossing of the ways,
Shatter the might that tyranny displays !
Arise ! thy mighty travail life shall give.
O Mother, in thy womb a world doth live !

THE HISTORIC ISOLATION OF RUSSIA

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART

To understand Russia and to understand why it has been in the past and is to a great extent in the present so different from the rest of Europe one must study its history. There one finds the reason for the difference, the causes of its isolation, its different social system, its autocratic rule, and it is these causes which we will now try to consider. Let us divide this consideration into five heads: (1) The early Byzantine civilization and (2) autocracy; (3) the Tatar conquest; (4) the isolation of Russia; and (5) serfage; and regard them one by one and then together, and we will then see how Russia has been cut off from the West, and how she has hardly yet been entirely joined on to it.

When the Varangian princes, the Northmen, Rurik, his brothers and his near kin, settled themselves among the Slav tribes of the north of Russia in the ninth century they were still pagans. They adopted the nature worship of those round them; worshipped Perun, the god of thunder, and other Slav gods during their turbulent and spacious lives. It was St. Olga, the wife of Rurik's son Igor, when "her thirst for vengeance was at last satisfied," who turned "her thoughts to religion, and was the first Russian princess to embrace Christianity," which she did by being baptized in the church of St. Sophia at Byzantium, A.D. 957. This was the first step towards the long separation of Russia from the West, and the link once formed with Byzantium

was made much closer by the conversion of her grandson Vladimir. He became sole ruler of Russia, with Kiev as his capital, and, after flirting with Islam and Judaism, having sent an embassy to inquire into the Christian religion as practised at Byzantium and received an ecstatic reply, became a Christian also, and having married the Greek Princess Anne, introduced as many Greek practices to his Court as he was able before his death in 1015.

Bon gré mal gré Vladimir had converted his people to Christianity of the Eastern Rite—that ancient form of Christianity which preserves with high spirituality an unyielding spirit of conservatism in ritual, and which is unwilling to persecute heretics, but is terrible when conversion of any of its adherents is attempted. This separated the Russians from the Bohemians and Poles, devoted to the Roman Catholic form of Christianity, and later, by the inclusion of the Lithuanians in the Polish kingdom, limited their religious supremacy to Russia itself, and made it a country apart, with no exits save through Byzantium, hostile lands, or northward through the inhospitable White Sea. Although Byzantium had a considerable culture of its own, and Russia borrowed what it could of this—including absolute autocracy of its monarchs and the quasi seclusion of women in the *Terem*—it became rapidly useless as a link with Western Europe owing to the swift conquest of the Eastern Empire by the Mussulman Osmanli Turk, which culminated in the capture of Byzantium by the Turks in 1453. This left the whole of the Eastern Church at the mercy of the Turkish conqueror, and not only crystallised it into an archaic form, but made it of no use for spreading the light of education. Long before this, however, Russia had suffered from a great eclipse, a second reason which prevented it from receiving Western influences and which made it the most remote of European Christian communities; this was the Tatar conquest. The historian Waliszewski points out how this blighted Russia. Of the old Byzantine

Russia of the eleventh century he says : " These Dukes of Kiev have no need to seek their wives within their subjects' *terems*. Jaroslav espouses a Swede, Ingegard, the daughter of King Olaf. He marries his sister to King Casimir of Poland ; one of his sons, Vsievobod, to the daughter of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus of Byzantium. . . . His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, weds King Harold of Norway ; the third, Anastasia, King Andreas I. of Hungary. Three Bishops . . . come to Kiev in 1048 to ask the hand of the second daughter, Anne, for Henry I. of France." All this intercourse and this nascent system of matrimonial alliances with the West came to an end by the conquest of Russia by the Tatars. Baty and his Mongol ordas or hordes swept over the Eastern Slavs in 1224, and Russia was a prisoner in the hands of the Tatars for nearly three hundred years.

Pagans when they entered Russia, the Tatars became Moslems in 1272. They were not intolerant, and not great proselytizers ; but they were Moslems, and Christian Russia was enslaved by them. The Russian word for peasant is still *kryestyan'een*, which shows to what humility the Russians were reduced. Although the Tatar allowed the Russian princes much liberty, they were forced to visit the Tatar Orda of their suzerain, and also to receive from him the *iarlikh*, or letter of nomination, with which alone they could play the autocrat in their own principalities. Their subjects were drawn on for the Tatar army ; their princes were married to Tatar princesses. Thus, in 1318, the Grand Prince George Danielovitch, of Moscow, was married to Kontchaka, sister of Uzbek-Khan, who became a Christian under the name of Agatha. Probably such marriages were more frequent than is now remembered, and the mingling of the peoples more usual than the modern Russian will admit, and this no doubt accounts for many non-Western customs. Certainly the descendants of the Tatar khans, when conquered by Russia finally, were easily absorbed, and their names are found among the chief families of the

Russian noblesse, and in great consideration. The Tatars, by segregating Russia, forced it to be either more Oriental or else purely Byzantine. They made it so different from the West that Russia refused intercourse with it, and had no inclination towards its culture. Hence there were before the reign of Ivan III. hardly any envoys sent to Western Europe from the new State of Moscow, even when it had emancipated itself from the humble title of "Servant of the Khan." No Russian was allowed to leave his Tsar's dominions without the consent of his sovereign under pain of death, and an embassy to a foreign country was only sent on the most rare and pressing occasions, and under the most rigid and inflexible instructions. Personal insecurity in his long-suffering Tsardom inspired several of Ivan the Terrible's embassies to Queen Elizabeth, but as a general rule most of the diplomatic correspondence with the West, which became more and more necessary after the Romanov dynasty was secure on the throne, was carried on through foreigners, better educated than the Russians, and therefore trusted by them in spite of their alien birth. This trust in foreigners has had a curious effect in Russian history. Peter the Great, who with his sword opened Russia to the West with hardly more hesitation and fear of consequences than if he had been opening an oyster with an oyster-knife, had to trust for his instruction to foreigners. He had the Genevese Lefort, the Scottish Gordons and Bruces, the German Münich. He employed Scots on his Eastern embassies, and employed the Jews Shafirof and Dervier. In the reign of his third successor, Anna Ivanovna, the foreign rule became that of the dreaded Bironovchtchina, called after her hated favourite, the German Büren. With Elizabeth Petrovna the Court was Russian under French culture; under the German-born Catherine II. Russian, with an underlying German political element, which allowed French to be the language of the Court and even of this Empress, but which never fostered higher Russian culture. This

veiled influence was continued under the Emperors Paul and Alexander I., that disciple of Mme. de Krüdener, and is still, though in abeyance, one of the most difficult problems of the Russian future; as, fostered for three centuries, the chief medium of the culture of the Baltic provinces, and supported by every Russian Jew, it is by no means negligible even yet, and is a difficult element to absorb, as the German is the definite opponent of the Slav in every manner of thought and habit of life.

But though Peter the Great and his successors, by opening "a window into Europe," no doubt gave many opportunities for Teutonic and especially Prussian influence over their Slav subjects, always easy going and slow to move in search of Western "progress," there was a condition in Russia without a parallel in Western Europe, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to which many social peculiarities can still be traced, and this was *serfage*, which was abolished only in 1861.

Originally foreign to Russia, the system by which a peasant was attached to the land and sold with it was a "reform" introduced by the Regent Boris Godounov, in 1592, during the reign of the feeble Feodor Ivanovitch. No doubt the system existed in many other Christian countries, but in none did it become so rooted and endure so long as in Russia. The serf, or "soul," was later regarded as a piece of merchandise. When Casanova wished to buy a female serf in 1765, he was told: "You become her owner, and you can, if she runs away, have her brought back, unless she repays the 100 roubles you have paid for her. . . ." "And if," said Casanova, "I leave Petersburg, can I force her to come with me?" "No, unless you have first obtained permission, for the girl, in becoming your serf, does not cease in the first place to be the serf of the Empress."

This absolute power, so lately removed from the land-owning class in Russia, has undoubtedly left traces. The old boyars had their crest lowered by Ivan the Terrible.

Peter the Great further reduced them, and the Feudal System had never any real footing in Russia. At the one end of the social pinnacle was the Autocrat by whose power everybody beneath him could be made powerful or mere dust; at the other end the serf absolutely dependent on his or her master, who might be of Slav blood akin to his own. This system has led to a puzzling condition of equality, apathy, and philosophy all through Russia, which has been helped no doubt by the sudden rises and falls which went hand in hand with the old autocratic rule, when, as Horace Walpole expressed it, Siberia was "next the drawing-room." Princesse Lieven mentions in 1802 with no apparent surprise the marriage of a Count Cheremetyev with "une de ses esclaves. . . . Elle vient de mourir ces jours-ci et a été enterrée avec toute la pompe imaginable"; and Peter the Great showed that no rank should count without the Emperor's favour by instituting the Tschin, or "Table of Ranks," which fixed the courtiers' precedence by his official rank; and indicated how little he regarded birth by choosing Menshikoff to be his heart-brother, although he had begun life selling meat-pies (*pirogi*) in the streets. It is this continual change of fortune that has made Russian social history so puzzling. It has given to it in the past an unreal brilliancy and a very real unrest. Russian culture, for long flouted by the Germanized bureaucracy, was distrusted when it began to develop. It was regarded as a relic of barbaric or unwelcome times. Only now is it beginning to have full force, and when a great Slav revival is taking place all over the countries where Slavonic languages are spoken, who doubts but that the Russian people, secluded and enslaved by circumstances as they have been in the past, will yet show themselves to have a glorious and far-reaching culture all their own, and already only partially developed, which will help to revivify and restore the down-trodden races of a similar origin, now languishing under the hostile heel of the Central Powers.

THE RUSSIAN HOSPITAL IN LONDON

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

"To suffer is to understand,
To understand is to love !

A CHARMING portrait of Her Majesty the Queen Alexandra and our Empress Marie Feodorovna is to be found in a book just published in London, the two august sisters holding each other by the hand. The signature is no less delightful than the picture—"Les Deux Sœurs et les Deux Pays Unis"—and it is most gratifying to think that this beautiful union manifests itself in many ways.

Day by day our two peoples seem to understand and appreciate each other more closely, and the bonds of friendship that unite them are constantly being strengthened both by circumstances and by tireless well-wishers and workers in the good cause. Among the latter, a high place must be accorded to Monsieur and Madame de Mouravieff Apostol, who have just presented to the English military authorities a magnificently equipped hospital in London, to be called St. Mary's Russian Hospital for British Officers. The hospital is under the immediate patronage of H.I.M. the Empress Marie Fedorovna, in whose honour it is named. It will accommodate fifty wounded officers, and both work and money have been lavishly spent to surround them with every care. There are five resident professional sisters, and twenty voluntary nurses, who, as is customary in English war hospitals, will, under the direction of a *commandante*, take charge of the entire work of the estab-

lishment—i.e., nursing as well as housework. Women of the working classes being mostly at present employed in munition factories and in other occupations that men have left vacant on being sent to the front, domestic servants are scarce and unsatisfactory. Ladies of the upper classes, therefore, have cheerfully and competently taken their places in all the private, and many of the public, military hospitals.

The Russian hospital was most auspiciously opened a few days ago by the Prime Minister, in the presence of the Grand Duke Michael, the Russian Ambassador, Count Beckendorff, and an elegant and representative Anglo-Russian assemblage.

An altar had been temporarily arranged on the spacious first-floor landing of the splendid London mansion lent for the period of the war by Sir Berkeley and Lady Sheffield, and here a religious service was held by the Russian Embassy Chaplain. The guests had assembled on the landing, and all the nurses, grouped upwards on the broad staircase, formed a picturesque background as of white veiled nuns with red crosses.

After the service, Mr. Asquith made an interesting speech, thanking Monsieur and Madame Mouravieff-Apostol heartily for their generous gift, and expressing the conviction that the links of friendship now binding our two nations together will forge themselves into a chain that will be lasting and indestructible.

The speech was enthusiastically received by all present, after which the hospital was inspected, and then tea was served smilingly and gaily by the voluntary nurses.

The wards and all the arrangements are in every way the last word as to comfort and luxury. Everywhere is a sense of light and brightness and space. White enamelled beds, screens and coverlets of a charming cornflower blue, fires burning gaily in the huge grates, everything spotless and sparkling, and everywhere masses of flowers. There is a splendidly fitted operating theatre, an X-ray installa-

tion, numberless bath-rooms, the most elegant and comfortable of recreation rooms for the convalescent, in fact nothing seems to have been left undone. The staff and doctors are all English, with the exception of three Russian voluntary nurses. Dr. Gould-May, the doctor in charge, worked for some time in the Anglo-Russian hospital in Petrograd.

It is indeed most sincerely that one can say "God speed" to this new enterprise; and, more especially as English doctors and nurses have, since the outbreak of the war, done such splendid work in Russia, it is certain that all Russian hearts will go out in sympathy and good-will to our compatriots, Monsieur and Madame Mouravieff-Apostol, who have had the generous and charming idea of founding a Russian hospital in London. After the war, by the way, they have decided to remove the hospital to permanent quarters, and thus to endow, in remembrance of the great struggle we fought out side by side, a lasting gift of friendship to the English people.

There is a very touching feature about the hospital wards: three of these are called respectively after three great Russian saints—"Faith," "Hope," and "Love."

To me there was a very pathetic side in this notable and touching gathering. There stood before me the two representatives of two great powers—the Russian Ambassador and the Prime Minister of England. These two were united by the same terrible sorrow. Each of them has lost a beloved son in the war. Another Russian ambassador, now in Rome, Monsieur de Giers, had the same misfortune in the Japanese War, and how many more such cases could one quote! I could not help thinking of this, when I remembered that some people are inclined to think that our representative classes are not eager to make great personal sacrifices for the defence of their countries.

No, the grandeur of this war is that the countries are not united only by political and commercial ties. The real link

is their voluntary sacrifices, their sorrows and devotion to their duty.

I wonder whether such ties are not the noblest and strongest we can have? Sacrifices are needed and are made, but all the classes, the wealthiest and the poorest, the highest and the humblest, actually represent the real Christian brotherhood.

It may be added that this hospital has been graciously honoured by a long visit from the King, the Queen, Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria, who showed great interest in this work, and allowed a group to be taken in commemoration of the visit.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

A NEW LIGHT ON RUSSIA *

"You know my feelings with regard to England. What I have told you before I say again : it was intended that the two countries should be upon terms of close amity, and I feel sure that this will continue to be the case ; and I repeat that it is very essential that the two Governments should be on the best of terms, and the necessity was never greater than at present " (Emperor Nicholas I. to Sir Henry Seymour).

The Emperor Nicholas I. was the originator of the Entente between England and Russia. Could he have ever supposed that his work, unrealized by his officials of the time, would be continued with such perseverance and success by his godchild ? Whoever wants to realize this fact must read Madame Novikoff's "Russian Memories."

At the beginning of her chapter on the Emperor Nicholas I., the author explains how the idea of an Entente with England and France was encouraged in the Emperor's lifetime by the sending of three leading scientists to study the geological features of the Russian Empire.

"Sir Roderick Murchison, M. de Verneuil, and Count Alexander Keyserling were appointed by their respective Governments to make a joint expedition, and, as a result of their labours, wrote a book entitled 'The Geology of Russia in Europe and the Urals,' which was published by the British Museum in 1845 in two volumes. This was

* "Russian Memories," by Olga Novikoff. Jenkins, 10s. 6d. net.

indeed a promising beginning, and may be said to have been the precursor for much co-operation between these nations long before an Entente was within the sphere of practical politics."

But we regret to have to add that this noble and statesmanlike example was not always followed; and Madame Olga Novikoff shows how, on the contrary, she received much discouragement both at home and in Chesham Place. Prince Gortschakoff, the Chancellor of Russia, actually suggested to her not to *mention* the word "Slavs," and Count Shouvaloff here almost paralyzed her good work. It was only with the arrival of Baron de Staal that matters took a slightly better turn, and, to quote her words, "the Baron was not afraid to show me publicly his sympathy and support." It may be added that in his view Madame Novikoff was often better informed than he of what the Russian Government was thinking of doing; she also received a tribute from Prince Lobanoff, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, who wrote to her: "I admire your courageous perseverance in dealing with Messieurs les Anglais, and I am very grateful for the assistance that you render us."

But if, in official quarters, she did not always receive the encouragement she deserved, she numbered among her friends and co-workers many whose names are now on the page of history.

There is a very vivid description, which must be read by everyone, and should be always remembered for its quite exceptional character. We mean the great St. James's Hall Conference, organized under the superintendence of Mr. Gladstone himself in favour of the orthodox Slavs in Turkey. Of those very dark and gloomy days at the end of 1878 she writes: "I have been described by my brother Alexander as maintaining a persevering, although a forlorn, struggle in the interests of peace. It may have been a really good cause, but it was almost a forlorn one. For a woman to endeavour to paralyze two

nations who seem determined to misunderstand each other was a folly which, had I been more versed in the ways of the political world, I might have never attempted. Out of my ignorance came my strength, for I dared to hope things at a period when hope was not quoted on the political exchange."

Of great abiding interest also are the pages describing Mr. Gladstone's interest in the Old Catholic Movement, and the controversy raised by Count Keyserling* at the time: "The Old Testament knows no Immortality." The identity of the author of the pamphlet is now revealed for the first time. We cannot refrain from quoting the passage from a letter she received from Mr. Gladstone on this subject.

"Nor can we forget that the Mosaic dispensation, coming as it were upon the back of the old patriarchal religion, being essentially national, was also predominantly temporal, and tended very powerfully to throw the idea of the future state into the shade. Nevertheless it is, I think, generally admitted that, while in certain passages the Psalmist speaks of it either despairingly or doubtfully, in some Psalms the subject is approached with a vivid and glowing belief; as when, for example, it is said: 'When I awake up after Thy likeness I shall be satisfied with it.' You know how much upon some occasions I have both sympathized with and admired your authorship. I do not dissuade you from following up the task to which you are now drawn."

Space does not permit of more than a mere mention of the names of Sir Henry C. Bannerman, Kinglake, Froude, W. T. Stead, Mark Twain, and the many charming anecdotes concerning them which the author has given us.

* Though immersed in philosophic speculations, and quite outside the current of political events, he wrote from the depths of Esthonia to a friend in 1877 as follows: "Since Mme. Novikoff has been away from London, affairs with England are getting quite dangerous. I will persuade the lady, for the sake of consolidating the peace, to pack her trunks again and go back there." A quite unexpected tribute to Madame Novikoff's influence.

But it must not be assumed that this book of memoirs deals only, or even for the greater part, with political and theological questions.

The charm of this book is that it has many charms. It is not enough to read Madame Novikoff's work. It is not even enough to read it twice over (an easy task); for in spite of a mass of the most important information it is exceedingly readable and written in an inimitable style. One ought to *study it attentively*, and have it always within reach. It contains one charming peculiarity: the efforts to efface herself, to minimize her doings, and to throw a new and brilliant light upon those who have been her co-workers and many of whom are no more; whereas it has remained for her to enter the paradise of her wishes and ideas in her lifetime.

Another very remarkable feature of this book—Madame Novikoff has actually thrown a new charming light on the Emperor Nicholas I., and reinstated the memory of her two brothers and her son. Only a very deep devotion could bring such brilliant results. Nicholas Kirrêeff has been described by such men as Froude and Kinglake, but the General Alexander Kirrêeff has made himself known as the promoter of the old Catholic movement. Both are described with the greatest success. The sister has reproduced his articles in two volumes in French and two large volumes in Russian. His theological studies were so deep that the Metropolitan of Moscow appointed him an honorary member of the Theological Academy—a unique honour in Russia. Another example of a military career combined with philosophical writings is Descartes, though the latter served as a military volunteer for only a very short time.

In her chapter on the sobering of Russia we are introduced to her son, Alexander Novikoff, and a very admirable speech addressed by him to the peasants of the family estate is put. We permit ourselves to make the following extract:

"Let me now tell what I expect from yourselves. I

begin with your meetings. You must admit that great disorders have taken place at these gatherings. Were they not often accompanied with drinking? What a quantity of land and property has been exchanged for brandy! I have now given strict orders—which I repeat to you now—that the smallest piece of land is not to be disposed of without the consent of your village judges and unless sanctioned by me."

Madame Novikoff recounts her own efforts in combating this evil. She relates that she used to invite the peasants from the village to take tea with her, and says:

"Watching my poor folk, I would sometimes ask them if they cared for tea, and always received the same reply: 'Why, of course we all like tea, but it is too dear for us. Naturally our masters may indulge in it; but we are poor people with empty pockets, while vodka is quite within our reach, and is cheap and plentiful everywhere.'"

"'Yes,' I said to myself, 'Count Witte has not shrunk from tempting the poor people everywhere in every way. He introduced the diabolical habit amongst them of buying their alcohol in small bottles at a conveniently low price. Thus any beggar can buy one of these bottles at a conveniently low price, and put it in his pocket.'"

It is now common knowledge what a great boon the prohibition of vodka has been to Russia, and how, so far from reducing the funds of the Exchequer, it has had precisely the opposite effect.

Among the illustrations we may note two school-buildings erected by Alexander Novikoff at Novo-Alexandrofska, and the magnificent church which, judging by its size and beauty, might very well be, not in a village of the province of Tambov, but in Moscow or Petrograd. Special attention should also be drawn to the frontispiece, showing the two sisters, the Empress of Russia and Queen Alexandra, with a superscription: "*Les deux Sœurs et Les Pays Unis.*" In this lovely frontispiece we have the whole programme!

Very remarkable, too, are the reminiscences of musical

friends—pianists and composers who are one of the many glories of Russia. We read of the anger of Rubinstein : a stratagem to listen to and prolong the improvisations of Liszt : kindly acts of Glazounoff : incidents which once read will always be remembered. The celebrated musician and chorus conductor, Professor Safonoff, is so well known in Europe and America that it was particularly charming to learn of his talent as a clever pencil-sketcher. We naturally turn with eagerness to the pages devoted to the present war, and with feelings of profound gratitude to her descriptions of Russian enthusiasm for England and the part played by her in the war.

Every page of these chapters is as it were impregnated with a fanatical faith in victory.

The *Westminster Gazette* of October 27 advises Madame Novikoff to write another book on the same lines as the "Russian Memories," and we entirely endorse the likeness which was discovered by the reviewer between the author and Count Leo Tolstoy the novelist in his most brilliant days. Therefore a new volume would be most welcome.

* With the declaration of the Japanese War Madame Novikoff preferred solitude to worldly intercourse, receptions and exchange of visits. Then came the loss of her brother, then of her only son ; the idea of having again a salon does not in the least appeal to her now, though, of course, she still has several deeply sincere friends in Russia, as in England.

"The only thing," she declares, "that remains for these times is work and still more work!"

Madame Novikoff was once described in a charming article as "a woman of two countries."

"So I am," said she, "but I never can forget that I have only one nationality, which I can never desert."

A NESTORIAN BISHOP AND HIS COMMENTARIES*

THESE books form the tenth and eleventh volumes of the *Horæ Semiticæ* series, and are interesting from many points of view. The history of Isho'dad, the person to whose authorship they are ascribed, is shrouded in mystery and encrusted with legend. It is said that he was a native of Merv, and became Bishop of Hadatha (sometimes written Hedhatta) in Assyria, flourished in the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era and belonged to the Nestorian community. It is claimed for him that he was "much admired for his erudition, wisdom, and splendid personal appearance." In this latter respect he would have presented a striking contrast to the Apostle upon whose epistles he is alleged to have penned the commentary forming the subject of the volumes now under consideration; for, according to certain Christian legends, Paul was a man rather under medium height, with scanty hair, bandy legs, unusually large eyes, but imperfect vision (some have it that he suffered from chronic inflammation of the eyes), bushy eyebrows which met in the centre, and an exceedingly long nose. The name Isho'dad (or as some write it Yesha-Dadh) is not one we would expect to find borne by

* "The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv," vol. v. Parts I and 2, "The Epistles of Paul the Apostle in Syriac." Edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, Hon. D.D. (Heidelberg), etc. Cambridge: The University Press, 6s. and 3s. net.

a Christian Bishop. It may, however, have some association with the Hebrew Eldad ("Beloved of God"; "God has loved"; or literally, "God loves") (Num. xi. 26). Isho, or Yesha, may be a corruption of Iesu (Jesus—compare Arabic, Isa), and, if so, then Isho'dad may have been a compound word welded into a name meaning "Jesus has loved," or possibly "The beloved of Jesus."*

Bar Hebracus says that the appellation of this Nestorian Bishop was "a Chaldean name," and its meaning "friend of the Redeemer."

The site of the episcopal domain of Isho'dad is very difficult to identify; the name thereof does not seem to be known to any modern traveller, or to find a place in any gazetteer. One writer states that Hedatha was near Mosul, whilst another (Abulfeda) places a town of that name on the banks of the Tigris, fourteen parsangs distant from Mosul.

So we have, in these two volumes, the original text and a translation thereof into English of one of the works inscribed to a somewhat legendary Nestorian ecclesiastic, of an episcopate the exact position whereof is clothed in ambiguity!

Isho'dad is said to have been noted for "his erudition and his wisdom." He certainly appears to have demonstrated one or other of these qualities by the wholesale manner in which he annexed matter from the works of earlier writers, this being especially noticeable with regard to the works of Ephrem, Josephus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia—there being hundred- of almost parallel passages in the works ascribed to Isho'dad and of those written by Theodore.

In the introduction to Mrs. Gibson's translation, written by Professor James Rendel Harris, M.A., LL.D., that gentleman dwells upon the value of this commentary to Hellenic scholars and archæologists, in the numerous instances in

* Compare also the Hebrew, Eladah (1 Chron. vii. 20), "God is lovely"; Eldaah (Gen. xxv. 4), "God is knowledge," or "God is omniscient" (from *daa* or *daiah*, "knowledge").

which it recites fragments of Greek literature and Hellenic mythology, derived by the author from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. A striking example of this is cited by Dr. Rendel Harris, in his introduction, with regard to the statement that "Zeus was regarded by the Cretans as a prince who was ripped up by a wild boar, and whose tomb was shown in Crete, this exhibition of the tomb of the ever-living one being the blasphemy to which pious Greeks referred when they spoke of the 'lying Cretans.' It was the tomb that was the lie." In support of this view, Professor Harris quotes the following extract from Isho'dad's Commentary upon Titus :

"Now let us come to the fresh information supplied by the present volume. It will be remembered that the line of Epimenides about the lying Cretans occurs in the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus ; when we turn to Isho'dad's Commentary upon Titus, we find the following statement : '*The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, and idle bellies.* Now, a poet of Crete, who was considered a prophet amongst them, some say it was *Maxanides*, others that it was Minos, son of Zeus ; but he calls him a *prophet*, according to the idea of the heathen about him, and it is evident from his adding their own : now this man, because many said about his father, who had been called Dios, but afterwards changed his name and was called Zeus, that is to say, living, that he went up to heaven and became higher than all the gods, the Cretans alone said he was a tyrant and a rebel, and when those said that he was not a mortal man, but an immortal god, the Cretans on the other hand said that he was killed, and showed his grave among them. For this reason, Minos said about them that they were liars, and think contrary to the ideas of all men ; and that they resemble destructive beasts, and are eager to falsify the writings of the poets. So the Apostle, too, finding

them liars in their dealings with him, employed this saying about them for their reproof, and not as confirming or praising that poet.'"

The influence of Hellenism and Grecian mythology upon Christianity, at the period when Theodore wrote and Isho'dad plagiarized, is demonstrated over and over again in these commentaries. Take, for instance, the following passage, which occurs in the Commentary upon 1 Cor. xv. 18 :

"The Corinthians were from the Greeks, and in heathendom they had various suppositions about their gods contrary to one another ; and they said of the later gods that they rebelled, and prevailed over the former ones ; for they fabled about Kronos, who was Saturn, that he was the first of all the gods ; and this one consorted with Rhea his wife ; and because Prometheus had augured to him, Thy son shall push thee from thy Godhead, Pluto and Poseidon were born to him, and he swallowed them. And when Zeus was born to him and his mother saw him that he was beautiful, she hid him and in his stead she stretched out to (Kronos) a stone rolled up in swaddling clothes, and immediately he delivered up those whom he had swallowed. And afterwards Zeus cut off the testicles of his father, and threw him to Tartarus, which is a place that burns with fire, and from its face black scarabs spring up, having stolen this from us, saying, Their fire is not quenched, and their worm dieth not ; that they may therefore also not cogitate against the Christ, that because He is about to subdue all things, He will also push off the Father and reign in His stead. Because of this (Paul) declares to them, saying : ' When all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also be subject to Him who hath subdued all things to Him '—that is to say, the Son is subdued in His humanity, and agrees with Him that hath sub-

dued all to Him ; and He Himself remains subject to Him who hath subdued all to Him. That is to say, when He receives all union and concord with Him, the Humanity which was assumed had no mind separate from God ; but then also fulfils the will of the Godhead ; for he puts subjection here instead of union and concord ; for not even those who are subjected are subjected by violence."

In this passage Isho'dad candidly admits that he adopted this argument from "The Interpreter," that is, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Some of Isho'dad's observations, and the manner in which he endeavours to give a symbolical meaning to ancient Jewish rites and observances, are ingenious and interesting. Take the following from the Commentary on Heb. ix. 2-12, for example :

"The *table of shewbread* which was put in the outer *Tabernacle*, on which twelve loaves divided fourfold were a symbol of the dozen months of the year, which are divided into varieties of four seasons, Winter and Spring, and Summer and Autumn ; with the four Elements, Earth and Water, and Air and Fire, in which are engendered and completed all fruits and flowers upon the Earth ; a *Table* of all kinds, and the sustenance of earthly life. *The Candlestick*, with its seven lights, which was fixed on the southern side, was the symbol of the lights in heaven which, on the southern side, complete the circle in the seven weeks of dissoluble time. Others say that the 'Candlestick was a sign of that Day which God has made ; and the seven Lights are a sign of the seven Days in which at all times the Days are counted, succeeding one another. But our *rest* is in that eighth which does not cease at all. Now, in the inner *Tabernacle*, within *the second veil*, which symbolized the Heavenly Dwelling, there was put the *golden Censer*, which was a sign that Righteousness is

sweet and acceptable to God, as a sweet odour is to us. But, together with the incense, etc., (it was a sign) that the Righteous are accepted there. Now *the Ark overlaid with gold*, figured by its gold the Divinity of the Christ, and by its wood His Humanity, of our nature.

"Now *Aaron's rod* within it, which in the twinkling of an eye broke forth into leaves and fruit, is a type of our Saviour.

"Now the *pot of Manna* is a figure of the holy Body of the Virgin, from which sprang forth the Bread of Life to our nature. *Others* say it is the mystery of the time in which they were fed on *Manna*.

"Now the *tables* that were in it are the four Evangelists; for they were also written on every side.

"Now the *plate* which was above the Ark, which was called the Mercy-seat, in its golden appearance figures (our Lord's) Humanity. Now, in *the voice of God* that was heard from it by the priest, God the Word was designated, who dwelt in a Man; and spoke and wrought all.

"Now the *Cherubim*, overshadowing the Mercy-seat, symbolized the Angelic Powers which were attached to our Lord, etc."

Another passage of a somewhat similar character is given in the Commentary on Heb. vii. 5-25, and points out five things in which Jesus can be likened unto Melchizedek.

That a belief in demons was firmly held by the author of the book is shown in the following passage, which we extract from the Commentary on 1 Cor. v. 2; vi. 3:

"Know ye not that we shall judge Angels? He here calls the Demons Angels; as this name of Angels does not make known a diverse nature, just like Man or Horse, etc.; but is explained as persons

sent, like this in Job: The Angel came unto him, and announced to him about the destruction of all that he possessed; again, from their first honour he calls them by this name, saying, we shall judge, first, that they might reprove them by comparison with them, like: Ye shall sit on twelve thrones, and ye shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel; and the Queen of the South shall rise in the judgment, etc.; second, that they (the Demons) were obliged by their means to go out of men, as Simon was judged and condemned by Peter; for the Demon who wrought in Simon was once an Angel; and as Apollo the great god of the Heathen was driven by Paul from that Pythoness, etc.; third, as from the Head, who is Christ, who has power over all."

In the Commentary on 1 Cor. xi. 10 we find the following passage, which, we imagine, will not be agreeable reading for some members of the gentler sex:

"A man ought not to cover his head, and the rest of the section; first, because of the affinity that man has with spiritual beings in form; second, because of the image of the headship of Christ which He forms over all, which is priesthood in the Church, given to men alone; third, because natural advantages are more proper to man because he was created first; fourth, because the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man. Everything that exists for the sake of others is less than that on whose account it exists—as the bowman is greater than the work of the bow. Fifth, because he is the head, but she is below the head."

Although we are extremely dubious as to the authenticity of works of this character, ascribed to "early Christian Fathers," as, too often, such "Fathers" and their "works" are the creations of ingenious forgers, who in former days

gloried in committing "pious frauds" "for His name's sake," and who in more modern times commit their forgeries in order to gain some "filthy lucre," yet we must congratulate the learned lady who has translated this work from the Syriac on her unflagging industry, and on the purity and excellence of her translation. In Germany, Johannes Schliebitz and Dr. Diettrich, have each given attention to works ascribed to Isho'dad (Yeshu-Dadh), and rendered certain of them into German, but it has remained for an English lady (despite the extremely ungallant remarks made against her sex by the commentator) to bring before the British public an extremely readable and interesting translation of this work.

HENRI M. LÉON, M.A., LL.D., F.S.P.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

RUSSIA

RUSSIA THROUGH THE AGES: A Thousand Years of Russian History. By Sonia E. Howe. (London: *Williams and Norgate.*) 7s. 6d. net.

At the time when the Danes were making their raids on the English coast, Scandinavian warriors crossed the Baltic, and, under Rurik, took possession of the Russian lands, and, as they came in boats, became known as the Russians (deriv.: *ruotsen*. Finnish for oarsmen). It is a far cry from those times to the reign of Alexander Nicolaievitch and the final abolition of serfdom in Russia, and it is a difficult task, in the space of 320 pages, to give an impression, let alone a connected history, of a great people who in the course of one thousand years experienced so many tremendous changes. Mrs. Howe has succeeded in writing an entertaining and accurate narrative, remarkably free from the great modern scourge of *bias*, and exhibiting learning without pedantry, shrewdness without the blight of cynicism, candour without rancour.

It is for this reason—because the book is a true reflection, as it were, of Russian history, rather than an elaborate painting designed to show up this and conceal that—that we can commend it enthusiastically to all who want to know more about our great Ally.

The author brings out all the salient points in Russia's history: the early connection established by the rulers of the Principality of Kiev with Byzantium, whence they derived their Christianity, and to which Russia's eyes have ever since been turned; the long rule of the Golden Horde, lasting from 1224 to 1505, which taught the inhabitants to unite against the aggressor, and paved the way for the union of all the Russias under Muscovite ascendancy. In this work the Muscovite Princes, who at first had to gain recognition from the Mongol Khans, received welcome co-operation from the high ecclesiastics. It was Ivan the Terrible who first saw the necessity of establishing intercourse with other countries, and occupied Astrakhan in the south and opened trade relations with England, via Archangel. This tendency was greatly developed by Peter the Great, from whose reign are traceable the two divergent influences—Petrograd standing

for European connection, while Moscow, the old capital, remained the centre of national traditions. After Catherine II had pushed Russian boundaries westwards, Alexander I., by his successful intervention in the Napoleonic Wars, was enabled to give his country a permanent and a paramount place in the Councils of Europe.

The volume is rounded off with some valuable chapters on the Baltic Provinces, Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, and the Cossacks.

THE LITURGY OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By H. Hamilton Maughan. (London: Faith Press, Milwaukee: Young Churchman Company.) Price 2s 6d. net

It is probable that English Churchmen generally owe what acquaintance they possess with the Eastern Church to the classic work of Dean Stanley, a truly Catholic minded son of the Church, whose lectures are pervaded with a noble spirit of charity and sympathy. He wrote that "the field of Eastern Christendom is a comparatively untrodden field. It is out of sight, and therefore out of mind." Since Stanley wrote, the field has been trodden by other investigators, among others Dr. Adrian Fortescue, whose collaboration is acknowledged by Mr. Hamilton Maughan, and Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, an authority of more than European reputation, recently deceased, whose name when in Russia we have heard mentioned with veneration by an Orthodox pope.

Mr. Hamilton Maughan presupposes that the reader possesses no specialised knowledge of the worship of the Orthodox Church, but only a normal acquaintanceship with the liturgical customs of England and the West generally, and rightly thinks that his little work will be welcome to students desirous of acquiring some elementary knowledge of the Orthodox rite. He has given a literal translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, with illustrations and explanatory notes, and descriptions of vestments and instruments, in a handy pocket volume which can accompany the visitor and enable him to follow the service at a Greek church at home or abroad. The Greek terms are transliterated (*sticharion, epitrachelion, phanoleon, Theotokos*), and the Slavonic responses (*Slava tyebye Hospodi, Hospodi pomilui*). In the introduction is an explanation of the architecture, usually Byzantine, to which the Russian Church is devoted. Musical instruments are unknown in the Orthodox Church, but this is made up for by the wonderful singing of clergy and choristers, to which witness has been borne by countless visitors to Russia. After the Prothesis, the order of St. Chrysostom's Liturgy is given, with ample notes. Here is a translation of the famous *Trisagion* (*Tersanctus*), a Byzantine hymn of the fifth century.

"Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us (*thrice*).

Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, Both now, and always, and unto the ages of ages. *Amen*

Holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us.

Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us."

The prayers, as is inevitable in Oriental surroundings, are rich in symbolism and devotional beauty, and the sermons of the early Russian clergy—e.g., Cyril of Turov—abound in poetic parallels.

To add to the value of his work, Mr Hamilton Maughan furnishes eleven handsome illustrations of special interest, for the most part entirely new and from sources not usually accessible. There is a frontispiece of His Holiness Germanos V, Bishop of Constantinople and New Rome and Œcumenical Patriarch, a prelate of fine presence. Other illustrations show the Holy Table with ornaments and the Prothesis Table with instruments, a Priest and Server vested for the Liturgy, and the *Ikonostass*.

The student and the advanced scholar will alike profit from this excellent work. F P M.

IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF RUSSIAN SLAVONISM. By Alexander A Brantchaninoff, President of the Society of Slav Mutuality of Petrograd. Translated by Mme Sophie de Bellegarde (*née* Princess Urussov) (*King*) 18 net.

This essay is written by a progressive thinker, who tries to reconcile progressive ideas with Slavonism, a name he adopts instead of "Slavophilism," which is based on a Greek root, "unsuitable to the richness of the Russian language." It appeals to highly cultured Russians, and it is not surprising that the author had difficulties with the censorship. The author's main point seems to be that the hour of the Slav has not yet come, but that it is well on the way. History teaches unquestionably that in centuries of European strife—politically and military—

Their sentimental mysticism led them in most cases of strife with gross material interests, to complete or partial annihilation. Neither the Serbs, Bulgarians [of Tartar origin], Czechs, Poles, Slovenes, nor Slovaks, although relatively very civilized for their epoch, could withstand the encroachments of foreign culture, and all bowed before the tyranny of the stranger's yoke.

The subjugation of all of these did not occur at the same time, and, in the case of two, the Serbs and Czechs, they have succeeded in reassertion of national sentiment. (In an earlier issue we referred to Mr G de Wesselitzky's paper on the forgotten Slavs of Prussia.) The rise of the great Russian Empire is due, says the author, to its not entirely Slavonic State conception. The "half Slavonic sons of Great Russia were the conquerors, not the undisputed Slavs of the Ukraine." The Russian realist is the result of Slavonic inoculation on a Finnish root, which has borne "the infection of the Tartar's small pox and the poisonous breath of the Teutonic cancer." The "apolticism" of the Russian character is commended for study by those interested in practical politics. In conclusion, Mr Brantchaninoff sees in Pushkin the originator of Russian liberal Slavonism—*pari passu*, he had a negro infusion—as his Slav spirit did not prevent him from admiring Hellas, Napoleon, Mozart, or Don Juan. He might well have added, England, Shakespeare, and Byron.

This study can be commended to the historian, philosopher, and statesman. Some transliterated forms are unfamiliar—e.g., "Mizkievics," "Chartorygsky," and "Sevastople."

F. P. M.

THE MIDDLE EAST

ARMENIAN LEGENDS AND POEMS. Illustrated and Compiled by Zabelle C. Boyajian. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M.; and a Contribution on "Armenia: its Epics, Folk-Songs, and Medieval Poetry," by Aram Raffi. (London: *J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.*; New York: *E. P. Dutton and Co.*) [Profits of sale to be given to the Lord Mayor's Armenian Fund.]

Art and literature are blended in this volume. Miss Boyajian has collected a number of Armenian poems, most of which are translated by herself, illustrating several of them in the style of mediæval illuminated missals, with appropriate borders, of varied design, which form one of the most striking features of her work.

Mr. Raffi's "Contribution" consists of an historical sketch of Armenian poetry, partly in elucidation of the poems in this volume, partly as supplementary to them.

"It is an established fact that Armenia has had a civilization of its own from a very early date," says Mr. Raffi.

That in this civilization literature held a conspicuous place this volume is a proof.

Besides folk-songs dating from early pre-Christian times, we find pure literature extending from the tenth to the twentieth century, the earliest poem being by St. Gregory of Narek (A.D. 951-1009), the latest by Zabelle Essayian (born 1878). Nor, though in Armenia, as in other countries, some periods have been more fertile than others, has there ever come an age of complete sterility. Moreover, in spite of the continual oppression and misery that have been the lot of Armenia for many centuries, the literature is not devoid of humour, cheerfulness, and shrewd observation of life. Witness some of the proverbs and fables quoted by Mr. Raffi:

"One fool threw a stone into a well; forty wise men were unable to get it out."

"He crossed the sea safely, and was drowned in a brook."

"They asked the partridge, 'Why are your feet red?'"

"'From the cold,' he replied."

"'We have seen you in the summer as well,' they rejoined."

Like all other countries, Armenia has its love poems. Some of these are pathetic; many pulsate with strong feeling; others, again, remind us of the extravagance of mediæval singers. Even ecclesiastics try their hand at such verse, though, as it seems, often as a mere literary exercise. In these poems we find introduced again and again the Persian story of the love of the rose and the nightingale. Grigoris of Aghtamar (fifteenth century)

wrote a long poem on this theme, in which, quaintly, the nightingale and the rose are described as exchanging letters. Such a strong hold has this legend taken on the Armenian mind that we find allusions to it in a large number of serious poems, sometimes with allegorical significance. The fondness for this story is perhaps connected with the love of Armenian poets for curious conceits, which sometimes results in far fetched and overstrained flowers of speech, but sometimes also produces a very pretty effect, as in the following verse

"Oft and often have I said
For my love make garments shining
Of the sun the facing red—
Of the moon cut out the lining,
Pad it with your storm cloud dark,
Sewn with seaweed from the islets
Stars for clasps must bring their spark —
Stitch me inside for the eyelets!"*

It is perhaps partly due to the tragic history of their country that we owe the careful cherishing by Armenians of their national folk lore and legends. Among the legends given and illustrated in this book are the pagan ones of Vahagn, Semiramis and Ara, and Artashes and Satenik, and the Christian story of Christ and Abgarus.

Very striking is Miss Boyajian's illustration of the birth of the King Vahagn, which is thus described in an ancient poem

"Heaven and earth were in travail,
And the crimson waters were in travail,
And, in the water, the crimson reed
Was also in travail
From the mouth of the reed issued smoke,
From the mouth of the reed issued flame,
And out of the flame sprang the young child
His hair was of fire, a beard had he of flame,
And his eyes were suns."

The love of Semiramis for the Armenian King, Ara, is a well known episode of legendary history. Miss Boyajian has chosen for illustration the scene where the Queen stands by the bier of the man whom she has loved hopelessly and done to death. Very impressive is the noble calm on the dead youth's countenance, contrasted with the agonized face of the Queen, as she stands beside him, hoping against hope that he may be restored to life by magic arts.

For the narrative of the bridal of the Armenian monarch, Artashes, with Satenik, the daughter of his conquered foe, the Alan King, we must refer our readers to Miss Boyajian and Mr. Raffi, but we would draw attention to the illustration of the scene where Satenik goes to the river's bank and pleads to Artashes (who stands on the opposite shore) for the release of her brother, urging that "it is not the way of heroes to destroy life at the root nor to establish everlasting enmity between two great nations." The

* From "Yesternight I walked Abroad" (Anonymous). This translation and all others to which no name is attached are by Miss Boyajian.

attitude of Artashes is particularly striking, and the dark purple of the mountains with the subdued tone of the picture, relieved here and there by a few bright touches, harmonizes perfectly with the character of the story.

The Christian legend, given in this book, tells how Abgarus, King of Armenia, being sick and having heard of the miracles of Christ, sent a letter asking Him to come and heal him, and offering Him hospitality, to which Christ wrote a reply to the effect that He could not come Himself, but He would by and by send one of His disciples "to heal thee of thy disease and give life unto thee and unto all them that are with thee."

These legends are taken from Moses of Khorene, in whose history are preserved all the extant fragments of the early legendary poems. The stories just mentioned are given as narrated by this historian, and, together with some other passages of the history, have been rendered by Miss Boyajian in rhythmical prose, resembling that of the Authorized Version of the Bible—a style which well suits the Armenian chronicler. These translations are the more valuable because as yet there is no English rendering of the work from which they are extracted.

An interesting biographical sketch of the historian is given in Mr Raffi's "Contribution."

Among other branches of literature in which Armenia is rich is religious poetry and prose narrative, the latter mainly allegorical. Besides ordinary hymns, there is a peculiar kind of religious poem, called the *sharakan*, or "rows of gems," embodying, as Mr Raffi says, much tenderness, hope, and devotion.

A remarkable point about Armenian religious literature is its freedom from "other worldliness." With Armenia's history before us, we should expect her priests to turn away from the sorrows of this world to dwell on the joys of Paradise, but, on the contrary, we find Armenian ecclesiastics intensely appreciative of the beauties and pleasures of the earth. A remarkable instance of this is the poem entitled "The Dispute between Heaven and Earth," by Nerses Mokatzi, which is thus described by Mr Raffi:

"The poet begins by saying that Heaven and Earth are brothers. One day these brothers disputed as to which of them was the greater. He then goes on to report a dialogue in which each of them enumerates his own possessions, declaring them superior to those of the other."

This dialogue commences thus

"*Heaven* Surely I possess more than you. The stars, with their radiance, are all in my domain.

"*Earth* The flowers, with their six thousand colours, are in mine."

After the argument has proceeded in this strain for some length, the poet concludes thus, giving the verdict in favour of the Earth

"Heaven then bent down its head
To the Earth in adoration,
You, too, children of the Earth,
Bow to her in adoration.

What is higher than the Earth?
 Praise and love bring to enwreath her,
 For to day we walk on her,
 And to-morrow sleep beneath her "

From what has been said it is manifest that Armenian bards ranged over a wide field. Although Miss Boyajian expressly says that her work does not pretend to be a complete presentation of Armenian poetry, yet the selections she has given represent many schools and styles, and deal with a variety of themes, while Mr Raffi mentions other literary forms not represented in the first part of the book.

And yet one note pervades the whole work. We never lose the sound of the tragic wail over the hapless land, so well typified in the frontispiece by the mourning female figure, standing, bowed with grief, under the shadow of Mount Ararat, amid the ruins of a noble city. Well may she cry

"The ages pass, no tidings come,
 My brave ones fall, are lost and gone,
 My blood is chilled, my voice is dumb,
 And friend or comfort have I none " *

We hear this wail especially in the songs of exile, most poignant perhaps is the cry of Muggurdich Beshigtashlian (1829-1868) in a poem called "Spring," beginning

"O little breeze, how fresh and sweet
 Thou blowest in the morning air!
 Upon the flowers caressingly,
 And on the gentle maiden's hair
 But not my country's breath thou art
 Blow elsewhere, come not near my heart "

And, after a similar address to a bird and a brook, ending

"Although Armenia's breeze and bird
 Above a land of ruins fly,
 Although through mourning cypress groves
 Armenia's turbid stream flows by—
 They are the sighing of her heart,
 And never shall from mine depart !"

And yet, with all the sadness, there is no despair, no abatement of ardour for liberty, no resignation to tyranny. We see this especially in the poem entitled "The Tears of Araxes," by Raphael Patkanian (1830-1892), in which the poet represents himself as conversing with the river

" ' Make not thy current turbid,
 Flow calm and joyously.
 Thy youth is short, fair river,
 Thou soon wilt reach the sea

* These lines are inscribed below the picture, and are taken from the anonymous poem entitled "The Sorrows of Armenia," given on p. 47 of the book.

- " ' Let sweet rose-hedges brighten
Thy hospitable shore,
And nightingales among them
Till morn their music pour
- " ' Let ever-verdant willows
Lave in thy waves their feet,
And with their bending branches
Refresh the noonday heat
- " ' Let shepherds on thy margin
Walk singing, without fear,
Let lambs and kids seek freely
'Thy water cool and clear'
- " Araxes swelled her current,
Tossed high her foaming tide,
And in a voice of thunder,
Thus from her depths replied —
- " ' Rash, thoughtless youth, why com'st thou
My age long sleep to break,
And memories of my myriad griefs
Within my heart to wake?
- " ' When hast thou seen a widow,
After her true love died,
From head to foot resplendent
With ornaments of pride?
- " ' For whom should I adorn me?
Whose eyes shall I delight?
The stranger hordes that tread my banks
Are hateful in my sight
- * * * * *
- " ' Once I, too, moved in splendour,
Adorned as is a bride,
With myriad precious jewels,
My smiling banks beside.
- " ' What from that time remaineth?
All, all has passed away.
Which of my prosperous cities
Stands near my waves to day?
- " ' Mount Ararat doth pour me,
As with a mother's care,
From out her sacred bosom
Pure water, cool and fair.
- " ' Shall I her holy bounty,
To hated aliens fling?
Shall strangers' fields be watered
From good Saint Jacob's spring?

"While my own sons, defenceless,
Are exiled from their home,
And, faint with thirst and hunger,
In distant countries roam

* * * *

"Still, while my sons are exiled,
Shall I be sad, as now
There is my heart's deep utterance,
My true and holy vow" * *

Well may Miss Boyajian dedicate her book to "The Undying Spirit of Armenia"

H M SELBY

POETRY

LIFE CANNOT CEASE, AND LEAVES FROM THE PILGRIM'S WAY By
Marguerite Percy (London *East and West, Ltd*) 3s 6d net

It may be said at once that the author combines an ample flow of poetic diction with a power of dramatic arrangement which is rarely seen. Her first poem, and in some respects her best, is entitled "Life Cannot Cease," in 186 nine-line stanzas. The remainder are collected under the general title of "Leaves from the Pilgrim's Way." Amongst the latter we may especially mention "A Ballad of Reigate," beginning in the following engaging manner:

"In sixteen hundred and forty eight
By the stately river winding down,
On the fourth of July in the evening late,
Lord Holland rides from London town

"Young Buckingham with him, proudest of peers,
Lord Francis Villiers gallant and gay,
And many a son of the old Cavaliers,
A goodly band in battle array"—

as well as "Inda" which opens as follows:

"Ah! Thou wilt link me with the Motherland
Once more! I cannot choose but come with thee,
Though here—Besides thee on the sacred strand,
Dear Heart!—within thy being—I shall stand"

I. T

GENERAL

JOHN STRANGE WINTER A Volume of Personal Record By Oliver
Bainbridge, with a foreword by Sir Alfred Turner, K C B (London
East and West, Ltd)

Few can tell the life story of a good woman with deeper feeling and truer sympathy than Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, and in Mrs Stannard (John

* Translated by Alice Stone Blackwell

Strange Winter) he seems to have found a counterpart of his favourite heroine, "Carmen Sylva—Queen of Rumania." Glancing at the portraits of these two remarkable women, one cannot fail to be struck by the marked resemblance between them—and the characters of both, as portrayed by Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, have much in common.

Both were distinguished—like Elizabeth Stuart, "The 'Winter' Queen" of Bohemia (the Stuart ancestress of our present Royal Family)—by their love of animals, by dauntless courage, and the ready hand of help, and by their deep sympathy with suffering in every shape and form. Both were also gifted with the genius—that capacity for taking infinite pains—which rendered them graceful and charming writers.

As Mr. Oliver Bainbridge points out, once she decided to devote her attention to writing Fiction, Mrs. Stannard worked hard, and, with untiring patience, served a long apprenticeship in the art.

Following the teaching of Ruskin, she revered thoroughness and accuracy, and carefully studied and elaborated every detail of the word picture she desired to paint. She was sublime in the simplicity of her language, and the deep and tender pathos with which she wrote never failed to touch the heart. At the same time, her strong and vigorous delineation of character, and the virile skill with which she portrayed the spirit of the English officer and gentleman, led the world to believe that the author of "Cavalry Life," "Bootle's Baby," and other masterpieces, must unquestionably be a man. Mr. Oliver Bainbridge tells how astonished the Literary Fund Dinner-Committee, "The Officers of a certain British Regiment," and others, were when they learnt that the mysterious "Winter" was a woman!

In his foreword General Sir Alfred Turner dwells on the human kindness of John Strange Winter, on her courage, and eagerness to assist the weak, the old, the suffering, and he well says that "now she has her reward in 'The Land of the Hereafter,' in one of those 'many mansions' prepared for those who do good and no evil to their fellows while on earth."

As Mr. Oliver Bainbridge truly declares "In God's light, death is life, and loss gain, and sorrow joy, to the Christian", and this was the bright hope in which Henrietta Stannard died.

J P

A SYNTAX OF COLLOQUIAL PASHTU By Major D. L. Lorimer, Indian Army (Oxford University Press) 15s net

Like every other textbook written on the grammar of the Pashtu language, Major Lorimer's work convinces one of the difficulty of acquiring the correct accent in the language of the Afghan. Major Lorimer has tackled the subject courageously in his opening chapter, but not one in a hundred scholars will be able to read through the twenty-sixth story taken by Major Lorimer in the chapter from the *Ganj-i Pashtu* without stumbling at every third word. Major Lorimer has, however, done what was humanly possible to assist the scholar in negotiating the high hurdles of Pashtu pronunciation. As for the remainder of the book, which deals with the

syntax of the language, all that can be said is that it is perhaps for the first time that Pashtu has been dealt with in so systematic and simple a manner as in Major Lorimer's book. The author is concerned with the Pashtu of North Eastern Afghanistan, as it is with people in that part of Afghanistan that English officials have dealings. The Pashtu of the Frontier differs, however, in some important particulars from the Pashtu of the southern districts of Afghanistan in pronunciation and even in syntax. The latter, however, is acknowledged by Afghans everywhere to be the best form of Pashtu, it is understood to occupy the same position in Pashtu dialects which Parisian French occupies in the provinces of France. For one thing, it is not so harshly guttural as the Pashtu of the Frontier, and for another, it aims at some refinement of expression. This is probably due to the influence of Persian words. So far as is known, there is no work extant on the grammar of the Pashtu of the south. Major Lorimer's book and the work of his predecessors will, however, help materially in the production of a work dealing with the language of the Afghans as the Afghans themselves would deal with it, if they had any grammarians.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

UNDER its new conditions the Imperial Institute is showing considerable activity on practical and commercial lines. The Council, of which Lord Islington is chairman, has appointed committees for India, for each of the Dominions, for groups of Crown Colonies and Protectorates; also technical committees to deal with raw materials of every country of the Empire, among them rubber, timber, mineral resources, silk production, and tanning. Representatives of the principal Chambers of Commerce form another committee for the purpose of securing the co-ordination of the Institute and these important commercial bodies.

On the Indian committee one Indian gentleman serves, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali (I.C.S. retired); the other members are: Lord Islington (Under Secretary of State for India); Sir Marshall Reid, Member of the India Council; Professor Wyndham Dunstan, Director of the Imperial Institute; Mr. L. J. Kershaw, secretary, revenue and Statistical Department, India Office; Sir John Hewett, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces; Mr. George B. Allen, of Messrs. Allen Bros. and Co.; and Messrs. Cooper Allen, Cawnpore; Sir R. W. Carlyle, lately Member of the Viceroy's Council; and Sir J. Dunlop Smith. Mr. C. C. McLeod, chairman of the London Jute Association, is chairman of the committee; and the secretary is Mr. A. J. Hedge-land, of the Imperial Institute.

The Secretary of State for India has authorized the Indian committee to inquire into the possibilities of extending the industrial and commercial utilization of Indian raw materials within the Empire. Results of investigations already carried out will be carefully considered, and views obtained from leading merchants, manufacturers, and other users of the raw products of India.

The suggestion of an Indian Flag Day has not yet materialized, although our Allies and various other excellent objects have had their turn, but there was an Indian Section to "Our Day" on October 19, organized at short notice by Princess Sophia Duleep

Singh, to whose appeal many Indian and British friends made willing response. The headquarters of the Section were at Dewar House, Haymarket, and the "pitch" allotted included the Haymarket, the streets leading into Regent Street, and Carlton House Terrace. With the Carlton Hotel and His Majesty's Theatre within the sphere of action, the sellers had good opportunity and were most successful. The energetic ones began at 7 a.m., determined to catch the "early birds," and some continued until darkness put an end to business. Outside Dewar House was a stall with the special Indian flags decorated with either an elephant or a star, and many interesting objects among them, relics in the form of brooches, pins, or pieces of wire, from the Zeppelin brought down at Cuffley. There was quite a competition to buy from Indian ladies, whose picturesque dresses made a bright show on an autumn day, on which, however, the sun shone brilliantly. In spite of the oft-recurring Flag Days, the public met the attack from the sellers of the Indian Section with steadiness, making a generous response, and many wore the Indian elephant in company with the maple-leaf of Canada, the kangaroo of Australia, and the British red cross. Among those who helped Princess Sophia at the stall, or as sellers in the streets, or in the less conspicuous but important work of organization, were Lady Hayes Sadler, Lady Kensington, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mrs. Abbas Ali Baig, Lady E. Beauchamp, Princess Pauline Torry, Mrs. N. C. Sen and her children, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Bhola Nauth, Mrs. Gupta, Mrs. Khan, Miss Muriel Dutt, Miss Beletti, the Misses Drummond Woolf, Mrs. Arnold, and Miss E. J. Beck. Lady Munro, wife of the Commander-in-Chief in India, wrote regretting her inability to give personal help, but sent a donation, and other gifts were made to Princess Sophia, who is to be congratulated warmly on the success of her enterprise.

It was a novel experience to hear in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society in London the living voice of the aborigines of Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas, but the gramophone, in its developed state, has come into its own among scientists, it is now something more than a rather painful and raucous recreation. Ethnologists as well as philologists have recognized its value, some years ago members of the Royal Asiatic Society advocated its use for recording the languages of little-known tribes, or of those who were dying out, or whose language was changing. On the suggestion of Sir George Grierson, the veteran philologist and head of the Linguistic Survey of India, the Behar and Orissa Government took records of four vernaculars of Chota Nagpur belonging to the Munda group—Kharia, Mundari, So, and Santal—and these, with one of the Dravidian group, Eurukhi, were heard in London last month. With the exception of the latter, these languages in the living voice were heard here for the first time; the exception, said Sir George Grierson, who gave the demonstration, was that a Eurukhi-speaking woman married a learned

missionary and came to this country some years ago. There was one record common to all the languages—the story of the Prodigal Son. The agglutinative character of the dialects might be judged, Sir George pointed out, from an example of the literal English equivalent of the opening sentences in Santah:

"One man—of two boys children—they—two were his. And them—two among the—little—one—his father—he said—to—him. 'O father, me—to falling exist-ing—thing—of portion bestow—give outright—mine—thou'."

It was particularly interesting to follow the living voice with the aid of the text printed in English characters. Other records included marriage and folk-songs. Sir George also pointed out the wide extent of the Munda languages, they stretch from India through Assam, Burma, Indo China, the Malay Peninsula, Polynesia to Easter Island, which is no great distance from the coast of South America. Students of languages or of general phonetics will be able to consult these records at the India Office Library, the British Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society. There was warm agreement with Sir George when he declared that linguistic science owes a debt of gratitude to the Government of Behar and Orissa and expressed the hope that other Governments would follow this excellent example.

Dr E. Denison Ross has been appointed Director of the School of Oriental Studies, which is housed in the old London Institution and will be open to students at the beginning of the year. Dr Ross is well known for the energy and enthusiasm which he brought to bear as Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa and for the way in which he put new life into the almost moribund Institution. He filled at the same time and with marked success, the post of Epigraphist to the Government of India. His oriental scholarship is wide in its interest, but his special languages are Arabic and Persian. His translation of the *Farikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, cousin of the Emperor Baber, is well known, and after visiting the countries of which Mirza Haidar wrote, Dr Ross wrote "The Heart of Asia." Two years ago he resigned his work in India and joined the staff of the British Museum, one of his first duties was to arrange the valuable collection of antiquities which Sir Aurel Stein discovered in the sands of Central Asia. Dr Ross obtained his diploma at the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Paris and it will no doubt be a gratification to him to take an active part in redeeming Britain from the disgrace of being without a central Oriental School in the Metropolis of the Empire—though the excellent work done at Oxford and Cambridge must not be overlooked—when Paris, Berlin, and Petrograd have had for many years their oriental Schools, giving facilities for the study of the East and its scholarly, scientific, industrial, and commercial interests.

The appeal issued recently on behalf of the endowment fund of

the School for Oriental Studies in London was signed by Lord Curzon, chairman of the Appeal Committee, Lord Cromer, the Lord Mayor; Sir J. P. Hewett, chairman of the governing body, Sir Montagu Turner, chairman of the executive of the Appeal Committee; and Mr. Lionel Martin, chairman of Council, London Chamber of Commerce, and was supported by the Prime Minister, Lord Crewe, Lord Landsowne, Viscount Grey, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Henderson, who are members on the Appeal Committee. The Berlin School had an income before the war of £10,000 a year, the London School requires £14,000, as its scope is more extended, a sum of £7,000 including grants from the Imperial Government and the Government of India, is in view, but the purpose of the appeal is to raise a fund of £150,000 to give the Institution the required income, and it is hoped that a generous response will be made. The appeal points out that in China the commercial war will be most acute and the opportunities greatest. A paragraph in the appeal which lays stress on quite another aspect, a giving and taking of understanding and sympathy, runs thus:

"May we not hope after the war for a much closer co-operation, a clearer understanding, a livelier interest, the more universal recognition of a common aim between the peoples of the East and the West, who are fellow-subjects of the same sovereign, and whose common allegiance will have been testified and purified by the fiery ordeal of common service and sacrifice against a common enemy? Just as the soldiers of these various climes have stood shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield or in the trenches, will not the students and scholars, the civilians and men of peace, crave for the closer association of fellowship in a common spiritual and intellectual aim?"

Considerable interest was aroused in the production for the first time in London of a play by Kalidasa, "*Vikramorvasi*," under the title of "*The Hero and the Nymph*," adapted by Mr. K. N. Das Gupta. Under the auspices of the Union of East and West (Hon. Sec., Miss Clarissa Miles, 50, Egerton Gardens, S.W.), the play was given at the Grafton Galleries by the Indian Art and Dramatic Society, who had the able co-operation of Mrs. Sybil Thorndike, Mr. William Stack, and Mr. Arthur Fane, whose fame has spread far beyond the Royal Victoria Hall (the "Old Vic"), where they have done such excellent service in the Shakespeare plays which are given five times every week from September to May. Such experienced players entered with understanding and keen appreciation into Kalidasa's charming work. It tells of the nymph, belonging to the heavenly players called upon to entertain the celestial beings, being rescued from a demon by an earthly king, there is love at first sight. When fulfilling her duties she answers a question as to whom she loves by giving the name of her earthly lover. This arouses the ire of the celestials, but she and the king find happiness in each other. After

their happy marriage there comes an occasion when the queen is seized with a fit of jealousy and she unwittingly enters the grove of the woman-hating god of war who turns her into a vine. The disconsolate husband searches for her in the forest in vain but at last the Goddess of Truth descends from heaven with a magic ruby, which reveals and restores the lovely queen.

The production was arranged by Mr Charles Irv who has fallen under the spell of the Indian Shakespeare 'as well as our own. It was absolutely simple with only curtains for a background. The touch of humour was well conveyed by Mr Arthur Lane as the king's companion a Brahmin who was always eager for dinner and found love making very tedious.

The Union of East and West also arranged an interesting lecture by the American artist and lover of India Mr Edmund Russell on 'Great Women of Indian History' in which it was shown how rich India is in women distinguished in every branch of human achievement statesmanship war philosophy romance poetry science etc. He thought structure of orthodox domestic life in India where households frequently consisted of seventy or a hundred persons representing several generations gave good opportunities for experience in administration and government which was most valuable in public affairs and times of crisis. He told with graphic word painting, the story of Mirabai of Mewar Padmini Chand Bibi, Durgavati and others. Mrs Pittwick Lawrence who presided declared that British women ought to know the thrilling stories of the Indian people and treasure them as part of their imperial heritage.

Owing to his state of health Sir Krishna Gupta was not able to accept the hospitality which his friends were anxious to show to him on leaving England for a visit to India. The usual Wednesday afternoon At Home of the National Indian Association on October 25 and the gathering of the London Brahma Samaj at Lindsey Hall, Notting Hill late on Sunday afternoon October 29 afforded friends an opportunity of wishing him Good-bye. It is hoped that the visit will entirely restore his health and he hopes to devote some time to the vital question of the education of girls in India.

There was a wide and representative interest at the dinner held at the Lyceum Club to wish a prosperous career to the illuminating book 'The Soul of Russia' on the day of its publication. The editor, Miss Winifred Stephens a well known member of the Club, presided, Sir Frederick Macmillan, the publisher, was present, also many of the contributors and translators. M. C. Nabokov of the Russian Embassy, described the book as 'a wonderful tribute to my country, and a symbol of the movement towards better understanding between Great Britain and Russia.' Among the other speakers were Captain G. de Schoultz, of the Russian Navy, who has

spent some months with the Grand Fleet and was enthusiastic in its praise, Mr Ian Malcolm, M P, Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Sir Frederick Macmillan, and Miss Susette Taylor, who spoke for these who had taken part in the workmanship of the book. The veteran, Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, received a warm welcome as one who, forty years ago, advocated a better understanding between the two peoples. Miss Stephens maintained that no binding friendship can exist without interchange of ideas, and there was unanimous support for her expression of hope that "The Soul of Russia" would be a valuable help towards this desired end.

Another book of interest just published is "Armenian Literature" (Dent, 2s.), in which Miss Zabelle C Boyajian, aided by Mr A Raffi, has given an excellent picture of Armenian folk-tales, poetry, and other literary interests. Her beautiful illustrations full of the characteristic tradition of her country, are both a delight to the eye and an exquisite addition to the book. The originals are on view at the Fine Art Society, 148, New Bond Street until about November 20, and will probably be exhibited at the Caxton Hall (Women's Freedom League Fair) on November 24 and 25.

The Serbian Society of Great Britain was inaugurated at a meeting at the Mansion House on October 20, under the chairmanship of the Lord Mayor. Its aims are

- 1 To promote close relations with Serbia and with the Southern Slav race as a whole
- 2 To make clear the importance of a united Southern Slav State as a permanent safeguard of European freedom
- 3 To work for a friendly agreement between the Southern Slavs, Italy, and Rumania
- 4 To work for Southern Slav Union (a) as an essential feature of the Allied policy of securing the rights and liberties of small peoples, (b) as a guarantee against future Germanic attempts to obtain political and economic mastery in Europe and the East, and (c) as the surest foundation of peace in the Adriatic and the Balkans
- 5 To co-operate with all kindred societies within and without the British Commonwealth

Lord Cromer is the president and the Council of the Society includes Sir Edward Carson, Lord Milner, Lord Moulton, Lord Strathclyde, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Admiral Lord Beresford, the Master of Balliol, the Master of University College, Oxford, Professor Michael E Sadler, the Rev Sir George Adam Smith, Major Astor, M P, the Right Hon G N Barnes, M P, Sir Frederick Cawley, M P, Sir Algernon Firth, Sir James Frazer, the Right Hon Ellis Griffiths, M P, Sir Robert A Hadfield, Mr John Hodge, M P, Colonel the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M P, Sir Oliver Lodge, and Sir Francis Young-husband.

The members of the Executive Committee include Messrs Annan Bryce, M P . John Buchan, Dr Burrows, Sir Arthur Evans, Major-General Sir Ivor Herbert, H J Mackinder, M P , Ronald M'Neil, M P , Admiral the Hon Sir Hedworth Meux, M P , Dr Seton Watson, St Loe Strachey, Stephen Walsh, M P , A F White, M P , and E Hilton Young, M P . Membership of the society is open to all British subjects on an annual payment of 5s to the Hon Treasurer, 14 Great Smith Street, S W

Lord Cromer, in the course of his speech at the Mansion House meeting, gave emphatic denial to the idea that the new Society was animated by hostility to Italy, if it had been true he would have had nothing to do with it . If occasion offered, the Society would do everything in its power to bring the Slavs and the Italians together . Other speakers were Mr Wickham Steed, acting chairman of the Society, Sir Edward Carson, and Mr T P O'Connor, and the following resolution was adopted

This meeting declares its firm belief that the union of the Southern Slav race and a close agreement between the Southern Slav race and Italy are essential to the future peace of Europe, and are therefore pre-eminent interests of the peoples of the British Commonwealth

A A S

6607
1123

SINGLE VERSE-POEMS

AFTER THE MANNER OF THE JAPANESE *HAIKAI* AND
HOKKU

THIS concentrated form of poem contained within the limit of 19 syllables was in vogue among the Japanese during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It followed the *Tanka*, or verses of 31 syllables, of an earlier date. To compress within so small a number of words a complete poem—that is to say, a verse conveying a poetic idea, expressed in a vague manner, yet rendered obvious to the reader—commanded approval, as pleasing, for instance, as the fragrance of a flower that is unseen but near, and therefore perceived, since the poetic thought in the *Haikai* is often suggested rather than defined.

In the following verse-poems, Mr. William Porter's* system of the construction of *Haikais* of 20 syllables in length, instead of 19, has been adopted in order to make them more acceptable to English readers. The hidden subtleties of the Japanese language, which often conveys entirely different meanings to the same word, also the "pillow words" sometimes inserted by Japanese poets, may be found wanting; but that pictures as well as poem shall be presented, has been the chief aim striven for in the composition of the accompanying verses.

* "A Year of Japanese Epigrams," by W. Porter (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press).

I.

GULLS AT PLAY.

Along the pools they run,
And float with silent, restless wings,
Silvered by spring's pale sun.

II.

A LATE WINTER BLOSSOM.

One night a frost severe
Despoiled my little garden of
The last rose of the year.

III.

DOWN BY THE QUAY
(Illustrated).

Aided by sun and breeze,
Tall ships are whispering near the quay
Their record of far seas.

IV.

THE FIERY BRACKEN.

The sunset stealing low
Beneath the branches in the wood
Sets all the fern aglow.

V.

THE ARTIST LOVERS.

So blest, so happy he,
For when the sunlight ceased to shine
He painted it for me.

VI.

THE FAITHFUL BIRDS.

The pigeons still remain
Whether the trees are green or bare,
In sunshine or in rain.

VII.

THE SECRET OF THE POOL.

Oh pool that mirrored bliss,
We stood upon its marge, and learnt
The thrill of Love's first kiss !

CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, F.I.B.P.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Herbert Francis Webb Gillman, I.C.S., to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras in succession to Sir Harold Stuart, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., whose term of office has expired.

TELEGRAM FROM VICEROY, REVENUE DEPARTMENT,
DATED OCTOBER 31, 1916.

The week's rainfall has been scanty in the United Provinces, the Punjab (east and north), Kashmir, Rajputana, Central India, and Madras (south-east); fair in Upper Burma and Mysore; normal in the Punjab (south-west), the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, and Gujarat; and in excess elsewhere. There are prospects of good rain in the Peninsula. The Government of India now propose to discontinue sending this weather telegram.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Dr. T. W. Arnold, C.I.E., to be Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for Indian Students, in succession to Mr. C. E. Mallet, who will retire at his own request at the end of the year.

COMMERCIAL NOTES

THE JUTE CONTRACT

WHILE India has had a good year generally, in spite of or even because of the war, jute, tea, and coal showing handsome profits, jute merchants in Calcutta have been grumbling against what they call the arbitrary action of the Secretary of State for India in nominating Messrs. Ralli Brothers as the agents of the Government for the purchase of jute. The argument for the Government is that Messrs. Ralli Brothers possess such an extensive and, one may even say, so smooth-working organization that they are in a position to cope with the purchases of jute on a very large scale without taxing the resources of the Government. While there is a great deal of truth in the argument advanced on behalf of the Government, the other jute merchants in Calcutta also seem to have a legitimate grievance, in so far as the Government did not consult them, before appointing Messrs. Ralli Brothers as their buying agents, whether they were willing to do the work for the Government. Apart from the question of expediency, it does seem rather an invidious distinction to single out one firm among many to work for the Government. There are other old-established and well-regulated firms in Calcutta which would undoubtedly have done the work equally well. To quote the names of a few, Messrs. Thomas Duff and Co., Messrs. Andrew Yule and Co., and Messrs. Thomas and Co., are as well equipped as any other

responsible firm for the transaction of business in jute on a large scale. Then again, by placing its orders through a single firm, the Government unconsciously closes the avenue of sound financial advice in its jute purchases from men who have now mastered the intricacies of the trade by years of patient work in other firms. So far, however, from the point of view of the jute merchants in Calcutta. One, of course, has still to learn what moved the Secretary of State for India to take the step he has taken. The buying of jute is as difficult a business as any other requiring specialization, and it really requires a firm having almost unlimited resources to carry out purchases on as large a scale as the needs of the Government demand. As far, then, as the consideration of resources and organization is concerned, the selection of Messrs. Ralli Brothers as agents by the Government is justifiable, but there is also considerable force in the grievance of British jute firms who feel that their claims have been arbitrarily overlooked. A more equitable arrangement, one feels, would have been to extend the privilege of buying jute for the Government to a number of the responsible British firms in Calcutta. Some arrangement similar to that made in the case of wheat would probably have satisfied everyone concerned.

J. CLIVE ROOME.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

("ASIATIC REVIEW" CALENDAR)

- Monday, November 20. **Brahmo Samaj** Celebration of Keshub Chunder Sen's Birthday. 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington. Tea 4.30. Address: 5 p.m.
- Royal Geographical Society.** The Theatre, Burlington Gardens, W. "Easter Island." Mr. and Mrs. W. Scoresby Routledge. 8.30 p.m.
- Tuesday, November 21. **Royal Colonial Institute.** Hotel Cecil, Strand, W. Richard Hakluyt Tercentenary. Professor Foster Watson. 4 p.m.
- Sunday, November 26. **Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland.** 43, Pennywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W. "Buddhism and the Upbringing of the Young." Mrs. H. E. Moore, B.A. 6.30 p.m.
- Monday, November 27. **Lyceum Club.** 128, Piccadilly, W. British Empire Union Dinner. 8 p.m.
- Tuesday, November 28. At the **Jehanghir Hall, Imperial Institute** (University of London). "Bagdad and German Intrigue." Canon Parfitt. 3 p.m.
- Monday, December 4. **Royal Geographical Society.** The Theatre, Burlington Gardens, W. "The Kansu Marches of Tibet." Mr. Reginald Farrer. 8.30 p.m.
- Tuesday, December 5. **Anglo-Russian Literary Society.** Imperial Institute, Kensington, W. "Babylonia: its History, Language, and Literature" (lantern illustrations) The Rev. J. Stephenson, B.D.
- Jehanghir Hall, Imperial Institute** (University of London). "Mesopotamia and Syria." Canon Parfitt. 3 p.m.
- Wednesday, December 6. **Lyceum Club.** 128, Piccadilly, W. Geographical Circle. "Formation of the Nile Valley" Dr. Flinders Petrie. Tea 4; lecture 4.30 p.m.
- Tuesday, December 12. **Royal Colonial Institute.** Hotel Cecil, Strand, W. "The Ordeal of Empire." Sir Walter Raleigh, M.A. 8.30 p.m.
- Thursday, December 14. **Royal Society of Arts** (Indian Section). John Street, Adelphi. "The World's Cotton Supply and India's Share in it." Professor J. A. Todd. 4.30 p.m.
- Monday, December 18. **Royal Geographical Society.** The Theatre, Burlington Gardens, W. "New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines." Mr. R. H. Compton. 8.30 p.m.
- Tuesday, December 19. **Royal Colonial Institute.** Hotel Cecil, Strand, W. "Possibilities for British Trade in South America after the War" (illustrated). Miss Edith Browne.
- Thursdays, at 2.30 p.m. **University College, Gower Street.** "Egyptology: Rings and Toilet Objects." Professor Flinders Petrie, LL.D.

